THE

Lives and Characters

Of the moſt Eminent

WRITERS

OF THE

SCOTS NATION;

WITH

An Abſtract and Catalogue of their WORKS;

Their various EDITIONS;

AND

The Judgment of the LEARN'D concerning Them.

BY

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VOL. II.

Qui autem docti fuerint fulgebunt quaſi ſplendor firmamenti. Dan. Cap. XII. V. 3.

Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit, & immemores non ſinit eſſe ſui. Ovid.

Majorum gloria poſteris quaſi lumen eſt; neque bona eorum, neque mala in occulto patitur. Saluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.

EDINBURGH,

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The Grenville Library

To the Right Honourable,

JOHN

Earl of MAR,

Lord Garioch, Erskin *and* Alloway, &c.

Heritable Governour of the Caſtle of Stirling,

AND

Knight of the moſt Ancient and moſt Noble Order of the Thiſtle.

MY LORD,

THE Lives of Learned and Eminent Men naturally claim the Patronage of Perſons of your Birth and Quality: For it has been the conſtant Obſervation of all Ages, That never any had the Character of a truly Great Man beſtowed upon him, but he who was a *Patron* to the *Muſes*. Upon which Account, *My Lord*, I could not have publiſhed a Work of this Nature, under a more ſuitable Patronage than that of your Lordſhip; your Family having produced ſo many Illuſtrious Perſons both in Literature and War, that it were hard to determine, Whether they have deſerved moſt of their Country for their Performances in the One, or Atchievements in the Other. And altho' the brave and ſhining Actions of Heroes amuſe the World more than the Performances of the Learned; yet we are told by the *Roman* Orator *(a)*, *That there is a certain Sort of Domeſtic Valour which is equal to the moſt Glorious Actions of the greateſt Heroes; and that the Exploits of the Learned, in their Retirements, are more to be valued than all the Victories of the greateſt Conquerors, becauſe they are more uſeful to Mankind.* But, *My Lord*, altho' the great and main Deſign of this Work be, to ſhow what amazing Heighths of Knowledge, in all the *Sciences*, our Predeceſſors have arrived to, yet there is likewiſe an Account of their Noble and Heroic Exploits, no leſs ſurpriſingly Great than that of their *Learning*; in ſo much, that what the above-cited Orator ſays of *Italy* *(b)*, when

(a) Sunt domeſticæ fortitudines non inferiores militaribus, in quibus plus etiam quam in iis operæ ſtudiique ponendum. Cic. Offic. lib. 1. (b) Perfecerit ille ut ſi montes reſediſſent, amnes exaruiſſent, non naturæ præſidio, ſed victoria ſua rebuſque geſtis Italiam munitam haberemus, Cic. cont. Piſon.

under the Protection of *Auguſtus*, in relation to the *Gauls* and *Germans*, we may ſay of our Nation, when under their Protection, in relation to all the Nations who Invaded us; *That it was not to the Rampart, by which Nature has fortify'd us, we were beholden for our not being overrun and conquered by them; for had our higheſt Mountains been levell'd and our deepeſt Rivers drain'd, yet we had ſtill been ſafe under their Conduct and Valour.* 'Tis true, that ſometimes they were foil'd by their Numerous Enemy; but that to them was like the miſty Vail of the Morning, which for a while ſhuts in the Rays of the Sun, but at length contributes to the greater Luſtre and Triumph of the Day. And if we further reflect upon the vaſt Multitudes of Men ſlain upon our Mountains and Plains, fighting for their Liberties and Country, when all the other Nations about them were tamely ſubmitting themſelves to a foreign Yoke; we have Reaſon to think, that God Almighty had bleſs'd them with a more than ordinary Fruitfulneſs, that every Age might produce new Armies of Heroes, to fight for a Race of Monarchs who have been always the peculiar Care of His Providence: And among Thoſe, as I have ſaid, none have appeared with greater Splendour than your Lordſhips Predeceſſors. And here, *My Lord*, I muſt beg Pardon to give a few Inſtances of this Nature, that it may not be thought I am guilty of that mean and fawning Piece of Flattery ſome Authors have been blamed for, in their Addreſſes to Perſons of your Quality, or ſeem to impoſe upon thoſe that are not ſufficiently acquainted with our Hiſtories.

When *Scotland* laboured under her greateſt Difficulties, and when her Active and Incomparable Monarch, King *Robert Bruce*, was ſtruggling with perpetual Oppoſitions, Sir *William Erskin* was One of thoſe Heroes who conſtantly attended, and fought with him in all his Battels: And altho' they were not always Crown'd with Lawrels; yet they ſtill deſerved to have been ſo. His Son, Sir *Robert*, was no leſs conſpicuous, for his Firm and Loyal Adherence to King *David* in all his Troubles; being Valiant and Vigorous in War, Prudent and Politic in Peace. The Plains of *Fife*, *Hamildon*, *Flowden*, and *Pinkie*, where your Predeceſſors did ſuch Wonders, are laſting Monuments of their intrepid Valour and Loyalty. And, as their Services, to their King and Country, were Great and Glorious; ſo were the reſpective Rewards of our Monarchs and Country to them: For, in the Reign of King *David Bruce*, Sir *Robert Erskin* was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Nation, and Commander of the Caſtles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbarton* and *Stirling*, the Three moſt conſiderable and important Forts of the Kingdom; the Government of the laſt of which was Hereditably given to your Family. King *James* V. Queen *Mary*, King *James* VI. and his Son Prince *Henry*, were all of them, in their Infancy, committed to the Tutelage of your Anceſtors; the conſtant Proofs they gave of their Fidelity and Loyalty to the Royal Family, having, in a manner, made

them

them Hereditary Guardians to them. *John* Earl of *Mar*, in the Minority of K. *James* VI. was made Viceroy, or Governour, of the Kingdom. His Succeſſor was Lord High Treaſurer of *Scotland*, Comptroller of His Majeſty's Houſhold, Ambaſſador to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*. His Son, *John* Earl of *Mar*, was One of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, Knight of the *Bath*, and One of the moſt accompliſh'd Noblemen of his Age in all the Parts of Literature. But, *My Lord*, to deſcribe the ſeveral Excellencies, Great Actions, Noble Alliances, and Illuſtrious Branches, of a Family ſo eminently Conſpicuous as yours, is more properly the Work of an Hiſtory than of a Dedication. And ſhould I enlarge upon your own Perſonal Merit and the Honours you have attained to, I ſhould but encroach upon your Modeſty, and run the Hazard of being Cenſured for that Fault, which I have ſo induſtriouſly ſhunned. But this I dare venture to ſay, without incurring the leaſt Hazard of Cenſure, That your Lordſhips known Affection to Learning, and hearty Endeavours to encourage it in all its Parts, beſides the Motives above-mentioned, are ſufficient Reaſons for my publiſhing this Work under your Lordſhip's Patronage; and which I hope you will take, as the utmoſt I can do, to teſtify the grateful Deſire, I have of letting the Public know, how much I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged

and moſt humble Servant,

George Mackenzie.

THE

THE PREFACE.

SINCE *the publiſhing of the* Firſt Volume *of this Work, I have ſeen the Famous Mr.* Leland's *Account of the* Engliſh Writers (a); *where ſeverals are mentioned by him whom I have inſerteed as our Country Men The Learned Editor, Mr.* Hall *of* Queen's-College, Oxon. *finding that this famous Antiquary had not brought ſufficient Proofs for what he advances, was once reſolved to ſupply this Defect by a large Index of the Authorities, upon which he might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to found his Opinion, for inſerting theſe controverted Writers as his Country Men; a Specimen of which he has given us, upon S.* Willibrord *Arch-Biſhop of* Utricht. *But, finding that this would have ſwell'd the Work to too great a Bulk, he laid aſide his Deſign. So that we muſt content our ſelves with what* Leland *has ſaid upon the Matter; which I ſhall examine in order as the Writers are mentioned.*

The Firſt of theſe is Pelagius (b); *whom he makes Abbot of* Bangor. *The Arguments, brought for proving him a* Britain *or* Welſh *Man, are, The Tradition of his Country Men. His being called a* Britain, *by thoſe that were contemporary with him. And a Monk and Abbot of* Bangor. *The Firſt Argument is not worth the inſiſting upon; the Second we have ſufficiently anſwered in the Beginning of* Pelagius's *Life; and for his being a Monk of* Bangor, *there is not the leaſt Probability or Shadow of Reaſon, as Biſhop* Stillingfleet *has ſhown* (c), *there being no ſuch Monaſtery, at that Time, nor long after, till S.* Patrick *introduced the* Chriſtian *Religion amongſt them.*

S. Patrick *is made a* Welſh *Man* (d) *upon the Authority of* William *of* Malmsbury, *a Monk who lived in the Twelfth Century, contrary to all the ancient Writers of his Life, and eſpecially of* Notkerus Balbulus, *who flouriſhed in the Ninth Century, and tells us expreſly of his being born in* Scotland, *and having converted both the* Britiſh *and* Iriſh *to the* Chriſtian *Faith. Yea, ſo fond is he of this Monk's Authority, (who makes S.* Patrick *to be buried at* Glaſtenbury; *contrary to the Authority of the Venerable* Bede, *who flouriſhed in the Eight Century, and ſays that he lies buried in* Scotland) *that he accuſes* Bede *of Ignorance in the* Britiſh *Affairs* (e) *in reſpect of him, confirming* Malmsbury's *Teſtimony from a ſuppoſititious Work that goes under S.* Patrick's *Name. S.* Willibrord *is acknowledged* (f) *to have been brought up from his Infancy in* Scotland: *But, becauſe both he and his Father are ſaid to be* Britains, *for which the Learned Editor has produced a Number of Citations, they will needs have him to be an* Engliſh-Saxon, *and blame* Dempſter *for ſaying he was a* Scots *Man; altho' moſt of the ſame very Authors are cited by* Dempſter, *and, in my Opinion, to none of their Purpoſes. For his being call'd a* Britain, *no more proves him to be an* Engliſh *Man than it proves him to be a* Scots *Man. S.* Boniface, *Arch-Biſhop of* Mentz, *upon the ſole Authority of* Beatus Rhenanus *a modern Author, and* John Grandiſon *Biſhop*

(a) Printed at the Theatre of Oxford in 2 Vol. in 8vo. 1709. (b) Vol. 1. p. 32. (c) Orig. Brit. ch. 4. p. 184. (d) Vol. 1. p. 36. (e) Nam ego primum Bedæ Antiquitatis Britannicæ ignorantiam impingam. Autoritatem Meldunenſis Bedæ autoritati, veluti clavum clavo truſurus, opponam, p. 39 & 40. (f) Vol. 1. p. 101.

ſhop of Exeter, *is made unqueſtionably an* Engliſh *Author*; *and* Trithemius *very much blamed for making not only him, but ſeveral others,* Scots *Men, who were* Engliſh *Men* (g). *And ſince Mr.* Hall *has given the Publick a Specimen of the Authorities that he could bring, for confirming what* Leland *ſays upon S.* Willibrord, *I ſhall give another of what I could bring for confirming what* Dempſter *ſays upon S.* Boniface, *with this only Difference,* That I ſhall cite the very Words of my Authors, whereas he only cites their Books.

Trithemius (h), *in his Book of the* Illuſtrious Perſons of the Order of S. *Benedict, ſpeaking of him, ſays* Boniface, a Monk, Firſt Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz,* by Nation a *Scots* Man, &c. *And in another Place of the ſame Book, he ſays* (i), *Boniface,* a *Scot,* was advanced to the See of *Mentz. And, in his Hiſtory of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers* (k), *he ſays, Boniface,* Firſt Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz,* by Nation a *Scots* Man, of the Order of S. *Benedict,* when he was a Child of Five Years of Age, was ſent and dedicated, by his Parents, to a Monaſtery in *England,* called *Miſchele*; where he was brought up in all Sort of Literature, and became a moſt Holy and Learned Man. Marianus Scotus (l), *in his* Hiſtory, *ſpeaking of the* Scots *Monaſteries in* Germany, *which were conſumed by Fire, expreſly mentions that of S.* Boniface; *and in another Place* (m), *he cites the* Epiſtle *of Pope* Zachary *to* Boniface, *the* Scot, *Arch-Biſhop of* Mentz. *And, ſpeaking of Pope* Gregory, *he ſays* (n), He directed Letters to *Boniface,* the *Scot,* the Firſt Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz. To the ſame Purpoſe the Reader will find him mentioned expreſly, as a* Scots *Man, in* Molanus (o), Georgius Wicelius (p), Adhelmus *a* Benedictin *Monk* (q), Joannes a Beca (r), Meierus(ſ), Vincentius Bollovacenſis (t), Cornelius Kempius (u), Hadrianus Barlandus, Gerardus Noviomagus, Othlonus Fuldenſis, Hieronymus Platus (x), Antonius Poſſovinus (y), *and* Metellus Tigrenſis (z).

S. Willibald, *Biſhop of* Eychſtat, *is the next controverted* Author *whom this famous* Antiquary *mentions, and blames* Trithemius *for calling him a* Scots *Man without citing any* Author *for it* (a); *altho' he himſelf falls into the ſame Fault, not mentioning ſo much as one* Author *acknowledging him to be an* Engliſh *Man.*

As for S. Ælred, *he grants* (b) *that he had very good Reaſon to think he was born in* Scotland, *and only lived in* England. Cum hæc ſcripſiſſem, *ſays he,* incidit mihi ſuſpicio, & quidem vehemens *Ealredum* in *Scotia* fuiſſe natum ac deinde in *Angliam* perveniſſe.

The famous Chymiſt *and* Philoſopher, Michael Scot *of* Balwirie, *he will needs have to be an* Engliſh *Man upon the ſole* Authority *of his* good Friends *who told him ſo* (c); *notwithſtanding that the contrary is plain from his* Books *which were then and are ſtill extant.*

John *de* Sacroboſco, *Profeſſor of the Mathematics at* Paris, *upon the* trifling Conjecture *of his being ſo called from* Haligwalde *or* Halifax, *is ſaid to have been born at that Place* (d); *but if the Interpretation of his Name be the* Standard

(g) Vol. 1. p. 128. (h) Bonifacius, ex Monacho primus Archiepiſcopus Moguntinus natione Scotus. 2. lib. cap. 24. (i) Bonifacium Scotum ad Sedem Moguntinenſem ordinavit, lib. 3. cap. 161. (k) Bonifacius, primus Archiepiſcopus Moguntinus natione Scotus ordinis S. Benedicti, cum eſſet puer quinque annorum a parentibus ſuis Monaſterio in Anglia, quod Miſchelie dicitur, oblatus eſt; in quo literis ac moribus ſtudium impendens, vir & doctus & ſanctiſſimus evaſit, lib: 3. p: 219. (l) Lib: 3: ad Ann: 927. (m) Epiſtola Zachariæ ad Bonifacium Scotum Moguntinenſem Archiepiſcopum. (n) Directæ ſunt a Gregorio Papa, literæ ad Bonifacium Scotum Moguntiæ primum Archiepiſcopum, lib: 3: ad Ann: 743. (o) Ad Uſuard 5. Jun. Tom: 3, (p) In Hagiologio. (q) Ad Ann: 754. (r) In Annalibus Flandriæ, lib. 1. (ſ) In ſpeculo Hiſtoriali, lib: 23. cap: 157. (t) In origine Friſiorum, lib: 3. cap: 31, 32, 33. (u) De origine Friſiorum. (x) De bono ſtatu Religioſi, lib 2. cap: 30. (y) In Appar: ſacr: p: 63. (z) In Quirinalibus, p: 31. data tibi quondam Bonifacie Scote Martyr. (a) Tom: 1: p: 128. (b) Tom: 1. p: 199. (c) Tom. 1. p: 254. (d) Tom. 2. p. 353.

Standard *by which we muſt judge of his* Country, *I humbly conceive, that* Halywood *is better than* Haligwalde, *eſpecially ſince it is from the* French, *from whom we have a great many of our Names.*

Radulph Strode (*e*) *is made an* Engliſh *Man, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe he ſtudy'd at* Merton College, *in* Oxford. *And this is all that I have to ſay in* Vindication of what I have written in the Firſt Volume of this Work, *having met with no conſiderable* Objections, *either as to my* Deſign, Method *or* Undertaking. *Only that, by a Miſtake in the printing, the* Union *of the Two Houſes of* York *and* Lancaſter, *is ſaid to be in the Perſon of* John *of* Gaunt *inſtead of* Henry *VII.*

In this Second Volume, *amongſt the vaſt* Varieties *of* Subjects *that my* Authors *have written upon, I have only inſiſted upon thoſe which I thought the moſt* agreeable *and* inſtructive, *always illuſtrating and explaining from others, that have written upon the ſame* Subjects, *what I thought was wanting, according to the* Method *I had obſerved in the* Firſt Volume; *but ſtill ſhunning to treat of any Thing that I had formerly ſpoke to: My great* Deſign *being not only to collect the* Lives *of our* Learned Men, *but likewiſe to make my* Book *as* uſeful *as I could to thoſe who have encouraged my* Undertaking *by their* Subſcriptions. *Thus, in the* Lives *of Biſhop* Elphinſton *and Biſhop* Leſly, *who have both of them written the* Hiſtory *of our* Country *to their own* Times, *I have, from them and our other* Hiſtorians, *ſuch as* Forden, *the MS. of* Icolmkill, Hector Boeis, Joannes Major, Ballenden, Andrew Winton, Hawthornden, Lindſay *of* Pitſcotty, Buchanan, Spotſwood, *and ſeveral other MS.* Collections, Chartularies *and* Charters, *I had Occaſion to ſee; as likewiſe from the beſt* Engliſh Hiſtorians, *ſuch as* Rawleigh, Daniel, Speed, Holinſhed, Hall, Tyrell, Echard, Baker, Bacon, Goodwin, Drake, &c. *I ſay, I have from them given an* Abridgment *of our* Hiſtory, *from the Firſt Riſe of our* Nation *to the Death of King* James *V. which, God willing, in the* Third *and* Laſt Volume, *ſhall be continued till the* Union *of the* Two Kingdoms. *But here I would not be underſtood as if I deſign'd a* Hiſtory *of my own; No, that is none of my* Province, *but to give a* brief View *of what our* Hiſtorians *have ſaid of our* Tranſactions, *as being only anſwerable to my* Deſign. *And 'tis very obvious to any unbyaſs'd* Reader, *that all* Parties *miſrepreſent* Facts *in ſuch a Manner, eſpecially where there is a* National *or* Religious Concern, *that it is an infinite Trouble to ſift out the Truth, each Side diſplaying what is moſt to their* Advantage; *or diſſembling, or but faintly repreſenting, what is not in their* Favours. *And, How is't poſſible to ſeparate* Truth *from* Falſhood *under ſo many fraudulent Diſguiſes? Beſides, How difficult and laborious a Task is it, to know the true Age of MSS.* Charters, Titles of Writs, Seals, Subſcriptions, Dates, Witneſſes, &c. *and diſtinguiſh them from Counterfits? And to illuſtrate this, nothing can be more appoſite than the Controverſy which happened between Two of the learnedeſt* Antiquaries *of this Age,* F. Mabillion, *a* Benedictine *Monk, and* F. Germon, *a Jeſuite. Father* Mabillion *publiſhed, in* 1681, *at* Paris, *a large Volume in* Folio, *under the following Title,* De Re Diplomaticâ, Lib. 6. in quibus quicquid ad veterum inſtrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, ſcripturam & ſtylum, quicquid ad ſigilla, monogrammata, ſubſcriptiones ac notas chronologicas; quicquid ad antiquam hiſtoricam, forenſemque diſciplinam pertinet, explicatur & illuſtratur. Accedit Commentarius

(*e*) Tom. 2. p. 336.

de antiquis Regum *Franciæ* Palatiis, veterum ſcripturarum varia ſpecimina, Tab. LX. comprehenſa; nova ducentorum amplius monumentorum Collectio. *This Work was lookt upon, by all the Learned Men of* Europe, *and deſervedy too, as a* Maſter-piece *in its Kind, and as containing the* Principles *and* Rules *of an* Art, *that we had but hitherto very confuſed* Ideas *of. And it was noways doubted but that now all might eaſily judge, how to diſtinguiſh true from counterfit* Writs; *and that the World would be no more impoſed upon by* Cheats *of this* Nature. *When behold, Father* Germon, *at the ſame Place, in* 1703, *publiſhes his Book,* De veteribus Regum *Francorum* diplomatibus, & arte ſecernendi antiqua diplomata vera a falſis, Diſceptatio ad R. P. D. *Joannem Mabillionem,* Monachum *Benedictinum,* Auctore *P. Bartholomæo Germon,* Societ. *Jeſu,* Presbytero. *Pariſiis* 1703, *in* 12mo. *wherein he vigorouſly attacks Father* Mabillion. *Now this Learned* Benedictin, *to eſtabliſh ſure* Rules *for diſtinguiſhing the falſe* Titles *of* Writs *from true ones, cauſed engrave a great Number of theſe* Titles, *which he affirmed to have been written in the Times of the* French *Kings of the Firſt and Second Race; and ſays,* That by examining attentively the Form of the Writing, the Style, Date, Subſcriptions, Seals, the *Egyptian* Paper, the Bark, and all the other Characters of theſe true Titles, we are to judge of others; and, if they have all the Marks of theſe, they ought to be looked upon as unqueſtionable. And if they want any of them they ought to be rejected, or at leaſt looked upon as ſuſpected. *Father* Germon, *on the contrary, ſays,* That Father *Mabillion* ſuppoſes that which is in Queſtion. For the Matter being to give Rules for diſtinguiſhing true Titles from thoſe that are falſe or uncertain, he ought firſt to have proven the Truth of thoſe, upon which he has formed his Rules; becauſe, if theſe Titles can be reaſonably ſuſpected to be forged, it follows that the Rules which are formed upon theſe Writs become uſeleſs, and only ſerve to increaſe our Miſtakes. So that the Queſtion is, If the Titles produced by *F. Mabillion* can reaſonably be thought ſuppoſititious or forged? *And this Father* Germon *thinks he has ſufficient Proofs for. And becauſe they may be eaſily applied in Vindication of our* Hiſtorians, *I ſhall make Mention of a few of them here.* And Firſt, *ſays he,* it is hard to be believed, that theſe Pieces that are ſuppoſed to be written under the Reigns of the Kings of the Firſt and Second Race, ſhould ſtill be remaining intire to our Days. They were written upon *Egyptian* Paper, upon Barks or Skins, all of them Subjects very liable to Corruption. *By this Rule we may judge how little Reaſon the* Iriſh Antiquaries *have to value themſelves upon their* Records, *which they would make the World believe are ſtill extant and much older than theſe. Moreover,* the Places where theſe Writs were depoſitate were not very well guarded, being frequently pillaged, burnt and deſtroyed, *as we learn from the Hiſtory of the* Benedictin *Monaſteries. Upon this Rule our* Antiquaries *have for a long Time inſiſted in vindicating our* Hiſtorians, *no Nation having had their* Records *more embazled, their* Religious Houſes *and other Places where they were kept oftner burnt, pillag'd and deſtroyed than ours have been, by the frequent Incurſions and Devaſtations of our powerful Neighbours. Father* Mabillon *acknowledges,* That at all Times and in all Ages, there have been Writs forg'd; *and he brings us ſeveral* Reaſons *for it, in ſupporting the Intereſt of* Parties *and Pretenſions of* Sovereigns; *and that they knew ſo well how to counterfit the* Seals, Signatures, Dates, Witneſſes, &c. *that there have been* Writs *undeniably falſe amongſt the ſame*

Archives,

Archives, *from whence thoſe, which have been produced as true Ones, have been taken, that it was almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them. Of which he gives ſeveral Inſtances, and we have ſeen, in this and the preceeding Age, Writs of the ſame Nature, from the* Archives *of the Tower of* London, *which have been proven unqueſtionably* forged *in relation to our* Affairs. *And laſtly, The only* Records *that cannot be ſuſpected, are thoſe which have not fallen into the Hands of any that could be tempted to vitiate them. And upon this Rule, we may ſafely correct our* Hiſtories, *as to the* Chronology, Dates of Places, Names of Perſons, and other Circumſtances of Story, from our Charters, Chartularies, Obituaries, Treaties of Peace, Contracts of Marriage, &c. agreed to and owned by all Parties concerned. *But beſides all this, there is the* different Hands of Writ in each Age, *the* Characters of the Letters, *the* Style, *and a great many other Things to be conſidered which are to be found in that never too much to be commended Book of* F. Mabillion's. *What relates further to this* Diſpute *is foreign to my Purpoſe: Neither do I deſign by this to put the leaſt Diſreſpect either upon our own, or our Neighbour* Hiſtorians; *but, on the contrary, to ſhow how much they ought to be valued for their* Performances *in a Matter of ſo great Difficulty, and that I am firmly of the Opinion of a* Modern Critic *(f)*, That we ſhall never ſee a compleat Hiſtory publiſhed but in that Year in which the Philoſopher's Stone is found out.

In the Lives of Nicolaus Hepburn, *of the Order of S* Francis; *Mr.* Patrick Hamilton, *Abbot of* Ferm; Alexander Aleſſe, *Profeſſor of Theology at* Lypſic; Robert Wauchop, *Arch-Biſhop of* Armagh; John Frazer, *of the Order of S.* Francis; *there is an Account of the Firſt Riſe of the* Reformation, *amongſt the* Brethren of Bohemia; *The* Proceedings *of the* Council of Conſtance *againſt* John Huſs *and* Jerome of Prague; *how it was carried on in* Germany, *by* Luther, Zuinglius, OEcolampadius, Melanchton, *and the other* Reformers. *Likewiſe, the* Proceedings *of the* Council of Trent; *The Hiſtory of the* Pragmatick Sanction; *and how the* Reformation *begun and advanced in* Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, France, England *and* Switzerland; *with all the* different Opinions *of the* Reformers, *taken from their own* Writings.

In the Life of George Wauchop, *Profeſſor of the* Civil Law *at* Caen *in* Normandy, *there is an Account of all the* Ancient Cuſtoms *amongſt the* Romans, *their* Government, Civil *and* Military. *The* Firſt Riſe *and* Progreſs *of the* Civil Law; *likewiſe the* Firſt Occaſion *of a great many* particular Laws, *and a Number of other* Incidents, *abſolutely neceſſary to be known, for underſtanding the* Roman Hiſtorians *and* Claſſic Authors.

In the Life of Alexander Barkley *D. D. there is an Account of the* Jugurthine War *and the Life of S.* George, Patron of England. *In the Life of* John Major, *there is an Account of the* Hebrew Goſpel *of S.* Matthew, *and in what it differs from the* preſent; *likewiſe of all the other* Goſpels *forged by the* Heretics *in the* Primitive Times. *An Account of the* Diſtinction *betwixt the* Civil *and* Eccleſiaſtic Power, *and the* different Obligations *we owe to them. The various* Opinions *of the* Learned *concerning the* Situation of Paradiſe; *wherein ſeveral difficult* Paſſages *of the* Sacred Scriptures *are explained, and a great many Things concerning the* Geography *of the* Holy Land.

(f) M. Le Moyn's Reflect. on Hiſt.

In the Life of Hector Boeis *there is a* Geographical Deſcription *of the* Nation; *in which I doubt not but that there are a great many Eſcapes and Miſtakes, we never having had any tolerable Deſcription of it as yet. But in this I have followed the beſt we have; to wit,* Major, Boeis, Leſly, Buchanan, Cambden, *and Mr.* Martin *his* Deſcription of the Iſles. *In the Life of* George Dundaſs, *there is the* Hiſtory *of the* Knights of S. John of Jeruſalem. *In the Life of Mr.* John Schevez, *Official of S.* Andrew's, *there is the* Hiſtory *of the* Riſe and Progreſs of the Canon Law, *with that of the* Inquiſition. *In the Life of Doctor* Robert Turner *there is an Account of the Famous Jeſuite,* Edmond Campian. *In the Life of* Dowgal Mackenzie, *Profeſſor of Philoſophy, there is an Account of the* Sybils *and their* Oracles, *together with the* Ceremonies *uſed by the* Heathens *in* conſulting *them, and the ſtrange* Agitations of their Prieſts, *ſo perfectly imitated by our* new Sect of Enthuſiaſts, *called the* Prophets. *In the Life of* John Ballenden, *there is an Account of* Pithagoras, *and his* Noble Diſcoveries *in* Geometry *and* Aſtronomy. *In the Life of* John Wadlock, *there is an Account of the* Riſe *and* Progreſs *of* Judicial Aſtrology, *with an Account of the Famous* Apollonius Tyaneus; *the various Methods taken by the* Ancients *and* Moderns *in the* Menſuration of the Earth; *And ſome curious* Obſervations *concerning the* Heighths of Mountains *and the* Depth of the Sea. *And Laſtly, in the Lives of* Gawin Douglaſs, *Biſhop of* Dunkeld; Henry Scrimzeour, *Profeſſor of the* Civil Law *at* Geneva; *and* Adrian Turnbull, *Profeſſor of* Philoſophy *at* Paris; *there is an Account of the* Lives *and* Actions *of a great Number of the* Ancient Philoſophers *and* Poets, *ſuch as* Virgil; Horace, Athenæus, Strabo, Plutarch, Phornuthus, Palæphatus, Diogenes Laertius, Cicero, Caius Plinius Secundus, Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, Philo Judæus, Demetrius Pepagomenes, Arian *and* Oppian; *and theſe are the principal Subjects upon which the* Authors *in this* Volume *have written.*

After that I had printed off the Lives of Arch-Biſhop Wauchop *and* Joannes Major, *I had ſome* Memoirs *ſent me, concerning them, from the* Regiſter *of the* Univerſity *of Paris; which I ſhall here ſet down, to compleat what I have ſaid of theſe Two* Great Ornaments *of our Nation. But, before I ſpeak of them, it will not be amiſs to give the* Reader *a brief* Hiſtory *of the* Scots College *at* Paris, *in which, not only they, but many others, whom I have already mention'd and am to mention, had their* Education, *to the great* Honour *of our* Nation; *and this I ſhall do from* Authentic Documents *tranſmitted to me from a* Learned *and* Worthy Member *of that* Univerſity.

During the Reign of Robert *the* Bruce, David Murray *Biſhop of* Murray, *deſcended from the* Murrays *of the Houſe of* Duffus, *bought up ſome Lands, in a Village call'd* Griſy *in the Dioceſe of* Paris, *in order to make a* Foundation *in that* Univerſity *for* Scots Students of his own Dioceſs; *whereof the* Charter *does yet remain, dated at* Paris, *in* February 1325 Stylo veteri, *and* 1326 Stylo novo. *This* Learned Prelate *took, for ſettling of this* Foundation, *the favourable Opportunity of* Thomas Randulph, *Earl of* Murray, *his being ſent over, by King* Robert Bruce, *Ambaſſador to* Charles le Bel *King of* France, *for renewing the* League *betwixt* France *and* Scotland; *which was done about the ſame Time, as appears by the King of* France's Charter of Confederacy *given at* Courbency, *in* April 1326. *And, in* Auguſt *following, the ſame King granted his* Royal Patent *for eſtabliſh-*

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ing of this Foundation; *and that* gratis, *without paying the uſual Dues of* Amortiſſement, *out of Favour to the* Scots Nation, *and in Conſideration, as it appears, of the Love and Favour he bore to the Earl of* Murray. *This* Patent *is ſtill extant, dated at* Ipres, *in* Auguſt 1326; *but the worthy* Prelate *happening to die whilſt this was adoing, the* Foundation *had not ſubſiſted, had it not been for the Care and Diligence of his* Succeſſor, John Pilmore, *who happily finiſhed what his* Predeceſſor *had begun, as is evident from another* Original *in the Year* 1333. *This* Eſtabliſhment *ſubſiſted in the* Univerſity of Paris, *by the Name of the* Scots Foundation, *or* College of Griſy, *during the* following Ages *till the* Reformation, *and was always adminiſtrated by the Authority of the* Biſhops of Murray; *who, in Quality of* Founders *and* Patrons *thereof, preſented to the* Houſes *and ſettled* Directors *or* Superiors: *There are remaining as yet ſeveral of their* Ancient Patents *with their* Seals *appended. And about this Time of the* Reformation *it was, that theſe Two Great Men,* Joannes Major *and Arch-Biſhop* Wauchop *lived. The* exact Chronology of whoſe Lives from the Regiſter of the Univerſity of Paris, *as I have ſaid, is as follows.*

John Major *was born, in the Year* 1469, *at a little Village call'd* Gleghorn, *near the Mouth of the River* Tinn, *in the* Pariſh of Northberwick *and* Conſtabulary of Haddington; *and by this laſt Place, as beſt known, he deſigns himſelf commonly. He came to* Paris, *in the Year* 1493, *where he commenced* Maſter of Arts, *in* 1496. *Mr.* John Harvy *a* Scots *Man and* Burſer, *or* Fellow of the Scots College, *being then* Rector of the Univerſity of Paris, *he paſt thro' all the* Honourable Places of the Faculty of Arts; *being firſt* Procurator *and then* Queſtor; *and deſigns himſelf thus in the* Regiſter, M. *Joannes Mair* Glegernocenſis Dioceſis S. *Andreæ. He was made* Doctor of Divinity *in* 1505. *In* 1517 *and* 1518, *he wrote his* Hiſtory *at* Paris, *and then immediately departed for* Scotland; *ſo that it was printed in his Abſence in* 1520. *He remained in* Scotland *about Five Years, and taught* Theology *in the* Univerſity of S. Andrew's. *In the Year* 1526 *he returned to* Paris, *where he remained conſtantly till* 1530; *in which he went back again to* Scotland, *and taught* Theology *at S.* Andrew's, *till he came to a great Age: For in the Year* 1547, *at the* National Council of the Church of Scotland *at* Lithgow, *he ſubſcribed, by* Proxy, *in* Quality of Dean of Theology of S. Andrew's, *not being able to come himſelf by reaſon of his Age, which was then* 78, *and ſhortly after he died. And here I cannot omit to obſerve, That his* Hiſtory *being printed in his Abſence, 'tis no wonder there are ſo many* Miſtakes *in it; and, amongſt* Faults of this Kind, *that of his making but* Fifteen Kings, *betwixt* Fergus I. *and* Fergus II. (*whereas all our other* Hiſtorians *make* Fourty Nine) *is evidently a* Fault *in the* Copiiſt, *or* Printer, *who has read a* 1 *for a* 4 *Figure and* 5 *for a* 9. *and printed the* Miſtake *in Letters at length. For, by his whole* Hiſtory, *and that* Paſſage *in particular, that he had read either* Fordon *or an* Abridgment of him, *is evident.*

Robert Wauchop *of* Nidrie, Mariſchal, *was made* Maſter of Arts *in the* Univerſity of Paris, *in* 1519. Principal of the College of Mans, *in* 1524. Regent of Philoſophy, *in* February 1525, *for the Firſt Courſe. Again for the Second Courſe, with* Hector Boeis, *in* September 1526. Viſitator, *in* 1526. Procurator *Eight Times in ſeveral Years, and a Ninth Time in a* Conteſt *betwixt Mr.* George Buchanan *and another* Maſter, *for that Place, in* May 1528. Procurator *again in* 1531. *For a long Time* Dean of the Scots Nation, *and* Doctor of Theology, *in* 1532.

I have only Two Things more to advertiſe the Reader *of; and the Firſt is, I thought, according to my* Promiſe, *to have publiſhed, by way of an* Appendix *to this* Volume, *a* Liſt *of all the* Religious Houſes, *with the* Names of the Founders, *and* Shires *in which they are; together with an Account of the* Firſt Riſe *of all the* Ancient Families of the Nation, *inſtructed from* Charters, Chartularies, *and other* Authentic Documents, *for illuſtrating the* Hiſtory *of our* Nation. *But, after I had printed off ſeveral Sheets of it, I found, that by the* Documents *I had by me and what I was daily receiving, it would have increaſed the Bulk of this Book to more than* Two Hundred Sheets: *So I was oblig'd to give over my* Deſign, *and refer the* Liſt *of the* Priories, Provoſtries, Nunneries *and other* Religious Orders, *to the* Third Volume, *to which I ſhall likewiſe annex a large* Index *of the* Principal Matters *treated of in all the* Three Volumes. *As for the* Account *of the* Families, *I have now digeſted it for a large* Quarto *Book, in which I ſhall not only give* Account *of the* Firſt Riſe *of the* Nobility *and* Gentry *of the* Nation, *but likewiſe of all the* Honours *they have attained to in* Church *and* State: *In the* Preface *to which, I ſhall make honourable Mention of all thoſe who have furniſhed me with* Memoirs; *and if any* Noblemen *or* Gentlemen, *will ſend me* Accounts *of their Families,* unqueſtionably documented, *I ſhall do them all imaginable Juſtice.*

The Other is, That I have given an Account *of a great many* Books *mentioned by* Dempſter, *without taking Notice of the* Places *where they were printed, or in what* Volume. *All I can ſay to this is, That altho'* Dempſter *has not been ſo exact in this as could have been wiſh'd, no more than* Leland *or* Bale, *the* Engliſh Biographers; *yet the late* Learned Antiquary, *Doctor* Jamiſon, *who had Occaſion to examine* Dempſter's *Fidelity in this Point, more than any Man I ever heard of, having with great Diligence ſearched after our* Scots Authors *in moſt of the* Famous Libraries *of* Italy, Germany *and* France; *yet, I ſay, he acknowledged, That, during this* Period *of Time, and the* Age *in which* Dempſter *himſelf lived, he was ſeldom or never to be found in the* wrong; *and I have done all that lay within the Compaſs of my Reading. In one Word; I hope this* Collection *may be of ſome Uſe to thoſe* Gentlemen, *whoſe Occaſions and Circumſtances cannot allow them to be furniſhed with great* Libraries, *or* Collections of Books; *ſince they will find, in what I have already publiſhed, an* Abſtract, *or* Abridgment, *of* An Hundred and Fourty Three Volumes, *and* Seventy Six Letters, *written upon the moſt uſeful Parts of* Learning; *beſides the* Hiſtory *of the* Proceedings *and* Deciſions *of* Fourty Four Councils, *upon the moſt important Points of* Theology.

A N

Alphabetical Catalogue

Of ſuch of the SUBSCRIBERS *Names* and *Deſignations* as have come to our Hands.

A

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John Abernethy M. D.
John Adair, Geographer for the Kingdom of Scotland.
William Adam, Apothecary in Edinburgh.
Alexander Aikenhead, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Robert Allan, Merchant in Rotterdam.
Robert Alexander of Corſclays.
Mr. James Anderſon, Town-Clerk of Elgin.
Mr. James Anderſon, Writer to the Signet.
Patrick Anderſon, Wright in Edinburgh.
Mr. David Angus, Miniſter of the Goſpel.
Sir Alexander Anſtruther of New-wark.
Alexander Arbuthnet of Phindowrie.
Mr. John Arrat, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at S. Andrew's.
Thomas Auchinleck, Chyrurgeon.
James Auchinleck, Baker in Edinburgh.

B

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The Right Honourable COLIN Earl of BALCARRAS.
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Robert Baillie of Cairnbrew.
Mr. James Baillie, Advocate.
Mr. James Baillie, Writer to the Signet.
Alexander Baillie of Aſheſteel.
Alexander Baillie of Caſtlecary.
Sir William Baird of Newbeath.
Alexander Bane of Logie.
Captain Benjamin Barton.
Mr. Robert Bannerman, Miniſter of the Goſpel.
Mr. Charles Bennet, Sheriff-Depute in Stirling-Shire.
Mr. John Birnie of Broomhill.
John Blair M. D.

George Borthwick, Chyrurgeon in Edinburgh.
Thomas Bower, M. D. and Professor of Mathematics in the Kings College at Aberdeen.
John Bowie of Saltcots.
Walter Boswel of Balbarton.
Sir George Brown of Colstoun.
William Brown of Seabegs.
Archbald Brown, Writer in Edinburgh.
Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird.
Alexander Bruce, Apothecary in Edinburgh.
Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys.
Mr. Gilbert Burnet, Advocate.
David Burton, Glasier in Edinburgh.

C

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The Right Honourable GEORGE Earl of CROMERTY, Justice-General.
The Right Honourable ANNE Viscountess of CARINGTON.
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Sir James Campbel of Aberuchil.
Colin Campbel of Camsmore.
Colin Campbel of Lochlane.
Alexander Campbel Merchant in Stornway.
Robert Ker younger of Cavers.
Sir James Carmichael of Bonington.
Mr. William Carmichael, Her Majesty's Sollicitor.
John Carnegie of Boysack.
Mr. William Carstairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and One of the Ministers of the City.
James Carstairs, Writer in Edinburgh.
William Carruthers, Apothecary-Chyrurgeon in Edinburgh.
James Carruthers of Hallaiths.
George Carruthers of Holdmains.
James Carruthers of Roberthill.
Mr. John Carruthers of Denby.
James Cheap of Rossie.
The Incorporation of Chyrurgeons at Edinburgh.
The Incorporation of Chyrurgeons at Glasgow.
Robert Clark, Chyrurgeon in Edinburgh.
William Clark, Advocate.
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William Cockburn M. D.
The College of Edinburgh for their Library.
Alexander Colvil of Blair.
Adam Coult, Advocate.
John Corse, Writer in Edinburgh.
Mr. Charles Craigengelt of Keverkee.
Mr. George Crawford, Brother to the Laird of Kerssburn.

Patrick

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Lawrence Crawford, of Jordanston.
Patrick Creichton, Chyrurgeon in Dundee.
Mr. George Crockat, Student in Medicin.
Mr. John Crockat, Minister of the Gospel.
John Cumin, L. L. D. Professor of Ecclesiastic History and Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh.
Sir William Cuningham of Caprington.
Sir James Cuningham of Millcraig.
Mr. John Cuningham, Advocate.
Mr. John Cuningham of Woodhall, Advocate.
Mr. William Cuningham, Provost of Irvine.

D

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James Deans of Woodislie.
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Thomas Dalrymple M. D. Her Majesty's First Physician in ordinary.
James Dewar, Brewar in Edinburgh.
Mr. Alexander Dycks Professor of Humanity at Dalkeith:
John Don of Hattenburn.
John Don of Spittle, Sheriff-Clerk of Stirling.
Lieutenant Robert Douglass, in Major-General Maitland's Regiment.
James Douglass of Mains.
James Douglass of Dornock.
Mr. Robert Douglass of Auchinschinach, Collector in Glasgow.
Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden.
Thomas Drummond of Logy-Almond.
John Drummond of Colquaillize.
Mr. David Drummond, Advocate.
Mr. Alexander Drummond, Advocate.
James Drummond of Blair-Drummond.
James Drummond, Writer to the Signet.
John Drummond, M. D.
George Drummond, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Mr. William Drummond, Writer in Edinburgh.
Mr. William Drummond, Warden of the Mint.
William Drummond of Machany.
John Drummond of Megans.
John Duff, Writer in Aberdeen.
Sir James Dumbar, of Mochram.
Alexander Dumbar of Bishop-Mill, Sheriff of Murray.
Lodowick Dumbar of Grange.
Alexander Dumbar, Taylor in the Canongate.
Ralph Dundass of Mainer.

Alexander Duncan of Lundy.
Mr. William Dunlop, Son to the Laird of Househill.
Mr. Alexander Dunlop, Professor of Greek in the College of Glasgow.

E

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The Right Honourable JOHN Lord ELPHINSTON.
The Right Honourable ALEXANDER Lord ELIBANK.
The Right Honourable Lady Sophia Erskin, Dowager of Pitsligo.
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F

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H

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I

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Andrew Johnston of Newton.
William Johnston of Granton.
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K

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David Killoch of Kilray.
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M

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John Murray, Elder, of Touchadam.
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John Murray of Strowan.
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James Olyphant of Gask.
George Olyphant of Glasshbenie.
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P

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Q

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R

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Thomas Rudiman, M. A.
Francis Russel, Apothecary in Edinburgh.
Robert Rutherfoord of Fernailie
Andrew Rutherfoord of Edgerston.

S

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Mr. Alexander Scrimzeor, Professor of Philosophy in the Old College of S. Andrew's, for the Use of the publick Liberary.
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William Seton of Pitmedden, Younger.
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James Shaw, Writer in Edinburgh.
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James Somervel of Drum.
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T

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Sir David Threpland of Fingask.
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U

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The Right Honourable JOHN *Earl of* WIGTON, *for Two.*

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William Wauchop of Niddrie, for Two.
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James Wiſeman, Writer in Elgin.
John Wordie, of Cambusbaren.
John Wright of Kerſy.

Y

THE Right Honourable CHARLES Lord HAY of YEASTER.
Joſeph Young, Merchant in Edinburgh.
Mr. Ninian Young, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in S. Leonard's College.

NOTA. Page 401, Line 35, for Copies read Originals.

THE

THE LIFE of *William Elphinſton*, *Biſhop of* Aberdeen *and Chancellor of* Scotland.

THE *Elphinſtons* ſay, That they are deſcended from the Counts of *Helphinſtin* in *Suabia*, and that the Firſt of this Name, in *Scotland*, came alongſt with Queen *Margaret*, and ſettled here about the Year 1061. But, whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, that they were a conſiderable Family, not long after this time.

His Parentage.

Our Author, a Learn'd and Excellent Prelate, was Grandſon to *Alexander Elphinſton*, who was kill'd at the Battel of *Piperden*, in the Year 1436, and to whoſe Valour, our Hiſtorians ſay, the Victory, which the *Scots* then obtain'd over the *Engliſh*, was in a great meaſure owing. His Father, *John Elphinſton*, was a great Favourite of *William Lauder*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow* and Chancellor of *Scotland*. His Mother, *Margaret Douglaſs*, was a Daughter of the Laird of *Drumlanrick*. (a).

Birth and Education.

He was Born in the City of *Glaſgow*, in the Year of our Lord 1431. In the Seventh Year of his Age he was put to the Grammar-School; and, having finiſh'd the Courſe of his Studies in the *Belles Lettres*, he apply'd himſelf to Philoſophy, and was made Maſter of Arts in the Twenty Fifth Year of his Age. After this he turn'd his Thoughts to Theology, enter'd into Holy Orders, and was made Prieſt of *S. Michael*'s Church in *Glaſgow*, where he exercis'd his Paſtoral Function with great Care and Diligence, Four Years. At the ſame time, he took Pleaſure in the Civil and Canon Law; and, by the Advice of his Uncle *Lawrence Elphinſton*, he went over to *France*, in the Twenty Ninth Year of his Age, where, in the Space of Three Years, he became ſo great a Maſter of the Laws, that he was made Public Profeſſor of them in the Univerſity of *Paris*, and afterwards at *Orleans*: And, in both theſe Places, he Taught with ſuch Applauſe, that the Parliament of *Paris* very much regarded his Opinion in difficult and intricate Caſes. At length, after he had ſtaid Nine Years in *France*, he was call'd Home to his Native Country and Friends, by the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, who had been all along his great Supporter in his Studies.

He enters into Holy Orders.

He applies himſelf to the Study of the Laws, and goes over to *France*

Where he is made Profeſſor of them in the Univerſity of *Paris*.

Not long after his Arrival, he was made Official or Commiſſary of *Glaſgow*, a Place which in thoſe Days had a good Revenue annex'd to it, and was only beſtow'd upon Perſons of Merit and Learning. The King, hearing how wiſely he behav'd himſelf in that Station, ſent for him to *Edinburgh*, made him Official of *S. Andrew*'s, and one of the Lords of his Privy Council. Some Jarrs falling out about this time, betwixt King *James* III. and *Lewis* XI. of *France*, which were like to

He returns to *Scotland*, and is made Official Firſt of *Glaſgow*, then of S. *Andrew*'s, afterwards one of the King's Privy Council.

(a) Vid. Geneolog. of the Elphinſt. MS. Hector Boeth. Vit. Epiſcop. Murth. & Aberdon. Fol. 19. & Hiſt. Scot. Lib. 2. Fol. 246. Leſly de Rebus Geſt. Scot. Lib. 9. Pag. 370. Spotiſwood's Ch. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Pag. 105. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. Lib. 5. Pag. 168. Georg. Buch. Hiſt. Scot. Lib 14. Hath. Hiſt. James I. &c.

He is ſent over Ambaſſador to *Lewis* XI. of *France.*

have diſſolved the Ancient Friendſhip betwixt the two Nations; he was join'd, in Commiſſion with the Earl of *Buchan* and the Biſhop of *Dunkel*, to anſwer the Complaints of the *French*; and, by a moſt Wiſe and Eloquent Oration, he brought Things ſo about, that the Ancient League between them was renew'd, and all Occaſions of Diſcord remov'd. For which, upon his Return, he was made Biſhop of *Roſs*, in the Year 1482; and, the ſame Year, upon the Death of *Robert Blacater*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, he was Tranſlated to that See.

He returns to *Scotland*, and is made firſt Biſhop of *Roſs* and then of *Aberdeen*.

About this Time, *Richard*, Duke of *Gloceſter*, after the Death of his Brother King *Edward* IV. ſet his Ambitious Thoughts upon the Scepter and Royal Diadem of *England*; and, to accompliſh his Deſign, he got himſelf choſen Protector to the Two Young Princes, his Nephews, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and *Richard* Duke of *York*: So having got them into his Power, he moſt Inhumanely and Unnaturally, without any Reſpect to God or the World, Murder'd them; and got himſelf Proclaim'd, and Anointed, King of *England*, by the Name of King *Richard* III. But, knowing, that tho' God, in His Juſtice, very often brings Unnatural and Bloody Uſurpers to untimely Ends, yet oftentimes, for Reaſons beſt known to Himſelf, He ſuffers them to have Proſperous and Glorious Reigns, he thought it was good Policy, to ſecure himſelf, as much as he could, againſt all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, by entering into a ſtrict League and Friendſhip with all the Neighbouring Princes: And, ſince the King of *Scotland* was the Monarch, whom he had moſt Reaſon to fear, becauſe of the Innate Hatred betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, and being upon the ſame Continent with himſelf, he made his Firſt Application to him. King *James*, tho' he had all the Averſion imaginable againſt the Bloody Practices of King *Richard*, yet his Nobility had turn'd ſo Factious, that they were daily threatning to Dethrone him; therefore, to ſtrengthen himſelf the more againſt them, he very willingly gave Ear to King *Richard*'s Propoſals. Whereupon the two Kings condeſcended to have a Communication; and Commiſſioners were appointed, for both Parts, to meet at *Nottingham*, the Seventh Day of *September*, next enſuing. At which time, there came thither, for the King of *Scotland*, *Colin Campbel* Earl of *Argyle*, Chancellor of *Scotland*; *William Elphinſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, our Author; *John*, Lord *Drummond*, of *Stobhall*; *Lawrence*, Lord *Oliphant*; *Robert*, Lord *Lile*; *Archbald Whitelaw*, Arch-Deacon of *Louden* and Secretary of State; and *Duncan Dundas*, Lyon King at Arms: For the King of *England*, *John Ruſſel*, Biſhop of *London*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *John*, Duke of *Norfolk*; *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Thomas*, Lord *Stanly*; *John Gray*, Lord *Powys*; *Richard*, Lord *Fitz-Hugh*; *John Gunthrope*, Keeper of the Privy Seal; *Thomas Borow*, Maſter of the Rolls; Sir *Thomas Bryan*, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir *Richard Ratcliff*; *William Catesby*, and *Richard Salkeld*, Eſquires. Theſe Commiſſioners met divers times, and after long Debates, at length, by the Prudence and Management of our Author, a Peace was concluded betwixt the Two Nations, for the ſpace of Three Years; the ſame beginning at the Riſing of the Sun, *September* 29th, in the Year 1484, and ending, at the Setting of the Sun, on the 29th of *September* 1487.

He is ſent to *Nottingham*, to conclude a Peace betwixt *Scotland* and *England*; which he Effectuates.

When this League was concluded, and the Particulars thereof expos'd in Writing, and Seal'd, and all Things finiſh'd with due Circumſtances

ſtances thereunto belonging; King *Richard*, the more to ſtrengthen this Bond of Amity betwixt him and King *James*, propos'd a Marriage, betwixt the Prince of *Rothſay*, Eldeſt Son to King *James*, and the Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John*, Duke of *Suffolk*, King *Richard*'s Niece: Wiſely conſidering, that, amongſt all Bonds and Obligations of Love and Friendſhip, there is not a ſurer than that of Inter-marriage.

He is ſent to conclude a Marriage betwixt the Prince of *Scotland* and King *Richard*'s Niece.

King *James* willingly embraced this Offer likewiſe; and our Prelate and ſeveral Noblemen were ſent back again to *Nottingham*, to meet with the *Engliſh* Noblemen, Commiſſionate for that Effect: Which was done with ſo good Succeſs, that Writings and Inſtruments concerning the ſame, were drawn, engroſs'd and ſeal'd; and Affiances made and taken up by Proctors and Deputies of both Parts. From henceforth, this young Lady was call'd Princeſs of *Rothſay*; but, by the ſhort Life and Reign of King *Richard*, her Uncle, (who, notwithſtanding of all his Precautions, was Dethron'd and overthrown in Battel) ſhe loſt that Name and Title.

He is made Chancellor of *Scotland*.

After this, King *James*, to expreſs how much he was ſatisfy'd, with our Prelate's Conduct, in both theſe Treaties, made him Chancellor of *Scotland* in Place of the Earl of *Argyle*: But Biſhop *Leſly* ſays, that he was made only Lord Privy-Seal. Upon the expiring of the Peace with the *Engliſh*, in the Year 1487, King *James*, by the Advice of our Prelate, call'd a Parliament; in which, many Acts were made againſt Oppreſſours; Juſtices were appointed to paſs thro' the whole Kingdom, and ſee Malefactors deſervedly Puniſh'd, and that no Convention of Friends ſhould be ſuffer'd to accompany the Criminals, as the Cuſtom then was; but that every one Attainted ſhould appear at the moſt with Six Proctors, that, if found Guilty, they ſhould not be taken away by Strength of Hand. By our Prelate's Advice, likewiſe the King beſtow'd ſeveral Sums of Money for Erecting and Repairing of Religious Houſes and Chapels: Amongſt theſe, he Founded one in the Caſtle of *Stirling*, which he call'd the *Chapel-Royal*. The Priory of *Coldingham* falling then Vacant into the King's Hands, he annex'd the ſame to this Chapel; and procur'd an Act of Parliament, that none of the Lieges ſhould attempt to do any thing contrary to this Union and Annexation; or to make any Impetration thereof at the Court of *Rome*, under the Pain of Treaſon. The Priors of this Convent, having been, for many Years, of the Name of *Hume*, the Gentlemen of that Name complain'd, that they would be wrong'd in their Eſtates, by reaſon of the Tithes and other Caſualities belonging to this Benefice, if a Prior of any other Sirname were promoted to this Place: But the King continuing firm in his Reſolution of annexing them to his Chapel, the Gentlemen of the Name of *Hume* made their Application to the Lord *Hales* and others of the Sirname of *Hepburn*, who had been conſtant Friends, Allies and Neighbours to them; and they enter'd into a Combination, that they ſhould mutually ſtand by one another, and not ſuffer any Prior to be receiv'd for *Coldingham*, if he were not one of their two Sirnames. And, as very great Calamities often ariſe from ſmall Beginnings, ſo it happen'd in this Caſe; for, all the Diſcontented People in the Nation, knowing theſe two Sirnames to be Numerous, Active and Powerful, they laid hold of this Opportunity, and, having join'd them, roſe in open Rebellion againſt the King. Our Author did all, that he could, to bring

theſe Rebels to a Senſe of their Duty: But finding, that his Attempts were in vain, and that by no means they could be diſſwaded from riſing up in Arms againſt their lawful Sovereign, he retir'd himſelf to his Dioceſs, being of the Opinion, that it was not ſutable to one of his Character, to have any further Dealing in War, than to teach them, what the Prince of Peace had told them, of their Duty to their King and Country.

He retires to his Dioceſs, and compoſes a *Book of Canons* for his Clergy.

During the time of his Retirement, he apply'd himſelf cloſely to his Paſtoral Office, reforming all the Abuſes that he had found amongſt them; and compoſing, for their Inſtruction, a *Book of Canons* taken out of the Ancient Canons of the Primitive Church. But, the Lords of the Inſurrection, as theſe Rebels were then call'd, having overthrown and kill'd their Prince in Battel, our Prelate was order'd to attend at a Parliament, which was to be held at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *October*, in the Year 1488; which he accordingly did, and was Witneſs to the Crowning of the Young Prince, who had not then attain'd to the Sixteenth Year of his Age. And, the Lords of the Inſurrection, being afraid that he would not concur with them in approving of their Procedures, the Firſt Thing, that they did, was to Vote him to be ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor *Maximilian*, with a Propoſal of Marriage, betwixt their Young King *James* IV. and the Princeſs *Margaret* the Emperor's Daughter: But this Embaſſy prov'd ineffectual, for, before he arriv'd at the Emperor's Court, that Princeſs was promis'd in Marriage to the Prince of *Spain*. Yet, tho' he fail'd in this, he reſolv'd, that his Country ſhould reap ſome Profit by his Embaſſy: So, in his Return, he concluded, in his Maſter's Name, a Peace with the States of *Holland*; which was ſo acceptable to the whole Kingdom, they having been long at Variance with them to their great Loſs and Dammage, that it was look'd upon as a greater Piece of Service done to his Country, than if he had effectuated the Marriage, he was ſent to Negotiate.

He is call'd to Court; and ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor *Maximilian*.

He makes a Peace betwixt *Scotland* and *Holland*.

All the Commotions of State being now appeas'd, and every thing ſettled in good Order, our Prelate wrote a Letter to Pope *Alexander* VI. deſiring, that he would grant him a Bull for Erecting an Univerſity at *Aberdeen*; which was accordingly ſent to him, in the Year 1494: And in the Year 1500 he Founded the Old-Town-College in *Aberdeen*, which he caus'd call the *King's College*; becauſe King *James* IV. took upon him and his Succeſſors the ſpecial Protection of it. By the Pope's Bull, this Univerſity is endow'd with as ample Privileges as any Univerſity in Chriſtendom; and particularly the Foundation relates to the Privileges of the Univerſities of *Paris* and *Bononia*. The Perſons endow'd were, a Doctor of *Theology* Principal, a Doctor of the *Canon Law*, a Doctor of the *Civil Law*, a Doctor of *Phyſic*, a Profeſſor of *Humanity* to teach *Grammar*, a Subprincipal to teach *Philoſophy*, a Chantor, a Sacriſt, Six Students of *Divinity*, Three Students of the *Laws*, Thirteen Students of *Philoſophy*, an Organiſt, and Five Singing Boys who were Students of *Humanity*. About the ſame time, that he was buſy'd in Founding of this Univerſity, he caus'd build a Magnificent Bridge over the River of *Dee*; and, all the ſpare Hours that he had from his Devotions and Acts of Charity, he imploy'd in writing *the Lives of the* Scots *Saints*, and *the Hiſtory of Scotland* from its firſt Riſe to his own Time. *The Hiſtory of the Lives of the Saints* he order'd to be read in Portions, at ſolemn Days, amongſt his

He Erects the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*.

He writes the Lives of the *Scots* Saints and the Hiſtory of *Scotland*.

his Clergy; but, this Work is entirely loſt. His Hiſtory of *Scotland* is ſtill Extant amongſt Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s MSS. in the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*; and Biſhop *Stillingfleet* tells us (*b*), That he had Eight Books of it, which go as far as the Thirteenth Century. In this Hiſtory, our Author, for the moſt part, follows *Fordon*: But, in his Continuation, he is much more exact and full than any other Hiſtorian that we have.

An Account of this Hiſtory.

And, ſince I am to give an Account of ſeveral Authors, that have written the Hiſtory of our Nation, that I may avoid needleſs Repetitions, I ſhall here give the Reader an Abridgment of our Hiſtory, from the Firſt Foundation of our Monarchy to our Author's time, taken out of his Hiſtory and the other Hiſtorians, who are mention'd in their proper Places.

This Hiſtory of Biſhop *Elphinſton*'s was given in to the *Bodleian* Library, by General *Fairfax*, who got it from *James Drummond*, Brother to *William Drummond* of *Hawthornden*, the 14th of *December*, in the Year 1650. 'Tis divided into XI Books, and conſiſts of 384 Pages *in Folio*, and in a ſmall Hand full of Contractions. In the Firſt Book, he gives us the ſame Account, that *Fordon* gives as to the Original of the *Scots* Nation; which the Reader will find, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in that Author's Life. But, whatever Truth be in this, all our Hiſtorians are agreed, that our Firſt Monarch was *FERGUS*, the Son of *Ferchard*, who was Crown'd in the 4869 Year of the World, and 330 Years before the Incarnation of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour. Some time before this, a *German* or a *Scythian* Fleet, as *Bede* calls them, were driven upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*; and, being advi'sd to go over to *Britain*, they Landed upon the Coaſts of this Iſland bordering upon the *German* Sea; and, having expell'd the Inhabitants, which were but few, they brought a great Part of that Diſtrict under their Subjection. But 'tis more probable, that this Colony (which were afterwards call'd *Picts* by the *Romans* and their Neighbour Nations) came Firſt to the *Æbudæ* or Weſtern Iſlands from *Scandinavia*; and that they had the ſame Original with the *Scots*, who had ſettled in the North of *Britain*, ſome time before them. For we find, by all the Accounts that are given of them, that, immediately upon their Landing, they enter'd into a League with the *Scots*, who had the ſame Language and Cuſtoms, that they had. The Ancient Inhabitants of *Britain* being afraid, that, by this mutual League of Friendſhip betwixt theſe Two New Colonies, they might become too powerful for them, upon all Opportunities they endeavour'd to create Jealouſies and Animoſities amongſt them. They, finding this, United both their Forces together againſt the *Britains*, under the Command of *Fergus*, who gave them a Signal Overthrow nigh to the Banks of the River of *Down* or *Don*, where *Coilus*, King of the *Britains*, was ſlain with moſt of his Army; and, from this Overthrow of the *Britiſh* King, that Country was afterwards call'd *Coil* or *Kyle*. The *Scots* were ſo ſenſible of the Service, that their Prince had done them, by his great Conduct and Valour in this Action, that they unanimouſly, by a Solemn Oath, bound themſelves and their Poſterity to pay an inviolable Allegiance to *Fergus* and his Poſterity for ever. All Matters being thus ſettled in *Scotland*, it is ſaid, that *Fergus* went over to *Ireland* to quell ſome Seditions amongſt his Subjects there; and, in the returning

(*a*) Vid. Orig. Brit. Præf. Pag. 52.

Home, a Tempeſt ariſing ſuddenly, he was Drown'd, not far from the Port call'd from him, *Knock-Fergus* or *Craig-Fergus*, in the Twenty Fifth Year of his Reign. In this King's Reign, it is ſaid, that the City of *Camelon*, the Principal Seat of the *Pictiſh* Kings, and *Edinburgh* were Founded; the Firſt by *Chruthnæus*, and the other by *Etho*, both Kings of the *Picts*.

Fergus Dying, left Two Sons behind him, *Ferlegus* and *Mainus*, neither of them able to manage the Government, by reaſon of their Nonage; upon which, *FERITHARIS*, King *Fergus*'s Brother, was made King, contrary to the Oath that they had taken to *Fergus* and his Poſterity; and a Law was made, Ordaining, *That whilſt the Children of their Kings were Infants, one of their Kindred, who was judg'd moſt accompliſh'd for the Government, ſhould ſway the Scepter in their Behalf; and, if he Dy'd, then the Succeſſion of the Kingdom ſhould Deſcend to the former King's Sons.* This Law was the laſting Ground of a Civil War, for almoſt 1025 Years, till it was abrogated by *Kenneth* III. which might have been eaſily prevented, if they had made the next in Blood Governors of the Realm, till the King's Son were of a ſufficient Age for Governing himſelf, as it will appear by the Sequel of this Hiſtory. *Feritharis*, as I have ſaid, was Crown'd King: But *Ferlegus* was no ſooner come to Age, than he claim'd the Crown, as of Right belonging to him. *Feritharis*, by this time, had ſo gain'd the Affections of the People, by his Mild and Peaceable Government, that he was not much afraid of any Faction, that the young Prince, his Nephew, could make againſt him: So, calling together the Heads of the Clans, he made a grave Speech to them, wherein he greatly commended the young Prince, and offer'd to reſign the Kingdom to him. Yet ſuch was their Love to *Feritharis*, that they would not hear of it; but order'd the young Prince to be taken into Cuſtody, with his Followers, in order to prevent his making of any Attempts upon the Throne for the future. Nevertheleſs he found a way, how to bribe his Keepers; and, with a few others privy to his Deſign, he made his Eſcape, and fled to the *Picts*: But, they refuſing to aſſiſt him, he went to the *Britains*, who gave him no other Encouragement but their Protection. At length, ſome of the young Prince's Friends came in upon *Feritharis* in the Night time, and ſtob'd him in his Bed; which ſo incens'd the People againſt him, that they would never hear of him, but made Choice of his Brother *Mainus*, for their King; and *Ferlegus* Died amongſt the *Britains*, leaving his Brother in the Peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Throne. *Feritharis* was kill'd in the 15th Year of his Reign, and *Mainus* begun his Reign in the Year 290. before the Birth of Chriſt.

MAINUS was Crown'd at the Caſtle of *Dunſtaffage*, in *Argyle*-Shire, and Reign'd 29 Years in great Peace and Quietneſs; and, being a Prince of a Religious Temper, he caus'd erect ſeveral Pyramids of Stone, whereon he offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods. He inſtituted likewiſe a New Sacrifice to *Diana*, and went once every Year thro' his Kingdom executing Juſtice impartially wherever he came.

Mainus left Two Children behind him, *Dornadilla* and *Nothatus*. *DORNADILLA* ſucceeded to his Father, and was no ſooner Crown'd, but he renew'd the League with the *Picts*. Being extremely addicted to Hunting, he Order'd, I. That every Nobleman or Baron ſhould keep and maintain Two Raches and a Hound. II. That every one, that kill'd a Wolf

Wolf, ſhould have an Ox for his Reward. III. That he, whoſe Dog Firſt tooth'd a Deer, ſhould have the Deer's Hide; and he, whoſe Dog next tooth'd him, ſhould have the Head and the Horns; the Body was to be Diſpos'd of, as the Maſter of the Game thought fit; and the Reſt, or the Entrails were to be giv'n to the Hounds. IV. If any Debate aroſe amongſt them, they were to make Choice, by Plurality of Votes, of one to be their Judge, in the Temple of *Diana*; and from him there was no Appeal. Theſe Laws were, for a long Time, obſerv'd amongſt the Highlanders.

Dornadilla Died in Peace in the 28th Year of his Reign, and, in the Year 233 before the Incarnation, at *Berigone*. He left one Son behind him, call'd *Reutherus*, or *Reuda* as *Bede* calls him: Who being of Nonage, his Uncle, *NOTHATUS*, claim'd the Crown by vertue of the Law, that was made in *Feritharis*'s Time; and he was accordingly Crown'd, and acknowledg'd King by a great many of the Clans. But *Dovalus*, Chiftain of the *Brigantiæ*, or thoſe who inhabited the Country of *Galloway*, having got the young Prince into his Hands, rais'd all his Vaſſals and Followers, who were join'd by *Reuther*'s Friends; and, having plac'd this young Prince upon the Head of this Army, and acknowledg'd him Chief Commander, he went, and demanded the Crown from *Nothatus*, as belonging of Right to Prince *Reuther*. The Propoſal being rejected with Contempt and Deriſion, a Battel immediately enſu'd, wherein *Nothatus* was ſlain, in the Twentieth Year of his Reign, as ſome ſay; but, in the Second, as others conjecture, with more Probability.

After this Battel, *REUTHER* was immediately Crown'd, and acknowledg'd King: But *Nothatus*'s Friends reſolv'd to try the Fortune of another Battel, before they would ſubmit to their lawful Prince; and, having met to concert Matters amongſt themſelves, they made Choice of *Ferchard*, Captain of *Kintyre* and *Lorn*, and *Nothatus*'s Son-in-Law, to be General of their Army: *Dovalus*, being inform'd of the Place where they were aſſembl'd, got together ſome of the King's Forces; and, coming upon them ere they were aware of themſelves, kill'd ſeverals of them; and *Ferchard* hardly eſcap'd with his Life, being ſorely wounded.

Thereafter, the young King Marry'd the Daughter of *Getus*, King of the *Picts*; by which, his Party was conſiderably ſtrengthned: But *Ferchard*, having got a Numerous Army out of *Cathneſs*, *Argyle*, *Murray* and the *Iſles*, was anxious to be Reveng'd upon *Dovalus*: On the other Hand, *Dovalus* was no leſs earneſt to encounter him. At length, they met at *Berigone*, where a moſt Bloody Battel was Fought betwixt them, wherein *Dovalus* was overcome, and Seven Thouſand of his Army ſlain. Yet, the next Day, *Dovalus* having gather'd together the Remnants of his Army, they Fought it anew with greater Fury than ever; in ſo much, that there remain'd but a very few of both their Armies.

In this unhappy Battel, *Getus*, King of the *Picts*, was kill'd, and a great Number of *Pictiſh* Nobility; the Two Chiftains, *Dovalus* and *Ferchard*, were likewiſe kill'd; and, in a word, ſo great was the Slaughter, that there only remain'd Eight Hundred Men of both the Armies. The young King was taken Priſoner, but immediately ſet at Liberty; for, the *Scots* and *Picts*, that remain'd, were glad to fly to the Deſerts and Mountaneous Places, for fear of being made a Prey to the *Britains*;

who, having now got that Opportunity, which they long thirſted after, came with an Army to *Pentland*, the *Mers* and *Tweeddale*. The *Picts*, not being able to reſiſt them, fled to the *Orkneys*, where they liv'd for ſeveral Years.

After this, the *Britains* march'd againſt the *Scots*, who, notwithſtanding of their weak Condition, reſolv'd to try the Fortune of another Battel before they ſubmitted to their Enemies: So, having met the *Britains* at *Calderwood*, they had a Bloody Engagement, wherein the *Scots* were overcome, and Two Thouſand of them kill'd upon the Place; the reſt fled to the Mountains and to the Caſtle of *Berigone*, where the *Scots* King and ſome of the Nobility were. *Oenus*, King of the *Britains*, being inform'd of this by his Spies, laid Siege to this Caſtle, which *Reuther* Defended a long time, with great Valour. At length, their Proviſions failing them, a Propoſal was made, that Lots ſhould be caſt amongſt them; and he, on whom the Lot did fall, ſhould be put to Death, that his Body might be Meat for the reſt, as long as any of them were alive. But, this ſavouring of too much Cruelty done to themſelves, they rather reſolv'd to make a Sally out of the Caſtle, and die valiantly amidſt their Enemies.

Colane, Chiftain of *Lorn*, upon this, propos'd, that the King might endeavour to make his Eſcape by a Poſtern-gate, whilſt he and thoſe, that would follow him, ſhould engage with the Enemy. This was no ſooner propos'd, but embrac'd; and *Colane*, ſallying forth with a Hundred Men, kept the Enemy ſo long in Play, that *Reuther* made his Eſcape, with a few that attended him; and, coming to the Sea-ſide, where Boats were waiting for him, he ſav'd himſelf in the *Iſles*: But the Noble Chiftain of *Lorne*, and all his Retinue were kill'd. After this, the King went over to the *Scots*, in *Ireland*.

At length, after that the *Scots* and *Picts* had been, for Twelve Years, oppreſt by the *Britains*, a new Race of Young Men, who had been enur'd to Labour and Hardſhip, join'd with Young *Gethus*, the Son of Old *Gethus*, King of the *Picts*; and, having ſent word to King *Reuther* of their Deſign, he came over from *Ireland*, and, Landing at *Lochbroom* in *Roſs*, he met *Gethus*; and, conſulting together concerning the Management of the War, it was Reſolv'd, that they ſhould immediately Fight the Enemy. Not long after they met with *Syſill*, King of the *Britains*, and his Army; whom they immediately engag'd, and the Service was ſo hot, and the Fight ſo ſharp, that neither Army had Reaſon to boaſt. Both of them being wearied with Slaughter, a Peace was concluded between them; and, by one of the Articles, the *Scots* and *Picts* were reſtor'd to all their Ancient Dominions and Poſſeſſions.

After this, *Reuther* ſpent the remaining part of his Life free of all Trouble, and Died much regreted by his Subjects, in the 26th Year of his Reign, and in the Year 187 before the Incarnation. He left Two Sons behind him by the the Daughter of *Gethus*, the one call'd *Thereus*, and the other, *Joſina*.

Thereus being of Nonage, *REUTHA*, his Couſin-German, aſſum'd the Government. This Prince, being free from all Wars, made many Public and Profitable Laws for the Good of his Country. He order'd, that a Monument ſhould be erected in Memory of every Illuſtrious Perſon that Died. He brought in Merchandizing, amongſt the People, by Ex-

Excambion of Goods; and was the Firſt, who brought any Sort of Coin amongſt them, cauſing ſo much Leather to be ſtampt, and to paſs at ſuch a Rate in all the Public Markets, for purchaſing of Goods or Victual. He brought into the Kingdom, from the adjacent Countries, all Sorts of Tradeſmen: And was a great Encourager of Phyſicians and Chirurgions; for, he Order'd, upon Pain of Death, that no Man ſhould exerce any of thoſe Employments, but thoſe whoſe Skill was unqueſtionable in them. In his time, the Famous *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, having ſent ſome Geographers to take a View of the Northern Countries, they came to *Scotland*, and were very kindly Entertain'd by *Reutha*.

THERE US having, by this time, attain'd to a competent Age; *Reutha* reſign'd the Government to him, as the only lawful Heir of the Crown, after he had Govern'd Seventeen Years.

Thereus, being Crown'd and acknowledg'd King, for the Firſt Six Years of his Reign, Govern'd with great Wiſdom and Moderation. But all of a ſudden, giving a Looſe to his Paſſions, he committed many extravagant Acts of Debauchery, which made him ſo odious to his Subjects, that ſeveral of the Clans enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt him; of which being inform'd, and not truſting to the Fidelity of his other Subjects, he fled to the *Britains*, who gave him no other Aſſiſtance but their Protection. So that he was forc'd to lead the remaining Part of his Life in Exile, and Died at *York*, in the Twelfth Year of his Reign. Yet, ſuch was the Loyalty of his Subjects, that, during all this time, they did not preſume to make Choice of another King, in his Place; but committed the Adminiſtration of all Public Affairs to one *Conanus*, a Man of great Prudence and Wiſdom, who no ſooner heard of *Thereus*'s Death, but he laid down his Charge; and *Joſina*, *Thereus*'s Brother, was Crown'd and Declar'd King in his Place.

JOSINA, upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, renew'd the League with the *Britains* and *Picts*. He was well ſeen in Botany, and had a great Eſteem for Phyſicians. In his time, a *Spaniſh* Veſſel was Shipwrack'd upon the Coaſt of *Roſs*, in which there were two Venerable Old Men, who, after they had ſtaid for ſome time, and taken a View of the Country, in a Conference with the King, did exhort him to Reform his People in their Superſtitious Worſhip, and only to Adore one God, the Creator of all Things; to make a diligent Search after the Minerals, by which he would enrich his Subjects conſiderably, their being more Riches beneath his Ground, than the Soil was capable to produce in Victual or any other Store. *Joſina*, having Reign'd Peaceably, Died in a good Old Age, at *Berigone*, in the Twenty Fourth Year of his Reign, leaving Two Sons, behind him, *Finnanus* and *Donald*.

FINNANUS ſucceeded to his Father, and was a Prince of extraordinary Accompliſhments. He made a Law, that his Succeſſors, in all Buſineſs of any Import, ſhould ask the Advice of their Great Council. He eſtabliſh'd the *Druids* in the Iſle of *Man*; and Died at *Camelon*, where he had gone to ſee the King of the *Picts* then lying in a Fever, in the Thirtieth Year of his Reign; and from thence he was Tranſported and Buried at *Berigone*, amongſt his Predeceſſors. *Finnanus* left behind him one Son, call'd *Durſtus*, whom he Marry'd, in his own time, to *Agaſia*, Daughter to the King of the *Britains*.

Nothing did aggravate ſo much the Loſs of *Finnanus*, as the Profligate Life of his Son *DURSIUS*, who ſucceeded him. For, he gave himſelf up wholly to Wine and Women, and drove away his own Wife, Daughter to the King of the *Britains*; which ſo incens'd the Chiftains of *Lorn*, *Argile* and *Roſs* againſt him, that they enter'd into a Conſpiracy, with the *Britains*, for the Dethroning him. To prevent this, *Durſtus* ſends a long Apology to the *Britains*, deſires his Queen to be return'd him, and their Aſſiſtance againſt his Rebellious Subjects. But, the *Britains* having no regard to his Requeſt, he ſends a Meſſage to his own Subjects, who were up in Arms againſt him, with Offers of Reforming all the Abuſes, they complain'd of. This they agree'd to, and ſent *Doron*, Chiftain of *Lorn*, to be Witneſs to his Swearing, in the Temple of *Diana*, That he would ſtand to what he had Promis'd to them. Then they laid down their Arms, and there was nothing to be ſeen, about the Court, but Jollity and Feaſting.

But *Durſtus*, who was a deep Diſſembler, not forgetting the Affront they had put upon him, invited the Prinicipal Leaders in this Rebellion, to his Caſtle of *Berigone*, where he put them all to Death. Upon this, a Civil War immediately broke forth; and a Battel was fought, in which *Durſtus* was kill'd, and his Army entirely routed, after he had Reign'd Nine Years. Yet ſuch Reſpect they ſhew'd him after his Death, that they bury'd him Splendidly amongſt his Predeceſſors. *Durſtus* left two Sons behind him, *Dothanus* and *Dongallus*: But, the Rebels being afraid, that if they made Choice of any of them, they would Revenge their Father's Death, they Crown'd and Proclaim d *EVENUS* or *Ewen*, *Durſtus*'s Couſin-German, their King,

Evenus, upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, being afraid, that they might prove as Unfaithful to him, as they had done to *Durſtus*, their Lawful Sovereign, made them take an Oath of Allegiance to him; and, knowing that Idleneſs is the Mother of Sedition, he join'd with the *Picts* againſt the *Britains*. Upon which, a Bloody War enſued, and betwixt them a long and cruel Battel was fought, till Night parted them; the Victory being ſo uncertain, that both Armies departed with equal Slaughter and equal Fear. The *Britains* went Home, the *Scots* and *Picts* retir'd into the next adjacent Mountains: But, the Day after, perceiving from the Tops of the Mountains, that the *Britains* were gone, and had left all their Baggage behind them, *Evenus* came and gather'd up the Spoil, diſtributed it amongſt his Soldiers, and, after he return'd Home, concluded a Peace with the *Britains*, divided the Kingdom into Circuits, and ſettled Judges, in every Circuit, to Adminiſter Juſtice unto the Lieges. He alſo appointed Informers, to bring in Accuſations againſt the Guilty; and made ſeveral other Good Laws for the Diſcipline and bringing up of the Youth in all manner of Exerciſes and Hardſhips. He Died in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, leaving behind him a Natural Son, call'd, *Gillus*.

Upon the Death of *Evenus*, *Durſtus*'s two Sons, *Dothanus* and *Dongallus*, contended for the Kingdom: For, they being Twins, each of them pretended to be the Eldeſt. *Gillus*, *Evenus*'s or *Ewen*'s Baſtard Son, under a Pretence of reconciling them, brought them to a Conference at his Houſe; and, after he had made ſeveral Propoſals to them, ſome Men, whom he had purpoſely conceal'd in his Houſe for that end, came in

in upon them, and kill'd them both. After this, *GILLUS* uſurp'd the Throne, and got himſelf declar'd King; Yet, not thinking himſelf ſecure, as long as any of the Royal Family was alive, he went to the Iſle of *Man*, where, *Dothanus*'s Three Sons were: The Eldeſt, *Liſmorus*, was about Twelve Years of Age; the Second, *Cormacus*, Ten; and the Third, *Ederus*, not fully Three. He brought *Leſmorus* and *Cormacus* alongſt with him, to his Caſtle of *Dunſtaffage*, under the ſpecious Pretext of giving them a better Education: But, they were no ſooner arriv'd there, than he put them both to Death; and order'd the Guard, whom he left, in the Iſle of *Man*, with *Ederus* the Youngeſt, to put him to Death likewiſe, when they heard of the News of his Two Elder Brethren. But *Ederus*'s Nurſe, ſuſpecting the worſt, ſtole him away privately, in the Night time, to the *Iſles*. So ſoon as the Chiftains heard of the Murder of theſe Two Princes, they got together all their Vaſſals and Followers; and, under the Command of *Cadalus*, Chiftain of the *Brigantes*, whom they made Choice of for their General, they march'd againſt him: But he, being advertis'd of it, fled, in a Fiſher-boat, over to *Ireland*. Upon this, *Cadalus* embark'd his Men, and Landed in *Ireland* with his whole Army. *Gillus*, having got ſome of the *Iriſh* to join him, gave Battel to *Cadalus*; but he was overthrown, taken Priſoner and put to Death in the Third Year of his Reign. The *Scots* Army, in their Return, were moſt of them all loſt by a Tempeſt.

Cadalus, after his Return, found out the Young Prince *Ederus*, and his Nurſe; but, he being of Nonage, *Evenus* or *Ewen*, the Second of that Name, was made Governor of the Kingdom; for, he was the next in Kin, being a Nephew of King *Finnanus*.

EVENUS, in the Beginning of his Government, renew'd the League with *Gethus*, King of the *Picts*, and Marry'd his Daughter *Siora*; *Belus*, King of *Orkney*, having made a Deſcent upon *Roſs*, he fell ſuddenly upon him, and drove him to his Ships, and cut the moſt of his Army to Pieces; and *Belus*, Deſpairing of Quarter, ſlew himſelf. After he had finiſh'd this War, he built for Trade the Towns, *Ennerlochy* and *Ennerneſs*, each of them receiving their Name from the Rivers gliding by them: For, *Enner*, amongſt the Ancient *Scots*, ſignifies a Place whither Ships do uſually reſort. He gave the City of *Epiac* to *Cadalus* and his Poſterity; he erected a Monument, upon his Death, in Memory of him: And, *EDERUS* being of a ſufficient Age, he put him in the Peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors, after he had Govern'd the Kingdom Seventeen Years.

In the Beginning of *Ederus*'s Reign, one, *Bredius*, an Iſlander, made an Inſurrection, which was immediately Quell'd. He ſent his Aſſiſtance to the *Britains* againſt the Emperor *Julius Cæſar*, who had Invaded them. The Particulars of which Expedition, *Cæſar* gives an Account of, in his *Commentaries* (c), where we find, that it was in the Conſulate of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, which was in the Year of *Rome* 699, or the 55 before the uſual *Æra* of Chriſt. And, as to the Time of the Year, he ſays, That it was *Exigua parte Æſtatis reliqua*, and Four Days before a Full Moon, which fell out in the Night time. He came over only with two Legions, *viz.* the Seventh and Tenth, and all Foot, in about Eighty Sail of Merchant Ships; Eighteen Sail, that were order'd to carry over the

(c) Vid. Cæſ. Com. Lib. 4. & 5.

Horſe, not being able to get out at the ſame time, from another Port, where they lay Wind-bound. He ſays, that he arriv'd about the Fourth Hour of the Day, *viz.* between Nine and Ten in the Morning, on the Coaſt of *Britain*; where he found the Enemy drawn up upon the Cliff, ready to repel him. Which Place he thus Deſcribes, *Loci hæc erat natura, adeo montibus anguſtis Mare continebatur ut ex locis ſuperioribus in litus Telum adjici poſſit.* He conjectures the Diſtance, betwixt *Britain* and the Continent, to be *circiter millium paſſuum triginta.* Here, he ſays, he came to an Anchor, and ſtaid till the Ninth Hour, or till about Three and Four in the Afternoon, expecting till the whole Fleet was come up: And, in the mean time, he call'd a Council of War, and Advertis'd his Officers, after what manner they were to make their Deſcent, particularly in Relation to the Suff of the Sea, whoſe Motion he calls, *celerem atque inſtabilem*, quick and uneven. Then, about Three in the Afternoon, he weigh'd Anchor; and, having gotten the Wind and Tide with him, he Sail'd about Eight Miles from the Firſt Place, and Anchor'd againſt an open and plain Shore, here he made his Deſcent. And, after he had been Four Days in *Britain*, the Eighteen Ships, with his Horſe, put to Sea, and were come within Sight of his Camp: But, a ſudden Tempeſt ariſing with contrary Wind, ſome of the Ships put back again; others were driven to the Weſtward, not without great Danger, and, coming to an Anchor, they found they could not Ride it out; ſo, when Night came on, they put off to Sea, and return'd from whence they came. The ſame Night it was Full Moon, which makes the greateſt Tides in the Ocean; and, they being ignorant thereof, their Gallies, which were drawn on Shore, were fill'd by the Tide, *&c.* Then, he ſays, that the Day of the Autumnal Equinox being at hand, after ſome Days ſtay, wherein there paſs'd no Action, becauſe he kept cloſe in his Camp by the Shore; and, not thinking it proper to ſtay till the Winter came on, he return'd into *Gallia*. The next Year, he made a further Expedition with Five Legions and a good Body of Horſe; having ſet Sail from the *Portus Icius*, about Sun-ſet, with a gentle South-Weſt Wind, *leni Africo profectus*, about Midnight it fell calm; and, being carry'd away with the Tide, by the time it was Day, he found he had left *Britain* on the Left Hand: But then the Tide turning, they fell to their Oars, and by Noon reach'd that Part of the Iſland, where he Landed before, and came on Shore without Oppoſition; and then march'd up into the Country, leaving his Ships at Anchor.

From theſe particular Circumſtances of this Invaſion, the Ingenious and eminently Learn'd Mathematician, Mr. *Edmond Halley* (*d*) has determin'd the Time to a Day; and the Place, from whence he came, and where he Landed. "For, ſays he, by the Eclipſe of the Moon, "whereof *Druſus* made ſo good Uſe to quiet the Mutiny in the *Pan-*"*nonian* Army, upon the News of the Death of *Auguſtus*; it follows, "that *Auguſtus* Died An. Chr. 14. which was reckon'd *Anno Urbis con-*"*ditæ* 767. and that this Action was 68 Years before, *viz.* in the 55. "Year before Chriſt, current; in which Year, the Full Moon fell out, "*Auguſt* 30. after Midnight, or 31. in the Morning before Day; the "preceeding Full Moon was *Aug.* 1. ſoon after Noon. So that this "could not be the Full Moon mention'd, as falling in the Day-time; "nor

(*d*) Vid. Phil. Tranſact. N. 193. Pag. 496.

" nor that in the beginning of *July*, it being not 10 Days after the Sum-
" mer Solſtice, when it would not have been ſaid, *exigua parte æſtatis re-*
" *liqua.* It follows therefore, that the Full Moon, ſpoken of, was on
" *Auguſt* 30. at Night; and that the Landing, on *Britain*, was *Auguſt*
" 26. in the Afternoon, about a Month before the Autumnal Æquinox:
" Which agrees to all the Circumſtances of the Story in Point of Time.

" As to the Place, the High Land and Cliffs, deſcrib'd, being allow'd
" by all to be thoſe of *Dover*; it only remains to examine whether the De-
" ſcent was made to the North-ward or South-ward of the Place, where
" he firſt Anchor'd. The *Data*, to Determine this, are, I. That it
" was Four Days before the Full Moon. II. That, that Day by 3 of
" the Clock in the Afternoon, the Tide ran the ſame way he Sail'd.
" III. That a South-by-Eaſt Moon makes High Water on all that Coaſt,
" the Flood coming from the South-ward. Hence it will follow, that,
" that Day, it was High Water there, about 8 in the Morning; and
" conſequently, Low Water about 2: Wherefore by Three, the Tide
" of Flood was well made up. And its plain, that *Cæſar* went with
" it; and the Flood, ſetting to the Northward, ſhews, that the Open
" Plain Shore, where he Landed, was to the Northward of the Cliffs,
" and muſt be in the *Downs*. A Second Argument is drawn from the
" Wind, wherewith he ſet out on his 2d Expedition, *viz.* South-Weſt, as
" appears by the Words, *Leni Africo profectus*; with which, the Navi-
" gation of theſe times would hardly permit a Ship to Sail, nearer the
" Wind than 8 Points, or a North-Weſt Courſe, which would ſerve in-
" deed to go into the *Downs*, but would by no means fetch the Low Land
" towards *Dengy-neſs*, which is much about Weſt from *Calis*, and not
" more than Weſt-North-Weſt from *Boulogne*, if it ſhall be ſaid, That
" *that* was the *Portus Icius*, from which *Cæſar* ſet out. Whence I take it
" to be evident, that, if *Cæſar* was not bound more Northerly than the
" South Fore-land, he could not have thought the *Africus* or South-Weſt
" Wind proper for his Paſſage, which was then intended for the Place,
" where he Firſt Landed, the Year before. Juſtly to determine which,
" the *Portus Icius* was, I find, no where ſufficient Grounds: Only,
" *Ptolemy* calls the *Promontory* of *Calis-Cliffs*, by the Name IKION AKPON.
" Whence there is Reaſon to conjecture, That the *Portus Icius* was very
" near thereto; and that it was either *Ambleteuſe* on one Side, or *Calis*
" on the other. The ſame *Ptolemy* places ΠΙΣΟΡΡΙΑΚΟΝ ΕΠΙΝΕΙΟΝ, on the
" ſame Latitude with the IKION AKPON, but ſomething more to the Eaſt:
" Which ſeems to Refute thoſe, that have ſuppoſed the Ancient Port
" of *Geſſoriacum*, to have been *Boulogne*: Whereas, by *Ptolemy*'s Poſition,
" it muſt be either *Dunkirk* or *Gravelingue*; but the former moſt likely,
" both by the Diſtance from the IKION AKPON, being about 20 Miles,
" or Half a Degree of Longitude to the Eaſt; or $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Whole Coaſt
" of *Flanders*, which he makes but a Degree and a Quarter, from the
" *Acron Icion* to the Mouth of the *Scheld*, which he calls *Oſtia Tabudæ*.
" As alſo, for that *Pliny*, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 16. ſpeaking of *Geſſoriacum*, ſays,
" That the *proximus trajectus*, into *Britain* from hence, is 50 Miles;
" which is too much, unleſs *Geſſoriacum* were ſomething more Eaſterly
" than *Calis*. *Dion Caſſus* makes the Diſtance, between *France* and *Bri-*
" *tain*, 450 *Stadia*, or 56 Miles: And ſays likewiſe, That it is the
" neareſt, ΤΟ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΩΤΑΤΟΝ. But this is in part amended by the Ex-

" plication, giv'n in the *Itenerary* of *Antoninus*; where the Space, be-
" tween *Geſſoriacum* and *Rutupium*, is ſaid to be 450 *Stadia*; (for this
" was the ordinary Paſſage of the *Romans* into *Britain*) *Rutupium* being
" more Northerly, and *Geſſoriacum* more Eaſterly than the *Termini* of
" *Cæſar*'s Voyage; and conſequently the Diſtance greater than 30 Miles
" which *Cæſar* had Obſerv'd: And now, lately, an accurate Survey has
" prov'd the Diſtance, between Land and Land, to be 26 *Engliſh* Miles,
" or 28½ *Roman* Miles; which ſhow, how near *Cæſar*'s Eſtimate was to
" the Truth. But to return to our Story.

King *Ederus*, in whoſe time, as we have ſaid, *Cæſar* made this Expedition into *Britain*, Died in Peace at *Dunſtaffage* in the Fourty Eighth Year of his Reign, greatly Belov'd and Lamented by his People. He had Two Brethren, *Liſmorus* and *Caranus*, and one Son, call'd *EWEN* or *Evenus*, who ſucceeded to him.

This Prince was of a different Temper from his Father; for, he gave himſelf entirely up to his Pleaſures. He kept a Hundred Concubines; and made a Law, whereby every Man had Liberty to Marry as many Wives, as he could Maintain; and, by another Law, the Lord of the Ground was allow'd the Maiden-head of every Bride. He ſo much neglected the Government of his Kingdom, that he ſuffer'd Murderers and Robbers to paſs Unpuniſh'd: Which ſo incens'd his Subjects againſt him, that they roſe in Rebellion, defeat his Forces, and took himſelf Priſoner. Yet, ſuch Reſpect they bore to him as their Lawful Prince, that they would not put him to Death; but condemn'd him to a Perpetual Impriſonment: And one of his Enemies, having Murder'd him in the Priſon, expecting to be rewarded for it, was taken and Executed Publicly, to terrify all others from Attempts of the like Nature. He left no Children behind him, and was Murder'd in the Seventh Year of his Reign.

METELLANUS, Nephew to King *Ederus* by his Brother *Caranus*, ſucceeded him. In the Tenth Year of his Reign, the Saviour of the World was Born, being the 330. Year from the Foundation of the *Scots* Monarchy. He Died in the Thirty Ninth Year of his Reign. He was a Meek and Peaceable Prince, and Govern'd his People with great Equity and Juſtice.

Metellanus Dying without Heirs of his own Body, *Caratacus* or *CARACTACUS*, his Nephew by his Siſter *Europea*, ſucceeded to him. In the Beginning of his Reign, he quieted the People of the *Æbudæ* Iſlands, who were turning very Factious. The Emperor *Claudius*, having been honour'd by the Senate, with Triumphal Ornaments, for the happy Succeſs of the *Mauritanian* War, altho' he had not been preſent in it, nor was it ſo much as wag'd in his Reign, reſolv'd, by the Advice of ſome *Britiſh* Fugitives, whom the *Romans* refus'd to deliver up, as *Suetonius* ſays (*e*), to bring *Britain* under the Yoke of the *Roman* Empire; and, in the Fourth Year of his Reign, he ſent over *Aulius Plautius*, with an Army, to ſubdue them. Upon which, all the Petty Princes and little Kings of *Britain* join'd their Forces againſt him, as one Man: Nevertheleſs he, being a Perſon of great Merit and Valour, gain'd conſiderable Advantages over them. But, as he believ'd, that he ought not to warrant the Events of Fortune, which might change; and knew, that

(*e*) Vid. Sueton. in Claud. Cap. 17.

that the Triumphal Ornaments had not ſatisfy'd *Claudius*'s Ambition; he inform'd him of all his Progreſſes, and gave him to underſtand, that the Conqueſt of *Britain* would be eaſy to him. Upon this Advice, *Claudius* went from *Rome* to *Oſtia*, from *Oſtia* to *Marſeilles*, and from thence to *Britain*: Where he was ſo Fortunate, that in Sixteen Days he made himſelf Maſter of a great Part of the Iſland, and took the City of *Camalodunum* or *Camelon* (*f*), wherein he plac'd a Garriſon of Veteran Soldiers of the Fourteenth Legion; and this Colony or Garriſon was call'd *COLONIA VICTRICENSIS*, from their Conquering of the *Britains*, as it appears from this Ancient Inſcription,

CN. MVNATIVS M. F. PAL. AVRELIVS BASSVS PROC. AVG. PRÆF. FABR. PRÆF. COH. III. SAGITTARIORVM, PRÆF. COH. ITERVM II. ASTVRVM CENSITOR CIVIVM ROMANORVM COLONIÆ VICTRICENSIS, QVÆ EST IN BRITANNIA CAMALODVNI, &c.

The Emperor, *Claudius*, return'd directly to *Rome*, Six Months after he left it; and permitted the Governors of Provinces, and ſome Unfortunate Exiles, to aſſiſt at the Magnificence of his Triumph. In which Pompous Ceremony, he caus'd a Naval Crown to be ſet upon the Top of the Palace, amongſt the Enemies Spoils, to ſignify thereby, That he had paſs'd the Ocean, and made it ſubject to the *Roman* People. The Empreſs, *Meſſalina*, whoſe Lewdneſs was ſuch, that ſhe often went from Court, where ſhe had tired out the moſt Vigorous, to the Public Stews, to take her Advantage of the Number of People that frequented them; and, as ſhe ſaid her ſelf, *She never went from them till ſhe was wearyʼd, but never went away ſatisfyʼd.* This Woman, I ſay, was allow'd to Triumph with him, and follow'd his Triumphal Chariot in another: And the Senate was not contented to give the Emperor, the Surname of *Britannicus*; but gave it alſo to his Son, *Germanicus*; and Order'd thoſe Divine Honours to be paid to *Meſſalina*, which had been paid to *Livia*, the Wife of *Auguſtus*.

Not long after this, *Plautius* return'd to *Rome*, where, for the having put an happy End to this War, he was Honour'd likewiſe with a Triumph (*g*), as *Dion Caſſius* ſays; or only with an Ovation, as *Suetonius* ſays (*h*). P. *Oſtorius Scapula* the Proprætor ſucceeded to him in his Charge and Reputation: For, he prov'd ſo ſucceſsful in his Arms, againſt all the Petty Princes in South *Britain*, that, in a little time he brought them under Subjection, and reduc'd their Dominions into the Form of a Province. And, having proceeded in his Conqueſts as far as the *Cangi*, who, as the *Roman* Writers ſay, were a People about the *Iriſh* Sea, and whom I take to be the People of *Cantyre*; *Caractacus* rais'd a Powerful Army to oppoſe him; and, being join'd by ſeveral other Petty Princes, or Chiftains of Clans, he maintain'd the War againſt *Oſtorius*, with great Valour and Conduct, for ſeveral Years. But at length, being reſolv'd either to Die bravely in the Field of Battel, or to expel the *Romans* out of his Country, he got together as many of his own Subjects, as were capable of Fighting; and, being join'd by a great Num-

(*f*) Vid. Cauſob. ad Suet. Claud. cap. 17. Cambden in Britan. pag. 321, 342 & ſeq. Scaliger ad Euſeb. N. 260. Du Chene Hiſt. du Angl. &c. pag. 93. (*g*) Lib. 90. (*h*) In Claud. Cap. 23.

ber of the *Britains*, he march'd his Army towards the *Romans*; and, having encamp'd himſelf in an advantageous Place, he told his Soldiers, *That* that *Battel ſhould either eſtabliſh their Glorious Liberty, or confirm their Perpetual Servitude; and, that they ought to remember the Honour of their Anceſtors, who had driven* Julius Cæſar *from the Iſle, by whoſe Valour they were happily Deliver'd from Axes and Tributes, and to whom they ow'd the Enjoyment of their Unviolated Wives and Children.*

Yet notwithſtanding of this Speech, which very much Animated his Soldiers, and their advantageous Encampment, they were Defeat by the *Roman* Legions; and *Caractacus*'s Wife and Daughter were taken Priſoners, his Brothers ſurrendring themſelves ſhortly after: And he himſelf, flying for Protection to *Cartiſmandua*, his Mother-in-Law, was treacherouſly bound by her Command, and deliver'd up to the Conqueror, after Nine Years brave Reſiſtance of the *Romans*; by which he had gain'd, ſay their Hiſtorians, as great Fame and Renown, in *Italy* and the South of *Britain*, as he had done amongſt his own Iſlanders; and being led Captive to *Rome*, the People were Summon'd to ſee him. The Emperor's Guards were plac'd in Order, and he himſelf Seated on his Tribunal: The Captive Princes, Vaſſals and Retinue going Firſt, the Capariſons and other Spoils of War follow'd after; then his Brothers, his Wife and Daughter, and laſt of all he himſelf was brought before the People in a very peculiar Habit; which the *Roman* Hiſtorians take Notice of, becauſe the Habit of our Highlanders differ'd very much from that of the *Britains*, which they had only been accuſtom'd, for ſome time to ſee. The Prayers and Petitions, which the Chiftains or Petty Princes, that were taken Captive with him, made to the Emperor for their Lives and Liberty, were Mean and Servile. But *Caractacus*, neither craving Mercy nor caſting down his Eyes, as it was the Cuſtom of other Captive Princes to do, when they were brought before the Emperor, boldly Addreſſed himſelf to him, thus (*i*). *If my Moderation, in my Proſperity, had been anſwerable to my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City than a Captive; nor would you have diſdain'd to have receiv'd me, with Articles of Alliance, being a Prince deſcended from Illuſtrious Progenitors, and a Sovereign of many Nations. My preſent Fortune is, to me, Low and Diſhonourable; but, to you, Glorious and Triumphant. I once had Horſes, Men, Arms and Riches, at my Command: What Wonder is it, that I ſhould ſtruggle hard, before I loſt them? But, if Fate has allotted Univerſal Empire to your Part, Subjection muſt be ours. If I had yielded without Oppoſition, neither my Fortune would have been Remarkable, nor your Glory Memorable; and Oblivion would have follow'd my Puniſhment: But, if you ſpare my Life now, I ſhall be a perpetual Example of your Clemency.* The Emperor, being extremely mov'd with his Brave and Generous Behaviour, freely Pardon'd him, his Wife and Relations; and, being all unbound, they made their Addreſſes both to him and his Empreſs *Agrippina*. After this, the Senate was Aſſembled, where the Fathers made many Pompous Speeches, concerning their Priſoner *Caractacus*, declaring, *That it was no leſs Honourable, than when the Great* Scipio *expos'd* Syphax, *and* Paulus *brought* Perſeus, *in Triumph.*

Thereafter *Caractacus*, with his whole Retinue, return'd to his own Dominions, where he ended the remnant of his Days in Peace and Friend-

(*i*) Tacit Lib. 12. Anal.

Friendſhip, with the *Romans*, in the Twenty Firſt Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 54; and was Bury'd at *Carrick*.

Caractacus Dying without Heirs of his own Body, for his Daughter Dy'd before himſelf; *CORBREDUS*, his Brother, ſucceeded to him. This Prince, in the Beginning of his Reign, kept an Inviolable Friendſhip, with the *Romani*: And, notwithſtanding that he ſaw *Oſtorius*'s Troops daily defeated by the *Britains*, yet he would not join in a Confederacy with them, becauſe of the League betwixt them. But, when his Succeſſor *A. Didius* invaded his Dominions, upon the Encouragement giv'n him by *Cartiſmandua*, who had Impriſon'd her Husband, *Venutius*, and his Brethren, and taken *Vellocatus*, his Servant, to her Bed; *Corbredus* rais'd a Powerful Army, and coming to the City of *Epiak*, he ſet *Venutius* at Liberty: And, by the Aſſiſtance of his Neighbours, in a ſharp Battel againſt the Legion of *Cæſius Naſica*, *Didius* found, that he was no Deſpicable Enemy. And, growing now Old, he thought it ſufficient for him, if he could keep what his Predeceſſors had gain'd; and therefore, he concluded a Peace with *Corbredus* and his Allies.

Some Years after this, the whole Body of the *Britains* made a Violent Effort, for Regaining of their Liberties; which was occaſion'd by the many Provocations giv'n them by the *Romans*, which are enumerated by *Tacitus* and *Dion*. But the Principal Cauſe was this, *Arviragus*, or *Praſutagus*, as he is call'd by others, King of the *Iceni*, famous for his Treaſure, had Marry'd *Boadicea*, *Corbredus*'s Siſter, with whom he had only Two Daughters; and, that they might be protected from the Inſults of the *Romans*, he made the Emperor *Nero*, Coheir with them. Yet, notwithſtanding of this, he was depriv'd of his Kingdom by the *Roman* Captains; his Houſe Pillag'd by Under-officers; his Queen *Boadicea*, was Scourg'd, and his Daughters Raviſh'd. Upon this, the *Iceni* unanimouſly took Arms, under the Conduct of the Injur'd *Boadicea*; and, being join'd by her Brother *Corbredus*, the *Trinobantes* and ſuch others as were not yet Broken by the Weight of the *Roman* Yoke, ſhe got together a conſiderable Army. The *Roman* Hiſtorians ſay (*k*), That this Lady was of a Stature far above the Common Size, Majeſtic in her Deportment, had a Full Viſage, Sparkling Eyes, of an Auſtere Voice, and Yellow Hair'd which reach'd to her Knees; ſhe wore a Maſſy Chain of Gold about her Neck, and was cloath'd, ſay they, with a Garment of divers Colours. The *Roman* Colony, at *Camalodunum*, who had made no Preparations againſt a Siege, requir'd Aid of *Decianus* the Procurator: But he ſent them no more than Two Hundred Men, and thoſe ill Arm'd; ſo that the Soldiers, who before had rely'd upon the Protection of their Temple, were ſoon Defeated, and the whole Colony was Deſtroy'd by Fire and Sword. The Confederate Princes, having gain'd this Victory, march'd from hence, with great Fury, againſt the Ninth Legion, under the Command of *Petilius Cerealis*, and cut all the Infantry in Pieces; ſo that only the Horſe eſcap'd, with their Commander. Which Misfortune caus'd *Catus*, the Intendant, whoſe Rapines had partly occaſion'd this Inſurrection, to fly into *Gaul*. *Suetonius*, who was in the utmoſt Parts of the South of *Britain*, being advertis'd of this, march'd with his Forces againſt them: But, in the mean time, *Boadicea* and *Corbredus* deſtroy'd, by Fire and Sword, all before them wherever they went.

(*k*) Vid. Tacit. Ann. Lib. 12. Dion Caſſ. Lib. 62. Xiphilin. in Nerone.

And *Dion* assures us, that their Revenge was so implacable, that they put to Death, about Eighty Thousand Persons. The *Roman* Wives and Virgins were hung up naked, and had their Breasts cut off, and sew'd to their Mouths; that, even Dead, they might seem to eat their own Flesh, whilst the *Britains* Feasted in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddess of Victory. In the mean time, *Suetonius*, having gather'd together a small Army of Ten Thousand well Disciplin'd Men, resolv'd to hazard a Battel, with all Expedition: And, for that End, he chose an Advantagious Post, a Place with a Narrow Entrance, and a thick Wood behind him; and, before him, a large Plain. Here the *Britains* came down in a confus'd manner, and with a great Shout and Cry, as it is the Custom of our Highlanders to do till this very Day. Queen, *Boadicea*, before the Engagement, plac'd her self, says *Dion*, upon a Heap of Turf, with a Spear in her Hand, and a Hare in her Bosom; and exhorted them, by a long and Eloquent Oration, to Fight Valiantly. And, since by it we may plainly see, that not only the South *Britains*, but all the Inhabitants of *Britain*, were concern'd in this War, I shall here insert it (*l*).

" I doubt not (says she) but that all of you know, how much Liber-
" ty is to be preferr'd before Servitude: For, if any one of you was Ig-
" norant of it, the fine Expressions of the *Romans*, by this time, have
" taught it to you. And, you may now see, what a gross Error it is
" to quit the Laws of one's Country, and subject themselves to Strangers.
" You now find, how much more preferable, Poverty is with Liberty,
" than Riches with Servitude. For, was there ever a more Abject,
" Miserable and Contemptible People, than we have been, since we re-
" ceiv'd the *Roman* Yoke? Are we not depriv'd of all our Goods? Are we
" not become Tributary to them? Yea, do they not even make us to Labour
" the Ground for them? Were it not better for us, to set our selves at
" Liberty by one Stroke, than to be oblig'd, every Year, to purchase
" only the bare Name of it from them? Were it not more Honourable
" for us, to Die in the Field of Battel, than to remain Tributary to
" them? But, why say I this, when we are not so much as permitted
" to Die, without being Punish'd? All of you well enough know, how
" much even Death it self costs us. Every where else, those, who are
" under Servitude, are set at Liberty by Death: But, amongst the
" *Romans*, the Dead are accus'd, as Alive, to pay their Tribute; and,
" tho' we have not Money, we are forc'd to pay them. Are we not
" worse than those, who are Assassin'd? And, how may we expect, that
" they will treat us in times coming, since they treat us so rigorously
" now? Those, who have the Management of Wild Beasts, treat
" them gently at first. But we our selves are the Cause of all our Evils,
" who permitted them to Land here, when *Julius Cæsar* came alongst
" with them, and did not unanimously join against them in the
" Days of *Augustus* and *Caligula*. We, who are the Inhabitants
" of this Beautiful Island, or rather of this Continent, being only
" separated by a small Arm of the Sea, shall we be in a worse Condi-
" tion than our Neighbours? Do we appear to them as Inhabitants
" of another World, and to breath a different Air? We, who were en-
" tirely unknown to them, shall we be trampl'd upon by those, who
have

(*l*) Vid. Dion Cass. Lib. 62. Cæsar Lib. 62. Xiphil. in Nerone.

" have neither the Boldneſs nor Courage to do any thing of Moment?
" Therefore, my Friends and Neighbours, for I look upon all the In-
" habitants of this Iſland as ſuch, which they have not done, ſince we
" have as yet ſome Memory of Liberty, let us not only love it; but
" endeavour to regain it by our Valour, and leave it to our Poſterity.
" If we, who, time out of Mind, have been brought up in Freedom,
" ſhall forget our own Happineſs; what may be expected from thoſe,
" who are brought up in Servitude? I ſay not this to inſpire you,
" with a Hatred againſt your Condition, for you have that ſufficient-
" ly already; nor to make you afraid of your future Condition, ſince
" you no ways doubt of it: But to put you in Mind of the Valour of
" your Anceſtors, to encourage you to Act vigorouſly, in whatever is
" neceſſary; and that both you and I ſhould Act againſt theſe *Romans*,
" without any Fear. For, they are neither more Numerous nor more
" Strong than you, as it appears from your Targets, your Javelins and
" Swords, with which you are Arm'd; yea, even by the Walls, En-
" trenchments and Foſſes, that you have made to Defend your ſelves,
" and to reſiſt the Courſe of your Enemies; which makes them, con-
" trary to your Cuſtom, rather chooſe to Fight flying than in a Pitch'd
" Battel. Beſides, our Tents arē ſtronger than their Walls, and our
" Targets more Serviceable than any of their Arms: So that it will be
" eaſy to overcome them, if we be reſolute upon Victory. We have like-
" wiſe our Forreſts and Mountains, that are inacceſſible to them, for
" our Retraits: Whereas they, on the other hand, being overloaded with
" their Arms, can neither Purſue us, nor preſs hard upon us; and, if
" they put us to the Flight, they will fall into Places, where we ſhall
" eaſily overcome them. Since then, they are inferior to us in every
" thing, and that they cannot endure Hunger, Thirſt, Colds and Heats,
" as we do: But Die, when they are not ſhadow'd from the violent
" Heats; or when they want Victual, Wine and Oil. Whereas each
" Herb, each Root ſerves us for Meat, and every Juice for Oil, every
" Water for Wine, and every Tree for a Houſe; 'tis but reaſonable
" therefore to think, that we ſhould overcome them. Moreover, we
" are well acquainted with all the inacceſſible Retraits of the Moun-
" tains and Forreſts, which are utterly unknown to them. We can
" ſwim, being naked, the deepeſt Rivers, which they can hardly paſs
" over with their Boats. Let us then march vigorouſly againſt them,
" and make them ſee, that they muſt fly before us, as the Fox or the
" Hare flyes before the Hound. And with that the Hare leap'd from her
Boſom; and, running ſuch a Courſe as the Augurs wiſh'd for, the whole Army gave a Shout for Joy. Then ſhe, lifting up her Hands towards Heaven, ſaid, " I render Thanks unto Thee, O *Andraſte* (or
" *Andate*) and implore Thy Aid, Thou who art a Woman, to aſſiſt me
" a Woman, who have not the Government of a rude Multitude of
" *Egyptians*, as *Nitocris* had; nor of *Aſſyrian* Merchants, as *Semiramis*;
" nor even of the *Romans*, from whom we have Learn'd theſe Hiſtories,
" as *Meſſalina* had ſometime ago; and after her, *Aggripina*; and now
" *Nero*, who, tho' he has the Name of a Man, is in effect a Woman,
" ſince he Sings, Paints and Plays upon Inſtruments, as the *Roman*
" Ladies do. But I invoke You, I ſay, O Goddeſs *Andraſte*, I who com-
" mand the Men of *Britain*, who know not how to Labour the Earth,

" or any other Trade but that of War, which they know to Perfection;
" and, who have all things in Common amongſt them, Children and
" Women, who, upon ſuch Occaſions, ſtudy Virtue with the Men. I
" Supplicate You then, O Goddeſs *Andraſte*, to grant unto me, to me, I
" ſay, who command ſuch Men and Women, Victory, Safety and
" Freedom againſt theſe wicked Inſatiable and Baſe Men, if they ought
" to be call'd Men, who waſh themſelves in Baths of warm Water,
" have their Meat delicately Dreſt, Drink Wine beyond Meaſure, A-
" noint themſelves with Perfumes and Precious Ointments, ly upon ſoft
" and eaſy Beds, defile their Youth in the Flower of their Age, and
" who are moreover the Slaves of a Minſtral. Let not then this *Nero*
" have any Command over me, or over you; ſeeing He is Miſtreſs of
" his *Romans*, who are truly worthy to be his Slaves, for having ſuffer'd
" his Tyranny ſo long. And Thou, *Andraſte*, our Goddeſs and Pro-
" tectrix, I implore Thee alone to Aſſiſt and Defend us, for now and
" for ever.

This Speech, ſome ſay, *Boadicea* had, when ſhe defeat *Petilius Cerealis*; and others, when ſhe Fought with *Suetonius*. But, whatever be in this, 'tis certain, that *Suetonius* obtain'd ſo complete a Victory over her and her *Britains*, that, if we may believe the *Roman* Hiſtorians, he kill'd Eighty Thouſand *Britains*, and had only Four Hundred of his Men kill'd, and about as many Wounded. *Boadicea*, reſolving not to out-live this Fatal Defeat, *Tacitus* ſays, Poiſon'd her ſelf; but others ſay, that ſhe Kill'd her ſelf with a Dagger; and others, that ſhe Died of Grief and Sickneſs.

After this Battel, *Corbredus* retir'd to his own Dominions, where he ſpent the Remnant of his Days in Peace; and Died in the 18th Year of his Reign, at *Dunſtaffage*, in the 71ſt Year of our Lord and Saviour. He left behind him Three Sons, *Corbred*, *Tulcan*, and *Brekus*: But, becauſe *Corbred*, the Eldeſt, had not as yet attain'd to the Age fit for Governing, *DARDANUS*, *Metellanus*'s Nephew, was made Governour. In the Beginning of his Government, all Things were done to the Satisfaction of the Nobility and People; but, having an Eye towards the Crown, he endeavour'd to cut off ſuch of the Ancient Nobility, as he ſuſpected to have any Love for the Young Princes: And, after he had put ſeverals of them to Death, upon unwarrantable Pretences, he made an Attempt of Aſſaſſinating the Young King, *Corbredus*. But *Cormoracus*, to whom he had committed the Charge of this Aſſaſſination, being apprehended with a Drawn Sword in his Hand, lying in wait for the Young King *Corbredus*; and, upon Examination, he having confeſs'd, That he was imploy'd, by *Dardanus*, to Murder the King, there was a General Meeting of all the King's Loyal Subjects, in order to put *Dardanus* out of his Place of Governour, and put *Corbredus* in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne. In the mean time, *Conanus*, one of *Dardanus*'s Paraſites, a Man meanly deſcended, but highly reſpected and truſted by his Maſter, levied ſome Troops to oppoſe *Corbredus*: But, they returning to their Duty, he was taken and Hang'd. After which, the King with his Army having gone in Purſuit of *Dardanus*, they apprehended him, and immediately put him to Death, after he had Govern'd the Kingdom Four Years.

COR-

CORBREDUS II. Sirnam'd *Galdus* by the *Scots*, from his being brought up amongſt the *Iceni* (*m*), under his Aunt *Boadicea*, and *Galgacus* by the *Romans*, was immediately, upon the Death of *Dardanus*, put in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors. In the Beginning of his Reign, he made an Expedition into the Iſlands of *Sky* and *Lewis*, and quell'd ſome Seditions that had been rais'd there. After this, he conveen'd his Council at *Dunſtaffage*, where he made many excellent Laws, for ſuppreſſing of Murders, Robberies and Thefts; and aboliſh'd a Law, made by *Evenus*, whereby it was permitted to the Barons or Nobles, to make Uſe of the Wives of the Commons, at their Pleaſure. About this time, the Emperor *Veſpaſian* ſent *Petilius Cerealis* to be Governour of South *Britain*. This Governour, deſigning to extend the *Roman* Conqueſt in *Britain*, march'd his Legions againſt the *Brigantes*. *Galdus* being Advertis'd of this, the *Silures*, the *Brigantes* and he join'd their Forces under his Command, and made an Army of Fifty Thouſand Men. In the mean time, the *Romans* enter'd with their Army, into the Territories of the *Brigantes*; and, in Three Days after, they were met by *Galdus*. Hence, a Bloody Fight enſu'd, wherein the *Silures*, or the Inhabitants of *Carrick*, *Kyle* and *Cunninghame* behav'd themſelves ſo Valiantly, that they had defeat the Right Wing of the *Roman* Army, had not they been timely ſupply'd by *Petilius*, who after that bent his whole Forces againſt that Part of the Army, where *Galdus* Fought in Perſon. Whereupon the Fight was renew'd with greater Fury than ever; but at length *Galdus*, having receiv'd a Wound in his Face, was oblig'd to fly: Upon which, the remaining Part of his Army fled to the Mountains. In this Battel, there were Twelve Thouſand of *Galdus*'s Army kill'd, and Six Thouſand *Romans*. By this Action, *Petilius Cerealis* gain'd ſuch Fame, that it was thought, he would Eclipſe the Glory of any that ſhould come after him: Yet his Succeſſor, *Julius Frontinus*, Acted with no leſs Glory; for, he ſubdu'd the Warlike *Silures*. But that, which greatly contributed to his Victory over them, was the Abſence of *Galdus*, who had been carry'd in a Litter to *Argile*, where he ſtaid till he recover'd of his Wounds. In the later End of *Veſpaſian*'s Reign, *Frontinus* was ſucceeded by *Julius Agricola*, who, by his Valour and Conduct, did greater Things than all his Predeceſſors had done before him, continuing for Seven or Eight Years, with great Reputation and Renown. Of this Great Man's Actions in this Country, we have an Excellent Account from his Son-in-Law, *Tacitus*.

Dion tells us, That, when *Agricola* was in *Britain*, a Cohort of *Germans*, having ſlain their Centurion and other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, to avoid Puniſhment, fled on Ship-board, ſet Sail in Three light Gallies without a Pilot; and, by Tide and Weather, were carried round the Coaſts, exerciſing Piracy, wherever they Landed; and, after various Fortunes, were the Firſt Diſcoverers to the *Romans*, that *Britain* was an Iſle. *Agricola*, being encourag'd by this Diſcovery, when he came to the Narroweſt Part of the Iſland, thought, that he had not far to go; ſo that, in the Third Year of his Expedition, he march'd with his Army Northwards, as far as the River of *Tay*, waſting all as he paſs'd; and, without Reſiſtance, Fortify'd the Paſſages with Caſtles and Fortreſſes, which he Stor'd with ſufficient Proviſions. By which Means, every

(*m*) Vid. Buch. in Gald.

Wintering Garriſon ſecur'd and guarded themſelves, and, with the Summer's Service, ever repair'd the Winter's Miſcarriages, which continually diſappointed the Enemy: So that *Agricola* had all the Succeſs he could deſire. The Fourth Summer, he ſpent in Ordering and Settling what he had over-run; and perceiving, that the Firths of *Forth* and *Clyd* were ſever'd, but by a ſmall Tract of Land, having Fortify'd that Place with Garriſons, he ſpoil'd the Countries bending to the *Iriſh* Sea. In his Fifth Year, he ſent a Fleet to Sea, and made Deſcents in many Places, and Plunder'd the Maritime Coaſts, Fortifying thoſe that look'd towards *Ireland*, with Gariſons, not only for that preſent Occaſion, but likewiſe that he might the more eaſily tranſport an Army into that Country. By this Prudent Management of *Agricola*, the *Scots* and *Picts* being ſhut up in a Narrow Angle, and ſecluded from any Commerce with the *Britains*, he reduc'd them to the Neceſſity of Fighting. After this, he ſuſpected an Attack from the *Scots*, whom the *Roman* Hiſtorians call the *Caledonians*, from the *Caledonian* Wood, and to Diſtinguiſh them from the other *Britains*. In this, he was not deceiv'd; for, *Galdus* gave them a very Brisk Onſet, which ſtruck ſuch Terror into the *Roman* Soldiers, that ſeverals Advis'd *Agricola* not to proceed, but to Retreat with Honour, rather than be Repell'd with Shame. Nevertheleſs, he harken'd not to thoſe Perſwaſions; and being inform'd, that *Galdus*, was drawing near him, in Three ſeveral Brigads, to prevent his being ſurrounded by their Numbers, he march'd his Army likewiſe againſt them, in Three Diviſions. Which *Galdus* no ſooner ſaw, than he alter'd his Reſolution; and, with his whole Forces, he ſet upon the Ninth Legion, in the Night-time, and broke into the *Roman* Camp, with great Slaughter. But *Agricola*, having intelligence of their March, follow'd them, and commanded his Lighteſt Horſe and Foot, to Charge them in the Rear; and the reſt, to make a loud Shout. The Day dawning, the Glittering of the *Roman* Enſigns dazl'd the Eyes of the *Scots*; who, after a ſharp Fight, at the Gates of the Camp, drew off to the Woods and Bogs, which ſecur'd them, otherwiſe the War had been then finiſh'd by a Complete Victory. Upon this Succeſs, the *Roman* Soldiers preſuming, that there was nothing able to withſtand their Arms, cry'd out, *To be led into* Caledonia, *that, with a continual Courſe of Conqueſt, they might find out the utmoſt Bound of* Britain.

Yet notwithſtanding of theſe Succeſſes, the *Scots*, attributing all to the Good Fortune and Conduct of *Agricola*, and not to any Valour in his Soldiers, were no ways dejected; but, on the contrary, were ſo extremely exaſperated, and bent upon Revenge, that they got together an Army of Thirty Thouſand Arm'd Men, beſides a great Number of Youth and Vigorous Old Men, who formerly had been excellent Soldiers, and ſtill retain'd the Scarrs and Badges of their Bravery. On the other ſide, *Agricola*, having ſent his Fleet before, follow'd in Perſon ſhortly after, with his whole Army; to which he had added ſome of the moſt Valiant of the South *Britains*, who had tamely ſubjected themſelves to the *Roman* Yoke. *Galdus*, having Poſted himſelf at the Foot of the *Grampian* Hills, upon *Agricola*'s approaching with his Army, is ſaid to have ſpoke thus to his Soldiers, with a furious Warmth and elevated Courage (*n*).

" When

(*n*) Vid. Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

" When I conſider the Cauſe of this War, and the Straits we are re-
" duc'd to; I have reaſon to preſume, that the future Happineſs and
" Freedom of the whole Iſland will Date their Birth from this Impor-
" tant Day. Hitherto we have liv'd in Liberty, unacquainted with
" Slavery. There is no Land beyond us, to which we can fly; neither
" can we make our Eſcape by Sea, ſince they have their Fleet upon our
" Ocean: So that Fighting, which Men of Valour deſire for their Ho-
" nour and Glory, would ſeem neceſſary, this Day, even to the da-
" ſtardly Coward, if any ſuch were among you. The former Battels,
" that the South *Britains* have had with the *Romans*, with a variable
" Fate, were ſuſtain'd by the Valour of our Arms. We are the moſt
" Valiant Remains of the *Britains*, ſeated in the remoteſt Regions, be-
" yond the Ken of thoſe Nations now Enſlav'd by the Enemy; ſo that
" our Eyes are as yet unpolluted, and free from the Contagion of
" Foreign Tyranny. And this ſecret Receſs unknown to Fame, has
" hitherto preſerv'd us in all the Bleſſings of Liberty. Now the uttermoſt
" Point of this Iſland is Diſcover'd, and they will think it their greateſt
" Glory to Conquer us; becauſe, beyond us there is no Nation, No-
" thing but Waves and Rocks; and before us there is Nothing but Bon-
" dage and Slavery, which is to be expected from the *Romans*, a People
" unſatiable in their Luſts, and unbounded in their Ambition. Thoſe
" Robbers of the World, and Ravagers of the Univerſe, when now
" the exhauſted Land can no more furniſh their Rapines, endeavour to
" Rifle the wide Seas and Ocean. When they meet with Opulent
" Enemies, their Cruelty proceeds from Avarice; when with Poor, it
" ariſes from Ambition. The Eaſt and Weſt, vaſt as they are, cannot
" ſatiate their Voracious Minds: They, and they alone, with equal
" Greedineſs, graſp at the Riches and Poverty of all Nations. Deva-
" ſtations, Murders and Extirpations paſs with them, under the falſe
" Names of Empire and Government; and they Boaſt of Eſtabliſhing
" Peace in thoſe Provinces, they have render'd Deſolate. Each Man,
" by Nature, eſteems, as moſt dear to him, his Wife, Children and Pa-
" rents; yet, to our Neighbours, whom they have overcome, they
" have carry'd their Children to be Soldiers and Slaves. Their Goods
" are their Tribute; their Corn, their Proviſions; their Bodies, their
" Tools for all Kind of Drudgery: And if the Modeſty of their Wives
" and Daughters has preſerv'd them from open Violence, when they
" were Enemies; it cannot ſecure them from their Laſcivious Friend-
" ſhip, now when they are their Gueſts. Other Slaves, whom Nature
" and Fortune have deſtin'd to Servitude, are Nouriſh'd by their Ma-
" ſters: But, theſe *Britains* have Purchas'd their own Bondage, and
" Maintain and Support their Oppreſſors. And, as in a Private Fa-
" mily, the laſt Comer is laugh'd and ſcoff'd at by his Fellow-ſer-
" vants; ſo in this ſhameful Servitude, to which they have reduc'd the
" whole World, they have at laſt attack'd us, in order not only to Ex-
" terminate us, but to make us a Mockery to our Neighbours. We
" have no Fields to Manure, no Mines to be Digg'd, no Ports to Trade
" in. To what Purpoſe then ſhould they reſerve us Alive? And as
" the Jealous Sovereign has always a Watchful Eye over his Warlike
" Subjects; ſo the more ſecure we are in this remote Corner of the
" World, the more jealous and ſuſpicious they are of us. Since then,

" you can expect no Mercy from them, take Courage to maintain and " defend your Safety as well as your Honour. The *Brigantes*, under " the Conduct of a Woman, fir'd their Colonies, took their Garriſons, " forc'd their Caſtles; and, had it not been for their Slouth and Secu- " rity, they might have then ſhaken off their Yoke. Let us, who were " never as yet invaded or ſubdu'd, contend Nobly for our Liberty; " that they may ſee, what manner of Men the *Caledonians* are. Were " our Enemies Courage, in War, equal to their Debaucheries, in Peace; " we might juſtly dread their Arms: But their Glory is all owing to " our Diſſentions; our Union will Diſſipate their Forces, which are " gather'd together, out of many Nations; and as their Proſperous " Succeſſes is what alone keeps them together, ſo, upon the leaſt Miſ- " carriage, you will ſee their whole Power diſſolve. Unleſs you ſup- " poſe, the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and, which I am aſham'd to men- " tion, thoſe of the *Britains*, that have join'd them, and who now ha- " zarded their Lives to ſupport their Tyranny, tho' they have been " longer their Enemies than their Slaves; unleſs you ſuppoſe, I ſay, " theſe will fight Cordially for them. No, it is Terror and Fear alone, " weak Bonds of Love, that makes them fight; and, if that were once " remov'd, their Hatred to them would ſoon appear. All the Incite- " ments to Victory are upon our Side. The *Romans* have not their " Wives to encourage them; no Parents to upbraid them, if they flee; " moſt of them have no Country to retire to, or if they have, it is ſome " other Country than this. A few of theſe fearful and ill advis'd People " behold, with Amazement, the Heavens, the Seas and Woods, with " which they are ſurrounded, having no manner of Knowledge of them: " So that it would appear, that the Gods had deliver'd them up fet- " ter'd into our Hands. Be not aſtoniſh'd with the vain Luſtre of " their Arms, or their Gold and Silver; for, theſe can neither defend them, " nor offend us. We ſhall find many of the Enemies upon our Side. " The *Britains* will think our Cauſe, their own; the *Gauls* will re- " member their former Liberty; the *Germans* will forſake them, as of " late the *Uſipians* did. And now, what have we to be afraid of? Their " Caſtles are empty, their Colonies Peopled with Aged and Impotent " Perſons, their Cities are weak and factious; thoſe, that obey, are " conſtrain'd to it; and thoſe, that Command, are Tyrants. In Sum, " here is the General, and here is the Army: There you ſee Tributes " and Slavery; here, Death or Liberty. Therefore, let us conſider " the Glory of our Anceſtors, and the Fate of our Poſterity.

This Speech, being deliver'd, ſays *Echard* (*o*), with the Fierceneſs of Lions and Tygers, and Darting upon the Soldiers like Flaſhes of Lightning, was immediately Seconded with the Acclamations of the whole Army. *Agricola*, on the other Side, encourag'd his Men with all the Force and Charms of the *Roman* Eloquence; and, fearing to be flanked, by reaſon of the Enemies Numbers, he drew out his Front to the utmoſt length, and advanc'd himſelf at the Head of his Foot. The Battel began at ſome Diſtance from the Main Body, wherein the *Caledonians* ſhow'd great Art and Courage, by means of their Broad Swords and Targets, with which they bore off the Darts of their Enemies, and pour'd in upon them with ſhowers of their own. To prevent which In-

(*o*) Hiſt. of Eng. Pag. 24.

Inconveniency, *Agricola* Order'd the *Batavian* & *Tungrian* Cohorts to advance againſt them, with their ſharp-pointed Bucklers; which render'd their pointleſs Swords unſerviceable, and ſo mangled their Faces, that they were oblig'd to retire. This Advantage being Seconded by the Emulation of the other Cohorts, the Main Body of the *Scots* Army, who had till now ſtaid upon the Tops of the Mountains, came down, thinking to Environ the *Romans*: But *Agricola*, ſuſpecting as much, oppos'd them with Four Wings of Horſe-men, which he had reſerv'd in caſe of any ſudden Stratagem. Then the Battel was fought by both Parties with the utmoſt Valour and Fury; and, all the valianteſt Men of the *Caledonians* being ſlain, *Galdus* was oblig'd to retire, with the remaining Part of his Army, to the Mountains. *Tacitus* ſays, That, in this Battel, the *Caledonians* loſt Ten Thouſand; and the *Romans*, Three Hundred and Fourty: But our Hiſtorians ſay, That there were Twenty Thouſand of *Galdus*'s Army cut off, and Twelve Thouſand *Romans*. After this Victory, a Stop was put to *Agricola*'s further Progreſs into *Caledonia*, by *Domitian*'s calling him to *Rome*.

After his Departure, Sedition aroſe in the *Roman* Camp; and the *Scots* and *Picts*, being glad of the Occaſion, rais'd a New Army, under the Command of *Galdus*, attack'd the *Romans*, and obtain'd a Signal Victory over them; and Purſu'd them into the Country of the *Brigantes*, where the *Romans* were forc'd not only to ſue for a Peace, but to content themſelves with theſe Parts of South *Britain*, that they had reduc'd to the Form of a Province, leaving the *Scots* and *Picts*, in a Peaceable Poſſeſſion of all the Northern Parts. Thereafter *Galdus* Reign'd, for ſeveral Years, in great Peace and Quiet; and Died at *Epiack*, which was then the Principal City of *Scotland*, in the Thirty Fifth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 103. From his putting an End to this War in the Country of the *Brigantes*, it was Order'd, that this Country ſhould be no more call'd ſo, but *Galdia*, in Honour of him; which afterwards was corrupted into *Galvidia*, and is that, which we now call *Galloway*.

To *Galdus* ſucceeded his Son *LUCTACUS*, a Prince who gave himſelf up to all the Exceſſes and Debaucheries of Youth. In the Third Year of his Reign, having call'd his Counſellors together at *Dunſtaffage*, the Wiſe and Grave Men, amongſt them, began to exhort him to imitate the Virtues of his Father, the Brave and Noble *Galdus*; and not to ſuffer ſuch Acts of Cruelty, Luſt and Oppreſſion to be committed, as were daily done, by his Authority: But he, inſtead of taking their Advice, commanded them to Priſon. The Mob, being advertis'd of this, who were ſufficiently diſpos'd for an Inſurrection, broke in upon the Counſellors; and, in the Heat of their Fury, kill'd their King and the moſt of his Creatures; and, after they were appeas'd, to teſtify their Sorrow for the Action they had done, Bury'd him amongſt his Predeceſſors, at *Dunſtaffage*, in great Pomp and Splendour, in the Year of our Lord 106. But they would not allow the Bodies of his Aſſociates to be Bury'd, as having been the Inſtruments of bringing him to this untimely End.

Mogallus or *MOGALDUS*, the Grand-child of *Galdus* by his Daughter, ſucceeded *Luctacus*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he reform'd all the Abuſes, that his Subjects complain'd of; and, having ſettled all things

in good Order, he rais'd an Army to oppoſe the *Romans*, who had made ſeveral Incurſions upon his Dominions. He was join'd by *Unipane*, King of the *Picts*; and, in a Pitch'd Battel, he gave the *Romans* a Signal Overthrow. The Emperor, *Hadrian*, being advertis'd of this, ſent over *Julius Severus* to oppoſe *Mogaldus*: But, he being ſuddenly recall'd, upon the account of ſome Inſurrections in *Syria*, the Emperor himſelf was oblig'd to come over with an Army; and he, being a greater Lover of Peace than War, deſir'd rather to maintain the Bounds of his Empire than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to *York*, and found the Country beyond it haraſs'd by War, he reſolv'd to take a particular View of the Devaſtation, and ſo march'd his Army to the River *Tine*; where, being inform'd, by the Old Soldiers that follow'd *Agricola*, of the Difficulty that he would have in Conquering of the *Caledonians*, he built a Wall and Trench, in the Year 121, extending Eighty Miles in Length; and by it excluded the *Scots* and *Picts* from the Provincial *Britains*. What our Hiſtorians and Antiquaries have ſaid concerning this Wall, the Reader will find in the Firſt Volume of this Work *(p)*. After this, *Hadrian* return'd to *Rome*, where he gain'd the Title of *Reſtorer of Britain*, which, as a Motto, was ſtamp'd upon his Coin. And now the Provincial or South *Britains*, meanly Deſpairing of ever recovering their Liberties, readily conform'd themſelves to the *Roman* Laws, as well Civil as Martial, under the Direction of *Priſcus Licinius*, then Proprætor. *Mogaldus*, enjoying now great Peace and Plenty, indulg'd himſelf in his Pleaſures; and to enrich his Coffers, he made a Law, *That the Goods of ſuch as were Condemn'd, ſhould be Confiſcated to the King's Uſe; no Part of them being allotted either to their Wives, Children or Creditors.* Which ſo incens'd the Nobility againſt him, that they Murder'd him, in the Thirty Sixth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 148.

CONARUS, his Son ſucceeded to him. In the Beginning of this Prince's Reign, the *Britains*, having made a Breach upon *Hadrian*'s Wall, laid waſte ſeveral Countries belonging to the *Picts* and *Scots*. Whereupon, *Conarus* and the King of the *Picts*, having join'd their Forces, march'd into the *Britains* Country, where a Bloody Battel was fought between them and the *Romans*; and, the Number of the Kill'd and Wounded being almoſt equal on both Sides, a Peace was concluded between them, till the next Year. In the mean time, the *Romans* ſent for Aid to *Antoninus Pius*, and he, ſent over for his Lieutenant, *Lollius Urbicus*, whom *Conarus* attack'd with a Numerous Army: But *Lollius* drove him to the *Caledonian* Mountains, and having repair'd the Wall of *Hadrian*, a Ceſſation of Arms was concluded between them. For theſe Two Expeditions the Emperor *Antoninus* obtain'd the Title of *Britannicus*, tho' he was never in *Britain*. After this, *Conarus*, being a Prince of a Riotous Temper, exhauſted the whole Revenues of the Crown upon his Debauchries, and deſign'd to have impos'd a Tax upon his Subjects. But the Nobility, being unwilling to concur in this, to prevent a Civil War, ſeis'd upon his Perſon, impriſon'd him, and committed the Government to *Argadus* Chittain of *Argile*, till ſuch time as the next Heir to the Crown was capable of Governing. *Conarus* not long after this, taking his Subjects Treatment of him as the higheſt Indignity that they could have put upon him, Died of Grief, in the Four-

teenth

(p) Pag. 239. 240.

teenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 162, being juſtly Puniſh'd for having been one of thoſe, who had a Hand in the Death of his Father.

To *Conarus* ſucceeded *ETHODIUS*, Nephew to *Mogaldus*. This Prince, upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, made *Argadus* his Juſticiar, and ſent him to the Weſtern Iſlands to ſeiſe upon ſome Diſturbers of the Public Peace there; which he effectually did, and brought them Priſoners to the King. *Aulus Victorinus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant under the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the Philoſopher, having made ſome Incurſions into the Dominions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and refuſing to give them any Reparation; *Ethodius* and the King of the *Picts*, having join'd their Forces together, fought with the *Romans* till Night parted them; and both of them, by this Battel, were ſo weakned, that a Peace enſu'd for a Year betwixt them. To ſtrengthen the *Romans*, the Emperor ſent over for his Lieutenant, *Calphurnius Agricola*; who, partly by his Valour and partly by his Prudence, appeas'd ſeveral Inſurrections in *Britain*; and oblig'd the *Scots* and *Picts* to keep within their Wall, which he fortify'd and made ſtronger than ever it had been, and then return'd to *Rome*, at the Deſire of the Emperor, *Commodus*. *Publius Trebellius*, who ſucceeded him, had not the like Succeſs againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*: For they, having made an Incurſion upon the Lands of the Provincial *Britains*, were met by *Trebellius*, whoſe Army conſiſting moſtly of *Britains* (whom he moſt Tyrannically oppreſs'd) and of *Gauls*, they both deſerted him in the Heat of the Action; whereby *Ethodius* obtain'd a complete Victory, and made terrible Devaſtations in that Province. *Commodus*, being inform'd of this, immediately ſent *Ulpius Marcellus* in his Place, who ſoon put an End to this War, which threatned a Total Extirpation of the *Romans* out of *Britain*. *Ethodius* having concluded a Peace with the *Romans*, the Inhabitants of *Argile*, and ſome of the Chiftains of the Iſles roſe up in Arms, demanding Juſtice of *Argadus*, who had put, as they ſaid, ſome of their Friends unjuſtly to Death. The King, being inform'd of this, ſent *Argadus*, with an Army againſt them: But they, having got Intelligence of his Marches, lay in Ambuſh for him; and were ſo ſucceſsful in their Enterpriſe, that they defeat his whole Army, and kill'd himſelf. Whereupon the King march'd in Perſon againſt them, and reduc'd them to ſuch Straits for want of Proviſion, that they were forc'd to ſurrender, upon what Terms he pleas'd; and, to terrify others from the like Attempts, he caus'd Two Hundred of the Chief Leaders, in this Rebellion, to be put to Death. After that this Wiſe and Valiant Prince had thus ſettled all his Affairs both Foreign and Domeſtic, he ſpent the remnant of his Days, in the Pleaſures of a Country Life: And, being much addicted to Hunting, he Order'd, under ſevere Penalties, I. That no Hare ſhould be kill'd in the Seat, either by Weapons or Stratagems. II. If a Hare had out-run the Hounds by a long Chaſe, and had got to ſome Place of Safety, ſhe was no more to be ſearch'd after. III. No Hare was to be kill'd, but by the Hounds. IV. That no Man ſhould kill the Fawns, or a Hind when ſhe was with Young. V. That no Hunting ſhould be in time of War or the Winter Seaſon, becauſe then the Deer came down from the Mountains, by reaſon of the Snow, to purchaſe their Food in the Plains. Theſe and ſeveral other Laws he made, for preſerving of the Game:

And, whilſt he was thus harmleſly diverting himſelf in his Old Days, he was Murder'd in the Night-time by a Muſician, who was one of his Bed-Chamber, in the Thirtieth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 194. He, who committed this Murder, being examin'd upon the Motives that induc'd him to it, confeſs'd, That it was in Revenge, for that the King had put to Death one of his Relations, in the Inſurrection of the Iſlanders: Upon which, he was Sentenced to be drawn into Pieces by Four Wild Horſes.

Upon the Death of *Ethodius*, *SATRAHEL* his Brother was Proclaim'd King, becauſe of the Nonage of *Ethodius*'s Children. This Prince was no ſooner ſet upon the Throne, than he endeavour'd to eſtabliſh the Kingdom in his own Family, and ſo to deſtroy the Sons of *Ethodius*. In order to this, he caus'd ſuch of thoſe, whom he ſuſpected to have a Kindneſs for *Ethodius*'s Children, to be accus'd of Crimes, they were no ways guilty of; and never fail'd to Puniſh them with Death. Which made him ſo odious to the People, that they were going to turn him out of the Government; when they were prevented by one of his own Domeſtics, who kill'd him, in the Night-time, in the Year of our Lord 197, after he had Govern'd the Kingdom Four Years.

DONALDUS, the Firſt of that Name, another Brother of *Ethodius*, ſucceeded to *Satrahel*. This Prince had as many Excellent Qualities in him, as his Brother had Vices. In the Beginning of his Reign, he took great Delight in training up the Youth, in all Military Exploits; ſo that they became as well acquainted with the Military Diſcipline, as his Veterane Soldiers were. The Emperor *Severus*, being inform'd of this, and afraid of the Conſequences of it, and unwilling that it ſhould be ſaid of him, who had Conquer'd the moſt Powerful Enemies, that the Empire had diminiſh'd, in his Time, by the Loſs of the half of ſo important an Iſland, reſolv'd to go over to *Britain* in Perſon, tho' very Gouty, and above Sixty Years of Age, taking alongſt with him his Two Sons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*. Upon his Landing, thoſe of the South *Britains*, who had been making ſome faint Strugglings for recovering of their loſt Liberties, tamely ſubmitted themſelves to their former Yoke; and he left his Son *Geta* to Govern them, and march'd with his Son, *Caracalla*, againſt the *Caledonians*, who were not ſo eaſily tamed. In this Expedition, *Dion* tells us, That he loſt no leſs than Fifty Thouſand of his Men. Yet the Ag'd Emperor encounter'd all his Difficulties with a Noble Bravery, and Proſecuted his Attempts with ſuch a Vigorous Reſolution, that he oblig'd the *Picts* and *Caledonians* to make a Peace with him, upon Honourable Terms, on the Banks of the River of *Caron*, upon two little Hills, as its thought, from thence call'd, the *Duni pacis*, to this Day. And our *Buchanan* is of the Opinion, that the Building, call'd *Arthur*'s *Oven*, not far from thoſe Hills, was built by this Emperor, in Commemoration of this Peace, and Dedicated to the God *Terminus*. For, amongſt the many Gods of the *Romans*, the God *Terminus* was not the leaſt; becauſe, under his Protection, were all the Limits of their Empire: And his Statue was either a Square-ſtone, or a Log of Wood, ſmooth'd; which they us'd to Beautify with Ointments, and Crown with Garlands, as we are told by *Tibullus* (*q*), ſpeaking of his Devotion.

Nam

(*q*) Lib. Eleg. 1.

Nam veneror, ſeu Stipes habet deſertus in agris,
Seu vetus in triviis florida ſerta Lapis.

In *Engliſh* thus:

For I my Adoration freely give,
Whether a Stump forlorn my Vows receive,
Or a beflower'd Stone my Worſhip have.

And theſe, *Lapides Terminales*, or Land-Mark-Stones, were eſteem'd ſo Sacred (*r*), that whoever dar'd to Move or Plow up, or Transfer Them to another Place, his Head became Devoted to theſe Gods; and it was lawful for any Body to kill him. Moreover, tho' they did not Sacrifice the Lives of Animals to theſe Stones, out of an Opinion that it was not lawful to Stain them with Blood; yet they Offer'd Wafers of Bread to them, and the Firſt Fruits of Corn, and ſuch things; and, upon the laſt Day of the Year, they obſerv'd a Feſtival to their Honour, call'd, *Terminalia.*

But to return to our Hiſtory, *Xiphilin* (*ſ*) tells us, That, after this Peace ſome of the *Caledonian* Ladies came, out of Curioſity, to take a View of the Emperor's Court; and that a very handſome Repartee hapned betwixt the Empreſs *Julia* and one of them, who was Wife to *Argentocoxus*, a *Caledonian* Chiftain. And it being then the Cuſtom of the *Caledonians* to have as many Wives, as they were able to maintain, the Empreſs, one Day, Upbraided them for Proſtituting themſelves ſo publicly. To which this Lady reply'd, with ſome Warmth, *What we* Caledonians *do, is more to be commended than what you* Romans *do; for, we ſatisfy the Deſires and Neceſſities of Nature publicly and avowedly, with our Valiant and Virtuous Men: But you* Romans *commit your Adulteries and Inceſts in Private, with the moſt infamous Varlets amongſt you.* Indeed, if this was ſaid after the Marriage of *Caracalla* with *Julia*, it deſerves to be Recorded to all future Ages. For this Empreſs, after the Death of *Severus*, Marry'd her own Son, *Caracalla*, one of the moſt Infamous Princes that ever ſway'd a Scepter. Which was occaſion'd thus: One Day ſhe came before him, in a careleſs Dreſs, with a Naked Neck; and, being a Woman of an Admirable Beauty, fail'd not in her Deſign of raiſing his Luſtful Appetite. Whereupon he ſaid, *I would willingly, were it Lawful for me.* She anſwer'd, *You may, if you will; for there is no Law for Emperors.* Upon this, he immediately enjoy'd her, and Marry'd her.

After this Peace, ſays *Ælius Spartianus*, *he ſtrengthned* Britain *with a Wall, drawn Croſs-ways or thwart the Iſland, from Sea to Sea, which was the greateſt Ornament of his Empire.* But this vaſt Work he left to be finiſh'd by his Son, *Caracalla*; who, by his Popularity to the Soldiers, and Exceſſive Looſneſs, gave a juſt Occaſion to the *Ottadins*, or the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, and the *Caledonians*, to break the Peace. This ſo inrag'd the Old Emperor, that he gave Commands, to make a General Maſſacre without Diſtinction; which was put in Execution, with great Severity, againſt the *Ottadins*. At length *Severus*, having been nigh Two Years in *Britain*, at *York*, grew weak, partly with Age and Travel, and partly with Grief, for the Abominable Life of his

(*r*) Dion Halic. Lib. 2. (*ſ*) Vid. Xiphilin.

Eldeſt Son; and, finding himſelf declining, he cry'd out, *I have been all that a Man can be, but it is of no Service to me now.* His Son *Caracalla*, having made Peace with the *Caledonians*, and receiv'd Hoſtages from them, return'd to *Rome* with his Brother *Geta*.

Thereafter *Donaldus* Died in Peace, in the Twenty Firſt Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 216. All our Hiſtorians ſay, That this excellent Prince embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion; and in our Oldeſt Annals, we find this Ancient Diſtic.

Chriſti tranſactis tribus Annis atque ducentis,
Scotia Catholicam cœpit inire Fidem.

But certainly the Chriſtian Religion had been planted amongſt the *Scots* or *Caledonians* long before this time, as it appears from the unqueſtionable Teſtimonies of *Tertullian*, *Origen* and *Euſebius*. *Tertullian* flouriſh'd, as S. *Jerome* ſaith, under *Severus* and his Son; and, in the time of *Severus*, he wrote his Book againſt the *Jews*, as the Learn'd Cardinal *Baronius* (*t*) proves from ſeveral Paſſages in it. In this Book, *Tertullian* makes mention (*u*) of the Nations of *Gaul* and the *Britains* with as much Aſſurance, as he doth his Country-men, the *Moors*, for receiving Chriſtianity; and ſaith, *The Kingdom of Chriſt was advanc'd amongſt them, and that Chriſt was ſolemnly Worſhipped by them.* What *Britains* theſe were, that he ſpeaks of, we may Learn from theſe Words of his, *Et* Britannorum *inacceſſa* Romanis *loca, Chriſto verò ſubdita:* That's to ſay, *The Goſpel had Acceſs to thoſe Parts of* Britain, *whither the* Romans *had none.* By which it plainly appears, that theſe *Britains* were the *Caledonians* or *Scots*. And *Origen*, who flouriſh'd in the Year 230 (*x*), ſays, *When did* Britain, *before the coming of Chriſt, conſent, in the Worſhip of one God?* implying, that the Chriſtian Religion, in ſtead of their *Taranis*, *Heſus*, *Diana*, *Teutates*, *Belenus*, *Andate* and other Gods and Goddeſſes, whom they Worſhipped, had taught them to believe one true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom He hath ſent to be the Saviour of the World, *whoſe Power*, ſays he (*y*) in another Place, *was ſeen in* Britain *as well as* Mauritania. And *Euſebius*, who flouriſh'd in the Year 315, in his Third Book of *Evangelical Demonſtration*, undertaking to prove, That the Apoſtles, who firſt Preach'd the Goſpel to the World, could be no Impoſtors or Deceivers; among other Arguments, makes uſe of this (*a*), *That although it were poſſible for ſuch Men to deceive their Neighbours and Countrymen with an improbable Story; yet what Madneſs were it for ſuch Illiterate Men, who underſtood only their Mother Tongue, to go about to deceive the World, by Preaching this Doctrine in the remoteſt Cities and Countries?* And having nam'd the *Romans*, *Perſians*, *Armenians*, *Parthians*, *Indians*, *Scythians*, he adds particularly, that ſome paſs'd over the Ocean, ΕΠΙ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΑΣ ΝΗΣΟΥΣ, *to theſe which were call'd the* Britiſh *Iſlands.* From whence he concludes, *That ſome more than Human Power did accompany the Apoſtles; and that they were no light nor inconſiderable Men, much leſs Impoſtors and Deceivers.*

Now, tho' I am not of their Opinion, who think that Chriſtianity was firſt Planted here by ſome of the Apoſtles (*b*), and probably either by S. *Peter* or S. *Paul*; yet 'tis no ways improbable, but that it might have

(*t*) Baron. A. D. 210. N. 4. (*u*) Cont. Jud. cap. 7. Pag. 113. (*x*) In Ezek. Hom. 4. (*y*) In Luc. cap. 1. Hom. 6. (*a*) Demonſt. Evang. Lib. 3. (*b*) See Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the Brit. Churches, Chap. 1.

have been done by ſome of their Diſciples. For, in the *Greek Monologium*, which Cardinal *Sirlet* turn'd into *Latin*, and which *Caniſius* Publiſh'd (*c*), upon the Fifteenth Day of *March*, 'tis ſaid, *That* Ariſtobolus, *Brother to* Barnabas *the Apoſtle, being ordain'd Biſhop by him, was ſent into* Britain *to Preach the Goſpel there, where he ſuffer'd Martyrdom.* And ſeveral Authors of good Credit have told us, That (*d*) S. *Beatus* and *Manſuetus* were both of them *Scots* Men, Baptiz'd and Ordain'd by S. *Peter*, and ſent Home to Preach the Goſpel in their own Country. But, whatever Truth be in this, 'tis certain, that S. *Paul* did make conſiderable Converts at his coming to *Rome*, which is the Reaſon of his mentioning the Saints in *Cæſar*'s Houſhold: And it is not improbable, that ſome of them might have been of *Caractacus*'s Retinue, who would certainly promote the Converſion of their Country. In the Reign of the Emperor *Trajan*, we find *Martial* (*e*) thus celebrating the Praiſes of a *Britiſh* Lady, *Claudia Ruffina*, who was a Chriſtian, and admired for her Wit and Beauty.

Claudia *cæruleis cum ſit* Ruffina Britannis
Edita, quam Latiæ *pectora plebis habet!*
Quale decus formæ! Romanam *dicere matres*
Italides *poſſunt*, Attides *eſſe ſuam.*
Di bene! quod ſancto peperit fœcunda Marito,
Quod ſperat generos, quodque puella nurus.
Sic placeat ſuperis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno,
Et ſemper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

This Lady was Marry'd to *Pudens* a *Roman* Senator, whom *Dempſter* not improbably conjectures, to have been Baniſh'd to the North of *Britain* or *Scotland*, from this Epigram of *Martial* (*f*).

Cernere Parrhaſios *dum te juvat*, Aule, *Triones*
Cominus, & Sythici *ſydera pigra poli.*
O quam pene tibi Stygias *ego raptus ad undas*
Elyſiæ vidi nubila fuſca plagæ!
Quamvis laſſa tuos quærebant lumina vultus,
Atque erat in gelido plurimus ore Pudens.
Si mihi lanificæ ducunt non pulla ſorores
Stamina, nec ſurdos vox habet iſta Deos.
Soſpite me ſoſpes Latias *reveheris ad urbes,*
Et referes pili præmia clarus eques.

For this Epigram, ſays he, agrees more to the Climate of North *Britain*, where the Seaſons are much more rigid and ſevere than that of South *Britain*. Beſides, ſays *Dempſter*, may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Second Line, in this Epigram, ſhould be read thus?

Cominus, & Scotici *frigora pigra poli.*

Eſpecially, ſince we find in *Florus*, a moſt Ancient Poet, a wrong Reading of the like Nature, ſpeaking of the Emperor *Hadrian*,

(*c*) Antiq. Lect. Tom. 2. (*d*) Pantaleon de viris illuſt. Germ. Part 1. Guil. Eiſingrein Cent. 2. part 5. diſtinct. 2. Georg. Wicel. Lib. 5. Chap. 38. Franciſ. Iren. German. Exegeſ. Lib. 3. Cap. 49. Conſtan. Ghin. in Sanct. Canon. Nat. Sep. 3. vid. etiam Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. 2. N. 159. & Lib. 5. N. 476. (*e*) Lib. 11. Epig. 54. &c. (*f*) Lib. 6. Epig. 58.

Ego nolo Cæſar *eſſe*
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas *pati pruinas*,

Whereas in a moſt Ancient and Beautiful MS. of this Poet, which, ſays he, I have, 'tis thus,

Ambulare per Britannos,
Scoticas *pati pruinas*.

From all which it evidently appears, that Chriſtianity was known amongſt the *Caledonians* or Ancient *Scots*, either in the Firſt or Second Century. But to return to our Hiſtory.

ETHODIUS II. Son to *Ethodius* I. ſucceeded to *Donald*. This Prince being of a languid and ſoft Diſpoſition, ſome were for Depoſing of him: Yet ſuch was the Loyalty of the Nobility and the greateſt Part of his other Subjects, that they would not ſo much as hear of it; but went in a Body to him, and Advis'd him to conſtitute ſuch Perſons, as they nam'd, to Govern and ſee Juſtice Adminiſtrated in ſuch and ſuch Shires. Which he very willingly comply'd to, and, by this Means, *Scotland* was never in a quieter Condition than under his Reign. He was kill'd in a Tumult, endeavouring to appeaſe them, in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 232.

ATHIRCO, his Son, ſucceeded to him. This Prince, for the Firſt Seven Years of his Reign, was the Delight of his Subjects, being endow'd with all Princely Accompliſhments. But in a Ramble, in the Heat of his Youth, he Deflower'd Two Daughters of one of his Nobles, call'd *Nathalocus*: Who, to be avenged, roſe up in Rebellion againſt him, and Defeat his Forces. Wherefore the King endeavour'd to make his Eſcape, to the Iſles, in a ſmall Fiſher-boat; but being beat a-ſhore by a Storm, and finding, that he could not eſcape from falling into his Enemy's Hand, he run himſelf upon his own Sword, in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 242. *Dorus*, *Athirco*'s Brother, being afraid, that if *Nathalocus* ſhould ſeiſe upon his Nephews, *Athirco*'s Children, he would put them to Death, fled with them to the King of the *Picts*, under whoſe Protection they liv'd for ſome Years.

NATHALOCUS, finding that *Dorus* and his Three Nephews, *Findocus*, *Carantius* and *Donaldus*, were fled to the *Picts*, caus'd himſelf to be Proclaim'd King; and ſent ſecretly ſome of his Truſtees, to the Court of the *Pictiſh* King, in order to Murder *Dorus* and the Three Young Princes: But they fail'd in their Deſign; for, inſtead of *Dorus* they Murder'd another Man who was very like him; and were oblig'd to make their Eſcape, without effectuating any more. Sometime after this, *Nathalocus* apprehended a Woman, bearing Intelligence betwixt *Dorus* and the Nobility; whereupon he caus'd Drown the Woman: And, having ſent for ſuch of the Nobility as he ſuſpected, upon the Pretence of Conſulting them about the Affairs of the Nation, he caus'd them all to be Strangled. But this Bloody Action, inſtead of ſecuring the Throne to him, as he projected, was that which Dethron'd him; for all the Friends and Relations of the Murder'd Nobility roſe up in Arms againſt him. *Nathalocus*, being afraid of the Event of this Inſurrection, ſent one of his Domeſtic Servants, call'd *Murray*, to ask at an Old Woman who liv'd

liv'd at *Comkyl*, and who had the Repute of a Wizard, what his Succeſs would be in this War. Her Anſwer was, *That the King ſhould not live long, and his Danger would ariſe, not from his Enemies, but from his Domeſtics.* Whereupon he preſs'd the Woman to tell him, which of his Servants would be the Man. She Anſwer'd, *Even from thy ſelf, Sir.* Upon this, he laugh'd at her, not thinking it poſſible that he could be tempted to do ſuch an Action: But, as he return'd Home, he begun to think with himſelf, that the Woman's Anſwer could not be conceal'd from the King; and that it was not ſafe for him to tell it, for Fear of raiſing *Nathalocus*'s Jealouſy againſt him; and conſidering likewiſe, how much he was hated by the whole Nation, he reſolv'd to Murder him, not doubting thereby to ingratiate himſelf with *Findochus*, the Lawful Heir of the Crown. So ſoon then as he arriv'd at the Court, *Nathalocus* call'd him into his Chamber, being anxious to know what Anſwer he had got; and *Nathalocus* being troubled with a Flux and having gone to eaſe Nature, *Murray* took the Opportunity of ſtabbing him with a Dagger, whilſt he was expecting no ſuch Treatment from him, after he had Uſurp'd the Crown, Eleven Years, and in the Year of our Lord 253.

Murray, after this Action, poſted to the Army of the Royaliſts, and acquainted them with what he had done. Whereupon *FINDOCHUS*, *Athirco*'s Eldeſt Son, was immediately Proclaim'd King. This Prince was endow'd with many Natural Accompliſhments, being very Beautiful, of a tall Stature, and in the Flower of his Age, which render'd him very acceptable to his Subjects. Neither did he deceive their Expectations; for, in his ordinary Deportment, he was very Courteous; in Adminiſtrating of Juſtice, Equal and Impartial; and a Conſcientious Performer of all his Promiſes. In the Beginning of his Reign, *Donald* of the *Iſles*, ſo call'd, becauſe he was the Principal Chiftain amongſt the *Iſlanders*, roſe up in Rebellion, under the Pretence of Revenging *Nathalocus*'s Death: But he was overthrown by *Findochus*, and Drown'd in a Boat, in which he was endeavouring to make his Eſcape. His Son, *Donald*, attempted to Revenge his Father's Death: But *Findochus* overcame him likewiſe, and oblig'd him to fly into *Ireland*, where he ſtaid for ſome Years; and, upon the King's promiſing him his Protection, he return'd, yet not with a Deſign of becoming a Dutiful and Loyal Subject, but of Murdering the King ſecretly. For that End, being afraid to truſt himſelf to the King's Clemency, he ſent Two of his Friends to the Court; who, when there, told the King of the great Severities they had met with from *Donald*, upon the Account of their Loyalty to him, on purpoſe to ingratiate themſelves with the King: But, he not truſting them, they ventur'd to reveal their Deſign to *Carantius* the King's Brother, whom they found to be a Prince of an Unbounded Ambition. He, encouraging the Deſign, got them the Liberty of being frequently admitted in the King's Train, when he went to the Hunting; and one Day, as they were at this Sport with the King, having got him all alone, they run him thro' with a Hunting Spear, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 263. when the reſt were gone off in Queſt of the Game: But they no ſooner return'd to the Place where they had left the King, and found him Murder'd, than they purſued the Murderers, and catch'd them,

who, upon their having confeſs'd all that was laid to their Charge, were torn to Pieces Alive. *Carantius* made his Eſcape unto the *Romans*, and became afterwards very Famous for his Martial Atchievements, under the Reign of *Probus* and *Dioclesian*, as the Reader will find afterward.

DONALD II. ſucceeded to his Brother *Findochus*. *Donald* of the *Iſles*, being advertis'd of the Succeſs of his Deſign againſt *Findochus*, march'd into *Murray*, with a Powerful Army of Robbers and Thieves, who came to him from all Parts of the Country: Whereupon the King, with a few of his Army, went ſtraight againſt him, having left a Command for the reſt to follow. *Donald*, being inform'd by his Spies, that he had but a ſmall Force with him, march'd Day and Night; and, by this means, ſurpriz'd the King, and put him upon the Neceſſity of Fighting, before the reſt of his Army could come up. Nevertheleſs the King perform'd more than could have been expected from ſo ſmall a Number: But at length, he was overcome by the Multitude of his Enemies, and, being ſore wounded, was taken Priſoner, with Thirty of his Nobility: Beſides, there were 3000 Soldiers ſlain, and 2000 taken. The King Died within Three Days after, either of his Wounds, or for the Grief of his Overthrow, in the Firſt Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 264.

Crathilinthus, the Son of King *Findochus*, at this time had not fully attain'd to the Age, that was fit for Heading any Party or Army; and therefore he was kept ſecretly, for ſome Years, with his Foſter-Father. Mean while, *DONALD* of the *Iſles* Uſurp'd the Crown. Never was there a more Bloody Tyrant than he prov'd: For, he put a great Number of the Nobility to Death; and he was never obſerv'd to Smile, but when they told him of ſome Murder or Diſſentiõn, that had hapned. At length *Carthilinthus*, having attain'd to a competent Age, diſcover'd himſelf to thoſe of the Nobility, whom he truſted moſt to; and, having got a ſmall Party of them together, he attack'd this Uſurper, amidſt his Guards, at *Enverlochy*, and kill'd him with Two Hundred of them; and the reſt who fled into *Athol*, were moſt of them put to Death there, upon the News of *Crathilinthus* his appearing, whom they ſuſpected to have been Dead. This Uſurper was kill'd in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 273.

CRATHILINTHUS, Son to *Findochus*, being Proclaim'd King, and acknowledg'd as the only Lawful Heir of the Crown, the Firſt thing he did, was to take effectual Methods for ſuppreſſing of any Inſurrections that might be attempted by the *Iſlanders*; whereby he put it out of their Power to Diſturb his Government. Then he Travel'd over all the Kingdom, and Rectify'd ſuch Abuſes, as had been committed during the late Uſurpation; and Adminiſtrated Juſtice impartially to all his Subjects. After this, he renew'd the Ancient League, between the *Scots* and *Picts*, with *Thalargus* King of the *Picts*. But, at a Match of Hunting between them, upon the *Grampian* Hills, they were like to have been at greater Diſcord than ever. For, the *Picts* having taken away one of *Crathilinthus*'s Hounds, the Maſter of the Game was ſent to demand him back again. This being not only refus'd, but he himſelf kill'd in endeavouring to recover the Hound, the Attendants upon the Two Kings immediately fell in Blood, and there were 3000 *Scots*, and 2000 *Picts* kill'd upon the Place.

About

About this time *Carantius*, or *Carauſius* as the *Romans* call him (*g*), *Findochus*'s Brother, formerly mention'd, having, by his great Courage, rais'd his Reputation amongſt the *Romans*, was imploy'd to ſecure the *Belgic* and *Armorican* Coaſts, then infeſted by the *Francs* and *Saxons*. By this, he ſo enrich'd himſelf, that the Emperor *Diocleſian* begun to be afraid of him; and therefore Order'd his Partner, in the Empire, *Maximian*, to put him to Death. *Carantius*, being inform'd of this, aſſum'd to himſelf the Title of Emperor; and, knowing how acceptable it would be to the *Scots* and *Picts*, that the *Romans* ſhould be expel'd out of *Britain*, he came with his Fleet, and Landed his Forces upon the Coaſt nigh to the Dominions of the *Scots* and *Picts*. Then hearing, that theſe Two Nations were at Variance, he ſent to his Nephew *Crathilinthus* an Account of his Adventures, and how that he had rais'd himſelf to ſuch Greatneſs meerly by his Valour; that all he deſign'd, was to be King of that Part of *Britain*, which the *Romans* Poſſeſs'd; that he was altogether Innocent of what had been laid to his Charge, about his Brother's Death; that he would willingly meet with him, and agree Matters betwixt him and the *Picts*. *Crathilinthus* willingly embrac'd the Propoſal, and met with him at the River *Carron*, which had its Name from him, if we may believe *Nennius*. Here the Two Kings were not only reconcil'd to one another, but likewiſe they join'd their Forces, with *Carantius*, to aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of South *Britain*.

After this, *Carantius* Fought and Defeat *Baſſianus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant, and reduc'd all South *Britain* to his Obedience. Then he ſtrengthned his Fleet, by building ſeveral Ships after the *Roman* Faſhion, preſs'd the *Gallic* Merchants to his Service, Gariſon'd *Bononia* in *Gaul*, and Converted the Revenues of *Britain* and *Battavia* to his own Uſe. Moreover, by the Hopes of Booty in the Provinces, he drew no ſmall Forces of the Barbarians to his Alliance, particularly the *Francs*, whom he had train'd to Sea-ſervice, and infeſted all the Sea-coaſts about him. *Maximian*, with a brave Army, march'd againſt him; and being advanc'd to the Sea-coaſt, the want of Sea-Men, and the Danger of the *Britiſh* Seas, occaſion'd him to make a Hault, and to come to a Treaty, in which it was concluded, That *Carantius* ſhould enjoy the Government of South *Britain*, as the propereſt Perſon to Defend the Inhabitants, upon the account, no doubt, of his Relation to the *Scots* and *Pictiſh* Kings. This he held, with great Authority and Perfect Peace, for Seven Years together: But, when *Conſtantius* was made *Cæſar* by *Maximian*, and took the Town of *Bononia*, *Carantius* was treacherouſly ſlain by *Allectus* his Boſom Friend and Prime Miniſter. *This Account, which our Hiſtorians give of the Birth and Riſe of* Carantius, ſays the Learn'd and Judicious Lord *Ormond*, *has a greater Air of Truth and Probability in it, when duly conſider'd, than to think, as others have aſſerted, that he was a* Roman *Exile, and a* Britain *of a Mean and Unknown Extract.*

Towards the later End of *Crathilinthus*'s Reign, there was a dreadful Perſecution of the Chriſtians, by the Emperor *Diocleſian*. Whereupon ſeverals of them, are ſaid to have come here; and that *Crathilinthus* built a Church for them in the Iſle of *Man*, and made *Amphibalus*, their Biſhop. Amongſt theſe Chriſtians, our Hiſtorians mention *Amphibalus*, *Modocus*, *Priſcus*, *Calanus*, *Ferranus*, *Ambianus*, *Carnocus*, *&c.* But the

(*g*) Vid. Eutrop. Paul. Diacon. Pomp. Læt. &c.

Narratives of their Chriſtian Zeal and Courage are ſo obſcur'd by the Fictitious Fancies of After-ages, that we can ſcarce diſcover, what theſe Perſons were, nor the Place or manner of their Living. Amidſt theſe Tranſactions, King *Crathilinthus* Died in the Thirty Fourth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 313.

FINCORMACHUS, his Couſin-German ſucceeded him. In the Beginning of this Prince's Reign, *Octavius*, whom the South *Britains* had made Choice of for their King, receiv'd an Overthrow from *Traherus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant for *Conſtantine* the Great; and having fled for Protection to *Fincormachus*, *Traherus* demanded him, otherwiſe he Threatned to make him know, what it was to reſiſt the *Romans*. *Fincormachus*, in Anſwer to this, ſent the *Roman* Lieutenant word, that he would not only Protect *Octavius*, but come with an Army, and reſtore him to his Throne, in ſpite of the *Roman* Power. Accordingly he came with an Army of 30000 *Scots*, 20000 *Picts* and 10000 *Britains*, fought *Traherus*, kill'd 15000 of his Men, and himſelf was oblig'd to fly to *France*, as ſome ſay; or to the Iſle of *Wight*, as others affirm. The *Britains* were ſo Senſible of the Good Service, that *Fincormachus* had done them at this Juncture, that they confirm'd the Gift of the Lands of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland* to the King of *Scots* and his Poſterity, which had been formerly given to them by *Carantius*. Thereafter *Octavius*, beginning to Repent of what he had done, was preparing to make War againſt the *Scots*, for recovering of theſe Countries: But he was ſurpriz'd and defeat by *Traherus*, who had return'd with 20000 Men; and not daring, becauſe of his Breach of Faith, to fly either to the *Scots* or *Picts*, he ſail'd over to *Norway*. Yet upon the Death of *Traherus* he return'd, and was reſtor'd to his Throne, for a Third Time. After this, he liv'd in Great Friendſhip and Peace with the *Picts* and *Scots*. Mean while, *Fincormachus* Died in the Fourty Seventh Year of his Reign, being the Year of our Lord 358.

Fincormachus left Two Sons behind him, *Ethodius* and *Eugenius*, who, being of Nonage, were Tranſported, by their Friends, to the Iſle of *Man*; whilſt there aroſe a great Conteſt for the Crown between Three Couſin-Germans, begot by the Three Brothers of *Crathilinthus*, viz. *Romachus*, *Fethelmachus* and *Anguſianus* or *Æneanus*. *ROMACHUS*, being the Eldeſt Brother-Son, and aſſiſted by the King of the *Picts*, who was his Couſin-German, expel'd the other Two, and was Declar'd King. But he was ſo hated for his Tyranny and Avarice, that the People roſe up in Arms againſt him, defeat his Forces, and endeavouring to make his Eſcape to the *Picts*, he was taken in his Flight, had his Head cut off and expos'd to the Mob, in the Third Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 361.

Upon the Death of *Romachus*, *ANGUSIANUS* was recall'd, and Declared King in his Place. In the Beginning of his Reign, *Nectanus*, King of the *Picts*, invaded his Dominions, to Revenge the Death of his Couſin, *Romachus*: But *Anguſianus* overcame him in Battel, and Purſued him the length of *Camelon*. Yet notwithſtanding of this Victory, *Anguſianus* made Offers of a Peace to the *Picts*, very wiſely conſidering, how much their Mutual Jarrs might weaken them, and expoſe them to their Enemies, the South *Britains* and *Romans*. Nevertheleſs *Nectanus* was ſo bent upon Revenge, that he would hear of no Conditions, but rais'd

a

a Powerful Army, and march'd into *Caledonia*, where he was met by *Anguſianus*; and, after a Bloody Conflict, in which both the Kings were kill'd, the Armies retired to their reſpective Countries, none of them having reaſon to boaſt of the Victory; and a Peace, for ſome time, was agreed betwixt them. *Anguſianus* was kill'd in the Second Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 363. In this King's Reign, liv'd S. *Cataldus*, Biſhop of *Tarentum*, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 343.

FETHELMACHUS ſucceeded to *Anguſianus*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he invaded the *Pictiſh* Dominions, laid waſte the Countries of *Angus* and *Fife*, kill'd *Nectanus* their King, Brother to the former *Nectanus*, in Battel; and brought them to ſuch a low Condition, that, finding themſelves too weak to oppoſe the *Scots* by Arms, their King, *Herguſtus*, had Recourſe to Fraud and Treachery; and by the Means of two *Picts*, who feign'd themſelves to be *Scots* Men, and ſuborned one of his Harpers, they Stabbed *Fethelmachus* with a Dagger, in the Night-time, in the Seventh Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 369. The Murderers were apprehended, and torn in Pieces by Wild Horſes. In this King's Reign, S. *Regulus* came to the *Pictiſh* Dominions, with the Relicts of S. *Andrew*. The Hiſtory of which you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 237. and 238.

Upon the Death of *Fethelmachus*, *EUGENIUS* I. Son to *Fincormachus*, who had now attain'd to a competent Age, was Declar'd King. *Maximus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Britain*, being inform'd to what a low Paſs the *Picts* were reduc'd to, by the *Scots*, made an Offer of his Friendſhip to their King *Herguſtus*: Which he, no ways ſuſpecting his Deſign of bringing them both under Subjection, willingly embrac'd. So the *Roman* and *Pictiſh* Forces, being join'd, march'd againſt *Eugenius*, and defeat him and his Army, upon the Banks of the River of *Cree*, in *Galloway*: But, an Inſurrection ariſing amongſt the South *Britains*, *Maximus* was oblig'd to return with his Forces, without purſuing the Victory any further. The *Scots*, upon this, made an Incurſion upon the *Pictiſh* Dominions, and laid waſte their whole Country. The next Year, *Maximus* return'd with a great Army, and, being join'd by the *Picts*, fought a Bloody Battel with *Eugenius*, upon the Banks of the River *Munda*; where the *Scots* were entirely overthrown, and *Eugenius* was kill'd, fighting valiantly for his Country; and his Brother, *Ethodius*, was taken Priſoner. The Old Men, amongſt the *Caledonians*, who had gather'd, from all the Parts of the Kingdom, to ſee the Event of this Battel, and had follow'd the Army at a Diſtance, ſeeing, from the tops of the Mountains, that all was going to Ruine, came down upon the *Romans* with a huge Shout and Noiſe: But they were involv'd in the ſame Calamity, and had no other Satisfaction ſave that of Sacrificing their Lives for their Country. After this, *Maximus* was willing to take the *Scots* under his Protection, upon the ſame Conditions that the other Conquer'd Nations were. But the *Picts* were ſo bent upon Revenge, that they earneſtly inſiſted, that the *Scots* ſhould all of them be cut off, Root and Branch. *Maximus*, aiming then at the Empire, was unwilling to give ſuch early Proofs of his Tyrannical Nature: Therefore he only Order'd, by an Edict, That, againſt ſuch a Day, all the *Scots*, of what Age, Sex or Condition ſoever, ſhould Depart from their

Native Country, that the *Romans* might be no more moleſted by them; and the Young Prince *Ethodius*, *Eugenius*'s Brother, was permitted to go to *Denmark*. Howbeit the *Scots* were not reſolv'd to abandon their Native Country ſo tamely: And tho' their King was oblig'd to go to *Denmark*; yet they made many Noble Efforts for his Reſtoration. The Firſt was made by *Gueldo*, Chiftain of the Weſt *Iſlanders*: But he had the Miſfortune to have his Army routed in *Argile*-Shire, and himſelf kill'd. Then the Chiftain of *Argile*, having got Ten Thouſand *Iriſh* to join him, made an Attempt, and obtain'd a Victory over *Hirduſtanus*, Brother to *Herguſtus* King of the *Picts*: But as he was proceeding in his Victories, he likewiſe had the Misfortune of being overcome by the *Romans*, in a Bloody Battel, that was fought betwixt them, in *Stirling*-Shire. After this, *Herguſtus* and all his Subjects became Tributary Slaves to the *Romans*; which gall'd him ſo to the Heart, that he Stabbed himſelf with a Dagger. His Son *Durſtus*, endeavouring to recover their Ancient Liberty, was taken Priſoner, and ſent to *Rome*; and thoſe, who roſe up in Arms with him, were put to Death, in the City of *Camalodunum*. During theſe Tranſactions, both *Ethodius* and his Son *Erthus* Died in Baniſhment, *Erthus* having left behind him a Young Son, call'd *Fergus*, whom he had with *Rocha*, Daughter to *Rodericus* a Nobleman in *Denmark*. This Young Prince accompany'd *Alaric* in his Expedition to *Italy*, and was preſent at the taking of the City of *Rome*, in the Year of our Lord 410. After which, the *Goths*, laded with Plunder, follow'd King *Alaric* into *Campania di Roma*, and ſhortly after, he Died ſuddenly in the City of *Coſenza*. *Adolphus*, who ſucceeded him, had raz'd *Rome* to the very Foundation; and, by the Name of *Gothia*, had built it in another Place, if *Galla Placidia*, the Emperor *Honorius*'s Siſter, whom he had Marry'd, had not, by her Intreaties, diſſwaded him from this Barbarous Reſolution. Yea, ſhe did much more *(h)*; for ſhe prevail'd with the King, her Husband, to leave all *Italy* to *Honorius*, and to go and ſettle himſelf, at the ſame time, in the *Gauls* and in the Iſle of *Britain*. In order to which, he ſent the Young Prince, *Fergus*, over to *Britain*, with ſome Troops; where he was immediately join'd, not only by all his own Subjects, but by the *Picts*, who, by this time, were ſufficiently Senſible of the Folly, they had committed, in joining the *Romans*. *Fergus*, having got together a Powerful Army, was reſtor'd to the Throne of his Anceſtors, in the Twenty Eighth Year of the Reign of the Emperor, *Honorius*, and the Year of our Lord 421. Whereupon, the South *Britains* ſent Mournful Letters to the Emperor, humbly imploring his Protection, and vowing perpetual Obedience to *Rome*; if their Enemies were once remov'd. In the mean time, *Adolphus* was aſſaſſinated with his Children at *Barcelona*, by the *Goths*: By which Means, the Emperor *Honorius*, having more Liberty than before, out of Compaſſion, rather than Ambition, ſent them a Legion; who, coming ſuddenly over, oblig'd the *Scots* and *Picts* to retire to their Mountains and Forreſts; and then ſatisfy'd themſelves, with putting ſome Stop to the Progreſs of *Fergus*'s Arms, and Fortifying *Hadrian*'s Wall. But the *Romans* were no ſooner gone, than the *Scots* and *Picts*, under the Command of a Noble *Dane*, call'd *Grahame*, whom our Hiſtorians make Father-in-Law to *Fergus*, and from whom all the *Grahames* are deſcend-

ed,

(*h*) Vid. M. Chevreau's Hiſt. of the World, Vol. 3. Pag. 107.

ed: I ſay, the *Romans* were no ſooner gone out of *Britain*, than the *Scots* and *Picts*, under the Command of this *Grahame*, broke down *Adrian*'s Wall; and, like an impetuous Torrent, made terrible Devaſtations among the Provincial *Britains*, Killing, Burning and Deſtroying whereſoever they came. From this Memorable Expedition, the People, to this Day, call *Hadrian*'s Wall by the Name of *Grahame*'s Dike. After this, the *Britains* ſent, a Third time, Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, in the humbleſt Manner, with their Garments rent, and Duſt on their Heads, begging, *That the (i) Emperor would not permit ſo Ancient a Province, and Serviceable to the* Roman *State, to become a Prey and Scorn to Barbarians.* The Emperor *Valentinian*, upon this, ſent over another Legion to their Relief, who coming, ſays *Bede*, in the Autumn, an unexpected Seaſon of the Year, made great Slaughter of their Enemies. This made *Fergus*, *Durſtus* King of the *Picts*, and *Dionethus* one of the *Britiſh* Kings, join their Forces, with all imaginable Speed, againſt them: But they had the Misfortune to be overthrown, in Battel, by the *Roman* Lieutenant, whom ſome call *Gallion*, and others, *Maximianus*. The *Romans* purchas'd this Victory with ſo conſiderable Loſs, that they retired to their own Province, without purſuing it any further. The next Year, the Confederate Kings march'd with their Forces into *Weſtmorland*, where another Bloody Battel was fought, between them and the *Romans*, with the ſame Succeſs, and the Loſs of *Fergus* and *Durſtus*, who were both kill'd in this Battel. *Dionethus* was Wounded, and, with great Difficulty, carried off to the Sea, and, in a Skiff, he return'd Home. The *Romans* obtain'd this Victory over the *Scots* and *Picts*, in the Year of our Lord 430, and in the Sixteenth Year of *Fergus*'s Reign. In this King's Reign liv'd the Famous *Pelagius*, the Author of the *Pelagian* Hereſy, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pag. 1. &c.

Fergus left Three Sons behind him very Young, *Eugenius*, *Dongardus* and *Conſtantius*, to whom *Grahame* was appointed Guardian: And, till they came to be of Age, he had the Government of the Kingdom. In the beginning of *Eugenius*'s Reign, he caus'd a Muſter to be made of all thoſe, that were betwixt the Age of Sixty and Sixteen, in order to oppoſe the *Roman* Forces, who had Deſtroy'd and laid Waſte the whole Country, as far as *Abercorn*. *Gallion*, having thus reliev'd the *Britains*, call'd them together, and told them, *That there were ſeveral Seditions rais'd among the Nations ſubjected to the* Roman *Empire; that they were not to expect, that they ſhould weary themſelves with any more of ſuch Laborious Expeditions for their Security; exhorting them, for the future, to ſtand up in their own Defence, and Couragiouſly to maintain their Country and Liberties, againſt Rude and Barbarous People, not more Powerful than themſelves, if their own Fears had not made them ſo.* But, before they went away, they gather'd together a great Number of Workmen out of their whole Province, and Fortify'd *Hadrian*'s Wall. They took their laſt Leave of *Britain* about the Year 435, which was the 488 after the firſt Entrance of *Julius Cæſar*. The *Scots* and *Picts* were no ſooner inform'd, that the *Romans* were gone, than they broke down *Hadrian*'s Wall, and drove the *Britains* to the utmoſt Bounds of the Iſland. Whereupon they Addreſs'd themſelves to *Ætius*, the *Roman* Lieutenant, in *Gaul*, in Words an-

(i) Vid. Gild. in Excid. Brit.

anſwerable to their Cowardly and Slaviſh Tempers. For their Letters began in theſe Words (*k*), To *Ætius*, *Thrice Conſul*, *the Grvans of the* Britains: After which, they thus complain'd, *The* Scots *and* Picts *drive us to the Sea, and the Sea drives us back again to them; between which, we have only the Choice of theſe Two Deaths, either to be Slaughter'd by the one, or Drown'd by the other.* And the more to move Compaſſion, they further urg'd, *We the Poor Remnant of the* Britains, *and your Vaſſals, beſides the Enemy, are puniſh'd by Famine and Mortality, which at this time violently rage in our Land.* Withal they us'd ſeveral Arguments to engage him to come over, particularly, *That it was the* Romans *Occaſions, not their own, that had reduc'd them to theſe Extremities; ſince the Strength of the* Britiſh *Youth had been exhauſted in their Service, and the Land left Defenceleſs, to ſupport the Grandeur of the Empire. And, beſides the Loſs of their Men, their Wealth had been conſum'd in maintaining ſo many Legions in Foreign Service, and their Corn ſpent in ſupplying the* Roman *Provinces abroad.*

Nevertheleſs they receiv'd no Anſwer to theſe Urgent Petitions; either becauſe the Empire was then infeſted with the Incurſions of the *Huns*, *Goths* and *Vandals*; or becauſe the Emperor himſelf, *Flavius Theodoſius* II. was very negligent in the Adminiſtration of State Affairs, tho' otherwiſe he was an Excellent Prince: For he (*l*) had a handſome and charming Face, and a Body well proportion'd, was an Admirable Horſe-man, a Dexterous Archer, excell'd in Painting, underſtood the Mathematics, Philoſophy and Aſtronomy. His Piety may ſerve as an Example to the Greateſt Princes; for it was ſo Public, that he imploy'd the firſt Hours of the Day, in Singing Pſalms and in Prayers with his Wife and his Siſters; had Set Times for Reading of the Holy Bible; call'd all Servants to the Exerciſes of Devotion; and People liv'd in his Palace, as in a Cloyſter. Yet, as I have ſaid, this Prince was greatly blam'd for neglecting a Province, *Which*, ſays *Echard* (*m*), *was accounted the faireſt Flower in their Triumphant Garlands.* After that *Eugenius* had reduc'd the *Britains* to this Miſerable Condition, he oblig'd them to conclude a Peace on theſe hard Conditions with him, *viz. That the* Britains *ſhould not ſend for any* Roman *or other Foreign Army, to aſſiſt them; That they ſhould not admit them, if they came of their own accord, nor give them Liberty to march thro' their Country; That the Enemies of the* Scots *and* Picts *ſhould be theirs alſo; That, without their Permiſſion, they ſhould not make Peace or War, nor ſend Aid to any, who deſir'd it; That the Limits of their Kingdom ſhould be the River* Humber; *That they ſhould alſo make preſent Payment of a certain Sum of Money, by way of Mulct, to be divided amongſt the Soldiers, which alſo was to be paid Yearly by them; That they ſhould give an Hundred Hoſtages, ſuch as the Confederate Kings ſhould Approve of.*

After this, *Eugenius* return'd to his own Country, and the *Britains* made Choice of a Noble *Britain*, call'd *Conſtantine*, to be their King. But *Vortigern*, a Powerful and Ambitious Man amongſt them, having kill'd him and his Son, Uſurp'd the *Britiſh* Throne; and, ſuſpecting the Faithfulneſs of the People towards him, he brought over, from *Germany* to his Aſſiſtance, *Hengiſt* with a ſtrong Band of *Saxons*; afterwards he invited the *Jutes* and the *Angles*; and, by their Aid, overcame the *Scots* and *Picts*. Upon which, a Peace enſu'd, and *Eugenius* Died in Peace,

(*k*) Vid. Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. Gild. in Excid. Brit. (*l*) Vid. M. Chev. Hiſt. Vol. 3. Pag. 108. (*m*) Pag. 35.

Peace, in the Thirtieth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 460. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Sedulius*, the Famous Chriſtian Poet, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 344. S. *Proſper* tells us (*n*), that *Palladius* was ſent, in his time, to the *Scots*, to oppoſe the *Pelagian* Hereſy.

DONGARDUS ſucceeded to his Brother, *Eugenius*. This Prince had all the Good Qualities of his Brother; he built and repair'd ſeveral Churches in his Kingdom, put Pious and Learn'd Men into them, and provided them with ſufficient Benefices. In the Fifth Year of his Reign, the *Britains* made an Incurſion upon his Dominions; whereupon he rais'd a Great Army, and being join'd by the *Picts*, a Bloody Battel hapned between them, upon the Banks of *Humber*. None of them had reaſon to boaſt of the Victory: For tho' the *Britains* had the greateſt Loſs of Men, 16000 of them being kill'd in this Action; yet the *Scots* loſt their King, and 14000 of their Men. *Dongardus* was kill'd in the Fifth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 465. In this King's Reign, the *Iriſh* were Converted to the Chriſtian Religion, by S. *Patrick*, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 345.

CONSTANTINE I. ſucceeded to *Dongardus* his Brother. This Prince gave himſelf over entirely to his Pleaſures, and made a Diſhonourable Peace with the *Britains*, notwithſtanding that his Subjects earneſtly inſiſted, That he ſhould renew the War againſt them, that they might revenge the Death of his Brother. The Nobility and Barons had reſolv'd, amongſt themſelves, to Dethrone him, and to eſtabliſh *Congallus*, *Dongardus*'s eldeſt Son and Lawful Heir of the Throne, in his Place: But they were diſſwaded from this, by one *Dougal*, a Nobleman of *Galloway*. He Died in Peace, in the Seventeenth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 482. In this King's Reign, the *Picts* made a League with the *Saxons* againſt the *Scots*.

CONGALLUS, *Dongardus*'s Son, ſucceeded *Conſtantine*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he made a Progreſs thro' his Kingdom, and reform'd all the Abuſes, that had been committed in his Uncle's Government. He ſent his Brother *Conranus*, with an Army, to aſſiſt *Aurelius Ambroſius*, King of the *Britains*, againſt *Hingiſtus*, King of the *Saxons*. And after he had Reign'd, with great Fame and Reputation, for Twenty Years, he Died in Peace, and was Bury'd at *Colmkyl*, in the Year of our Lord 501. In this King's Reign, liv'd S. *Benignus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, S. *Secundine*, S. *Mæl*, *Luman*, *Patrick*, and S. *Fridiline*, whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 349, 350 and 351.

Congallus left Three Sons behind him, *Eugenius*, *Conuallus* and *Kynnatillus*. But none of them being of Age, they were ſent to the Iſle of *Man*, to be brought up there; and *CONRANUS*, their Uncle, was Declar'd King. This Prince not only Puniſh'd ſeverely all Offenders, but likewiſe, being inform'd that there were ſeveral Poor People, who durſt not complain of the Injuries, that were done them, for Fear of their Maſters, ſent Spies ſecretly to all the Shires of the Country, who wrote down the Names of the Perſons, that the Poor did complain of, and the Crimes that were laid to their Charge. Then he appointed

(*n*) In Chron.

an Advocate, who was call'd the King's Advocate: His Office was to Accuſe the Perſons, whoſe Names were in thoſe Rolls; and, according to the Probation, ſo they were either Abſolved or Condemned. He perſwaded *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*, to break the League with the *Saxons*, and join his Forces, with the *Britains* and him, againſt them; by which Means, the *Britains*, under the Conduct of their King *Arthur*, were ſo enabled, that he wholly ſubdu'd the *Saxons*, and reſtored Peace to *Britain*. This Excellent Prince was Murder'd by Two Ruffians, who had conceal'd themſelves in his Chamber, at *Lochaber*, at the Inſtigation of the Chiftain of *Athol*, who thought the King had Adminiſtrated Juſtice too Severely againſt ſome of his Followers. *Toncetus*, his Chief-Juſtice in Criminal Matters, had been likewiſe Murder'd a little before, at *Foreſt* in *Murray*. *Conranus* was Murder'd in the Thirty Fifth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 535; he was Bury'd at *Colmkyl*, with his Predeceſſors. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Gildas* the *Albanian*, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 351.

EUGENIUS III. Son to *Congallus*, ſucceeded *Conranus*. He was no ſooner Seated in the Throne, than his Nobles advis'd him to Revenge the Death of his Uncle. Howbeit, he, being no ways ſatisfy'd with the Law, That excluded the Lawful Heirs of the Crown from Reigning, till ſuch a Time and at ſuch an Age, entertain'd the Propoſal but very coldly; and was eaſily reconcil'd with the Chiftain of *Athol*. This made *Conranus*'s Relict afraid, that he might treat her and her Children harſhly: Whereupon ſhe fled over to *Ireland* with her Two Sons, *Fogananus*, as *Adamanus* calls him, or *Regimanus*, as others call him, and *Aidanus*. But ſhe was mightily deceiv'd; for, as *Buchanan* ſays of him, he manag'd all the Affairs of his Kingdom ſo wiſely and juſtly, that he was inferior to none of his Predeceſſors. He was often preſent at the Judging of Cauſes; and, if any of the Poor People had not whereupon to Proſecute their Law Suits, he Order'd, upon a clear Probation of their Indigent Circumſtances, That they ſhould be ſupply'd out of the Public. By another Law, he Order'd, That none ſhould be brought before a Judge, till they had attain'd to ſuch an Age; and, That no Widow ſhould be oblig'd to compear before a Judge, unleſs it were within a Mile of the Place of her Reſidence. He aſſiſted *Arthur*, King of the *Britains*, againſt the *Saxons*; ſent ſeveral Captains to make Incurſions upon their Borders: But never would fight a Pitch'd Battel with them. He Died in Peace, in the Thirty Third Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 568. and was Bury'd at *Colmkyl*. This King had a Natural Son, with *Thæmetis* Daughter to *Loth*, King of the *Picts*, who was made the Firſt Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, and afterwards Canoniz'd for his Piety, and is ſo well known under the Name of S. *Mungo*, or S. *Kentigernus*.

CONVALLUS, Brother to *Eugenius*, ſucceeded to him. He was a Prince of extraordinary Endowments; and who, in all the Actions of his Life, gave Signal Proofs of his Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion. For, he caus'd always a Silver Croſs, to be carried before him, on which was engraven, *This is the Glory of the Chriſtians*. He Order'd, That the Figure of the Croſs ſhould not be drawn upon any Pavement, that it might not be ſaid, That any of his Subjects had ſo much as trampled upon the Sign of

of the Croſs. He gave the Iſland of *Colmkyl*, in Property, to S. *Columba*; where he built a Monaſtery, that became afterwards a Famous Nourcery of Religion and Learning, in this Country. He likewiſe aſſiſted this Saint, in his Converting of the *Picts* to the Chriſtian Religion; and, by his Advice, ſeveral Excellent and Good Laws, for the Honour of the Prieſthood, were made, as may be ſeen in that Saint's Life, which you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 352, *&c.* He Died in the Tenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 578, to the unexpreſſible Sorrow of his Subjects, and was Buried at *Colmkyl*.

KINNATILLUS ſucceeded to his Brother, *Convallus*. This Prince was no leſs Religiouſly inclin'd than his Brother: But, being ſubject to many Diſeaſes, he enjoy'd not the Scepter long; for, he Died in the Firſt Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 578, and was Buried with his Predeceſſors at *Colmkyl*.

AIDANUS, *Conranus*'s Son, ſucceeded to *Kinnatillus*. He was the Firſt of our Kings, that was Anointed; and, if we may believe *Adamanus*, in the Life of S. *Columba*, who perform'd the Ceremony, it was by the Special Command of God Almighty; as you will find the Story, related in the Life of that Saint, in the Firſt Volume of this Work. This Prince, for the more eaſy Adminiſtration of Juſtice to his Subjects, divided his Kingdom into Three Diſtricts, *viz.* *Galloway*, *Lochaber* and *Cathneſs*; and the Subjects of the Counties or Shires, allotted to each Diſtrict, were appointed to go thither, Twice or Thrice every Year, for the Deciſion of their Cauſes. In the Beginning of his Reign, a Quarrel happened amongſt ſome of his Subjects, at an Hunting; and the Perſons, who had occaſion'd it, being afraid of the King's Diſpleaſure, fled, for Protection, to *Brudeus*, King of the *Picts*, who refuſing to deliver them up, a War enſu'd betwixt the Two Nations: But it was quickly ended, by the Prudent Management of S. *Columba*. In the mean time, the *Saxons*, who had driven the *Britains* into the *Peninſula* of *Wales*, divided the reſt amongſt them, and made Seven different Kingdoms of it: But, not contented with their own Dominions, they ſtirr'd up a New War between the *Scots* and *Picts*. Upon which, the *Scots* and *Britains*, having renew'd their League, join'd their Forces againſt the *Saxons* and *Picts*. In this War, the *Scots* were ſeveral times, worſted; and King *Aidanus* had his Son *Arthur*, whom *Buchanan* calls *Grifin*, kill'd, in one of theſe Skirmiſhes. At length, the *Scots* and *Britains* obtain'd a complete Victory over them, as it was thought, by the Aſſiſtance of S. *Columba*'s Prayers, as we are told by *Adamanus* in that Saint's Life. Not long after this, King *Aidanus* Died in Peace, in the Twenty Seventh Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 606, and was Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, liv'd S. *Columbanus* the Famous Abbot of *Bobio* and *Luxevil*, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 17.

KENNETH KEIR, *Conuallus*'s Son, ſucceeded to *Aidanus*; but he liv'd only Four Months after his Acceſſion to the Throne; and Died in the Year of our Lord 606, and was Buried with his Predeceſſors, at *Colmkyl*.

To *Kenneth* ſucceeded *EUGENIUS* IV. Son to *Aidanus*. This Prince was brought up in all Virtue and Learning, under S. *Columba*, and, in all Princely Accompliſhments, was no ways inferior to his Father. He baniſh'd all Vagabonds and Idle Perſons out of his Kingdom; and

liv'd in great Peace, during his Reign, with the *Britains* and *Picts*. In the Tenth Year of his Reign, *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, being depriv'd of his Life and Kingdom by *Redwald*, King of the East *Angles*, left behind him Seven Sons and one Daughter, who, upon their Father's Death, fled into *Scotland*; where they were kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by *Eugenius*, who brought them up, in the Christian Religion; and, after they had staid Eighteen Years in *Scotland*, they all return'd Home, save the Daughter, *Ebba*, who liv'd all her Days a Monastic Life, at a Promontory, upon the Mouth of *Forth*, near *Fast-Castle*, in the *Mers*; which, from her, is call'd S. *Ebbe's Head* to this Day. *Eugenius* Died in Peace, in the Fifteenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 620, and lyes Buried, with his Predeceſſors, at *Colmkyl*.

FERCHARD, his Son, ſucceeded him. This Prince, having been brought up in a Monaſtic Life, under *Conanus*, Biſhop of the Iſle of *Man*, was altogether unfit for Government; which caus'd great Diviſions amongſt his Subjects. At length, they roſe up in Open Rebellion againſt him, ſeiz'd upon his Perſon, and impriſon'd him: Then they ſent Ambaſſadors, over to *France*, to S. *Fiacre* his Brother; of which Negociation you have an Account, in the Life of that Saint, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 362. In the mean time, *Ferchard* Died in Priſon, in the Twelfth Year of our Lord 632, and was Buried at *Colmkyl*.

Donevaldus or *DONALDUS*, his Brother, ſucceeded to him. He, having Obſerv'd the Rock, upon which his Brother ſplit, was no ſooner Seated in the Throne, than he rais'd a Powerful Army, and imploy'd them in Reſtoring the Children of *Ethelfrid*. At this time, *Northumberland* was divided into Two Kingdoms, the *Bernicii* and *Deiri*. *Eufrid*, *Ethelfrid*'s Eldeſt Son, by his Aſſiſtance, was made King of the *Bernicii*; and his Brother, *Oſticus*, King of the *Deiri*. Theſe Two Princes were no ſooner ſettled in their Kingdoms, than they renounced the Chriſtian Religion, in which they had been carefully brought up. For which, God did ſhortly after raiſe *Penda* to deprive them both of their Lives and Kingdoms; and *Oſwald*, their Brother, ſucceeded to them both. This Prince ſent Ambaſſadors to *Donaldus*, deſiring to ſend him Learn'd and Wiſe Men to aſſiſt him, in the Converting of his Subjects to the Chriſtian Religion. Whereupon *Aidanus* was ſent, whoſe Life and Actions you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 356. King *Donaldus* was drown'd in *Loch-Tay*, as he was diverting himſelf at the Fiſhing, in the Fifteenth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 646. His Body, being found, was carried to *Colmkyl*, and Buried amongſt his Predeceſſors. In this King's Reign, liv'd the Famous S. *Giles*; whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 356.

To *Donevaldus* ſucceeded his Nephew, *FERCHARD*, by his Brother *Ferchard*, of whom we have ſpoken. This Prince, before his Acceſſion to the Throne, ſeem'd to have all the Virtues, that are required to make an accompliſh'd Prince: But, after his Acceſſion to the Throne, he gave ſuch a Looſe to his Paſſions, that he render'd himſelf ſo Odious to his Subjects, that they were going to Dethrone him, had it not been for Biſhop *Colman*, (whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 365.) who told them, That it only belong'd to God

God to Puniſh Kings. Yet ſuch were his extravagant Acts of Debauchery, that he incurr'd the Cenſures of the Church, which were pronounced againſt him by *Colman*. But, it having pleas'd God to afflict him with a Grievous Diſeaſe, he became very Penitent; and *Colman* abſolv'd him from the Church-Cenſure, gave him the Sacrament of the Euchariſt; and he Died, with all the Signs of a true Penitent, in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 664. and is Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Jonas*, Abbot of *Bobio* and *Luxevil*, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 356.

To *Ferchard* ſucceeded *MALDUIN*, the Son of *Donevallus*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he concluded a Peace with the *Picts* and *Saxons*; and quell'd an Inſurrection of the Men of *Argile*-Shire and *Lenox*. Then he travell'd thro' his Kingdom, and rectify'd all the Abuſes, that had been committed in his Uncle *Ferchard*'s time. When he came to *Colmkyl*, finding that the Church and Abby were in a Ruinous Condition, he caus'd repair them both. Thereafter, a War being like to enſue betwixt him and the *Saxons*, he was Murder'd by his Queen, in the Night-time, upon a Suſpicion of Jealouſy, in the Twentieth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 684. His Queen was apprehended the next Day, and burnt Alive; and he was Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Cumin*, Abbot of *Hey* or *Colmkyl*; S. *Finan*, Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*; and S. *Diſibod*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 357, 361, 367.

To *Malduin* ſucceeded *EUGENIUS* V. Nephew to *Malduin* by his Brother *Dongard*. In the Beginning of his Reign, there was a Peace agreed to, betwixt him and *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, for Twelve Months: But, in the Tenth Month, *Egfrid* came, with an Army, into *Galloway*, and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Donskene*. Upon this, *Eugenius* came, with a Powerful Army, againſt him; and, upon the Banks of the River *Lewis* or *Leuce*, the *Scots* gave him a terrible Overthrow, having kill'd Twenty Thouſand of his Men, with the Loſs only of Six Thouſand. In this Battel, *Brudus*, King of the *Picts*, having made but a ſhamm Appearance of aſſiſting the *Saxons*; the next Year, in Revenge, *Egfrid* made War againſt the *Picts*, who, pretending to run away, drew him and his Army into an Ambuſh, and cut him off, with all his Men. The *Picts*, laying hold of this Opportunity, recover'd thoſe large Territories, that had been taken from them, in former Wars: And, the *Britains* and *Scots* having likewiſe join'd them, they made ſuch a terrible Havock in *Northumberland*, that it never recover'd it ſelf ſince, ſays *Bede*. Not long after this, *Eugenius* Died in Peace, in the Fourth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 688, and was Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, liv'd S. *Cuthbert*, Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*; S. *Kilian*, Biſhop of *Wirtzburgh*; and S. *Florentius*, Biſhop of *Strasburg*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 367, 368, 369, *&c.*

To *Eugenius* V. ſucceeded *EUGENIUS* VI. the Son of *Ferchard*. This Prince being brought up in all ſort of Learning under *Adamanus*, Abbot of *Hey* or *Colmkyl*, there was great Peace and Concord betwixt him and *Alfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, who was one of the moſt Learn'd Princes of his Age. Nevertheleſs, he could never be reconcil'd

to the *Picts*; ſo that, during his whole Reign, there were conſtant Skirmiſhes, betwixt the *Scots* and them, but without any conſiderable Loſs to either Side. He Died in the Tenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 697, and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, as I have ſaid, liv'd *Adamanus*, Abbot of *Hey*; whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 358.

AMBERKELETHUS, Son to *Eugenius* V. ſucceeded to *Eugenius* VI. Before this Prince attain'd to the Throne, he ſeem'd to have a Warlike and Active Diſpoſition: But he was no ſooner Crown'd, than he gave himſelf up to his Pleaſures. Whereupon *Garnard*, King of the *Picts*, laying hold of this Opportunity, rais'd an Army, with which he invaded the *Scots*. This awakening him, as it were out of a Dream, he rais'd a Powerful Army, met the *Picts*, and drove them into a thick Wood; where, when he was preſſing too hard upon them, he receiv'd a Wound by an Arrow, of which he Died, Ten Days after, in the Second Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 699. and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*.

To *Amberkelethus* ſucceeded his Brother, *EUGENIUS* VII. He made a Peace with *Garnardus*, King of the *Picts*, and Marry'd his Daughter *Spondana* was, ſhortly after, Murder'd in her Bed, by two Brothers, who liv'd in the Shire of *Argile*: Whereupon a War was likely to enſue betwixt the Two Nations. The *Picts* accus'd *Eugenius*, as having been acceſſory to the Murder: But *Eugenius* ſufficiently Vindicated himſelf to the King of the *Picts*, by cauſing the Murderers to be apprehended; who, upon Confeſſion, acknowledg'd, That they had Stabb'd the Queen, inſtead of himſelf, for having caus'd Execute their Father; for which, they were tortur'd to Death. After this, *Eugenius* got together the moſt Learn'd Men of his Kingdom, and Order'd them to write the Hiſtory of his Predeceſſors Actions; which, after they had done, he ſent to the Abbot of *Colmkyl*, to be preſerv'd there: And, having repair'd ſeveral Churches, and augmented their Revenues, he Died in Peace, at *Abernethy*, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 716. and was Buried at *Colmkyl*.

MORDACUS, Son to *Amberkelethus*, ſucceeded to *Eugenius* VII. There was Peace over all *Britain*, during his Reign; and he imitated his Predeceſſor *Eugenius*, not only in maintaining Peace, but in endowing of Monaſteries and Churches; and particularly he repair'd the Convent and Church of *White-horn* in *Galloway*, which had been ruin'd by the former Wars: And, with this State of this Iſland, the Learn'd and Celebrated *Bede* finiſh'd his Hiſtory, about the Year of our Lord 731. In which Year alſo Died *Mordacus*, being the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, and was Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, liv'd S. *Willibrord*, Arch-Biſhop of *Utretcht*, in *Holland*; and *Sedulius*, the Famous Commentator upon the Scriptures; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 370, 371, *&c.*

To *Mordacus* ſucceeded *ETHFINUS*, Son to *Eugenius* VII. He, being a Prince of a Peaceable Temper, kept all things in good Order, during the ſpace of Thirty Years, that he Managed the Government: But, turning very Ag'd and Infirm, he appointed Four Vice-Gerents, to Govern the Realm; whoſe Names were, *Donald*, Thane of *Argile*; *Collane*, Thane of *Athol*; *Mordack*, Thane of *Galloway*; and *Conraith*, Thane

Thane of *Murray*. Theſe Regents favouring each of them their own Friends and Followers, the whole Nation was oppreſs'd by their Tyrannical Deportment. And to augment the Calamities of the People the more, *Donald* of the *Iſles* laid waſte a great part of the Country, with his Followers. The Old King, hearing of all thoſe Diſorders, and not being able to remedy them, by reaſon of his many Infirmities, Died of Grief in the Thirtieth Year of his Reign, as I have ſaid, and in the Year of our Lord 762, and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, liv'd S. *Boniface*, Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, and S. *Wilibald*, Biſhop of *Eychſtat*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 35, 373, *&c.*

To *Ethfinus* ſucceeded *EUGENIUS* VIII. Son to *Mordacus*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he gave great Satisfaction to his Subjects; for, by his Valour, he overcame *Donald* of the *Iſles*, took him Priſoner, put him Publickly to Death, with *Mordacus* Thane of *Galloway*; Forfaulted the other Three Thanes; and reſtor'd all thoſe to their Eſtates, who had been unjuſtly thruſt out of them, by the Governours. Yet notwithſtanding of all this, his Subjects murmur'd at his Government; and, one Day, as he was ſitting in Judgment, he was Murder'd by them, in the Third Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 765, and was Buried at *Colmkyl*.

To *Eugenius* VIII. ſucceeded *FERGUS* III. the Son of *Ethfinus*, a Prince, who gave himſelf up intirely to his Pleaſures; and, for not giving that Reſpect and Benevolence to his Queen, that ſhe deſir'd and expected, ſhe Poiſon'd him, as ſome ſay; or Strangled him, according to others, in the Night-time. Whereupon a ſtrict Inquiry was made after the Murderers, and ſeveral of the King's Domeſtics were put to Torture. The Queen ſeeing ſo many Innocent People ſuffering for her Guilt, call'd the Nobility together, and told them, That Anger and Luſt had prompt her to Murder her Husband; and that thoſe People, whom they were putting to the Torture, were altogether Innocent: Then, pulling a Dagger from her Breaſt, ſhe ſtabb'd her ſelf to the Heart; and, by this generous Confeſſion, ſhe ſav'd the Lives of a great many Innocents. This King was Murder'd in the Third Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 768, and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*.

To *Fergus* III. ſucceeded *SOLVATHIUS*, Son to *Eugenius* VIII. This Prince, if he had not been troubled with the Gout, might for his Perſonal Valour, well be reckon'd amongſt the Beſt of our Kings. For, notwithſtanding of his Lameneſs, he overcame, in Battel, *Donald Bane*, who had aſſum'd to himſelf the Title of King of the *Iſles*; and one *Gyllequham*, a formidable Rebel in *Galloway*. During his Reign, notwithſtanding that the *Saxons* and *Picts* were at great Variance, amongſt themſelves; yet he did not embrace that Opportunity of being Reveng'd upon them: But Govern'd his Subjects in Peace, with great Wiſdom and Prudence; and Died in the Twentieth Year of his Reign, much regreted by all Men, and in the Year of our Lord 788. and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*.

To *Solvathius* ſucceeded *ACHAIUS*, *Ethfinus*'s Son. In the Beginning of his Reign, the *Iriſh* ſet out a Fleet, with a Deſign to invade *Scotland*; becauſe ſome of the People of *Kintyre* had kill'd divers *Iriſh* Men, who had join'd with them, in Plundering ſome of the adjacent

Iſles: But their Fleet was diſpers'd by a Tempeſt, and no further Attempts were made. In the Twenty Third Year of his Reign, *Charlemagne*, being inform'd, that there were ſeveral Perſons, in *Scotland*, well Seen in all the Languages and Sciences, and deſigning to propagate Learning in his own Kingdom, ſent over Ambaſſadors to *Achaius*, deſiring, that he would ſend him over ſome of his Learn'd Men; and that he would enter into a League with him, againſt the *Saxons*, who were Enemies to them both. Whereupon *Achaius* call'd his Nobility together, to ask their Advice about this important Affair. *Culman*, Chiftain of *Mar*, was of the Opinion, That the King ought rather to entertain Friendſhip with the *Saxons*, than with the *French*; becauſe they were on the ſame Iſland with them: But he was fully anſwer'd by *Albanus*, Chiftain of the *Iſles*; and a League was concluded betwixt the *French* and *Scots*. By this League, it was Agreed to, for them and their Poſterity, for all future Generations, I. That whatever Injury was done, by the *Saxons*, to either Nation, ſhould be look'd upon, as done to them both. II. When the *French* are invaded by the *Saxons*, the *Scots* ſhall ſend an Army to aſſiſt them; which Army is to be maintain'd by the *French* King. III. That, when the *Scots* are invaded by the *Saxons*, the *French* King ſhall ſend an Army to their Aſſiſtance, upon his own Expences. IV. That, if any of the People of either Nation, during the time of War, ſhall harbour, ſupport or protect any *Saxon*, they ſhall be deem'd Guilty of Læſe Majeſty, by them both. V. That, neither Peace ſhould be concluded with, nor War declar'd againſt, the *Saxons*, without the Conſent of both Nations. VI. That an Authentic Copy of this League ſhould be kept in both Kingdoms, ſubſcribed by both Kings, and both their Seals appended to it.

After this League was Ratify'd by both Kings, *Achaius* declar'd War againſt the *Saxons*, and ſent over his Brother, *Guillerme*, or *William* as others call him, to *Charlemagne*, with Four Thouſand Men, to aſſiſt him, in his Wars. This Prince *William*, having acquir'd great Honour, by his Valorous Actions, in ſeveral Countries; at length, led a retir'd Religious Life, and Founded ſeveral Monaſteries, for *Scots* Men, not only in *Germany*, ſays *Johannes Major*, but likewiſe in ſeveral other Places. And when, by the Valour of his Soldiers, *Charlemagne* had overcome the *Saxons*, he made ſeverals of the *Scots* Men Governours and Magiſtrates over the *Saxons*, as we Learn from *Paulus Æmilius*; whoſe Words are theſe (*o*): Saxonibus *victis ut eorum Nomen paulatim extingueretur, Honores, Magiſtratus Gentibus alienigenis at imprimis* Scotis *mandabat, quorum egregia fide utebatur*. That's to ſay, *The* Saxons *being overcome, that their Name, by little and little, might be extinguiſh'd, he beſtow'd the Honours of Magiſtracy upon Strangers, but principally upon the* Scots, *whom he made Uſe of for the great Fidelity that he found in them.* In the mean time, *Achaius* Married *Ferguſiana*, Daughter to *Hungus*, King of the *Picts*; by which means, the Old League, betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*, was renew'd. Thereafter *Hungus*, being aſſiſted by Ten Thouſand *Scots*, made an Incurſion into *Northumberland*, and drove a great Prey away with him. *Athelſtane*, a Valiant *Saxon*, being inform'd of this, rais'd a great Army, and march'd after *Hungus*, whom he overtook within two Miles of *Hadington*. The *Picts*, being extremely ſurpriz'd at the ſudden Arrival of *Athelſtane*, run to

(*o*) Vid. Paul. Æmil. de Geſt. Francor.

to their Arms: But, it being towards the Evening, neither of the Armies durſt Engage. The next Morning, a Meteor appear'd in the Air, in Form of a Croſs: *Hungus*, obſerving his Army gazing at it, told them, That, that Night, he had been very earneſt in his Prayers to God for them, and that he had begg'd the Aſſiſtance of S. *Andrew*'s Prayers; and that, when he fell aſleep, the Apoſtle appear'd to him, with a Croſs in his Hand, and deſir'd him to be no ways afraid of his Enemies; for he ſhould obtain an Abſolute Victory over them; and that the Croſs, which he ſaw in his Sleep, was exactly like that in the Air. This ſo encourag'd his Men, that, tho' they were much inferior to their Enemies in Number, they ſet upon them, with a great Shout, and with ſuch Fury, that they obtain'd a complete Victory; and of the whole *Saxon* Army there were hardly Five Hundred Men Alive. *Hungus* aſcrib'd this Victory to S. *Andrew*; for which, they, and the *Scots*, after their Acceſſion to the *Pictiſh* Throne, carried always, in time of War, a Croſs, upon their Standard, like to that which they had ſeen in the Air. *Athelſtane* was kill'd in Battel; and from him, the Place, to this Day, is call'd *Athelſtane*'s-Foord. Not long after this, King *Achaius* Died in Peace, in the Thirty Second Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 819. In this King's Reign, liv'd the Famous *John Scot*; S. *Macarius*, Abbot of *Wirtzburg*; *Albin*, Founder of the Univerſity of *Pavia*; *Clement*, Founder of the Public Schools at *Paris*; *Rabanus Maurus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*; S. *Virgil*, Biſhop of *Saltzburg*; *Gildas*, the Mathematician; and Biſhop *Stolbrand*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 49, 59, 63, 69, 81, 375, 377, 378.

To *Achaius* ſucceeded his Brother's Son, *CONVALLUS*, who Reign'd Five Years in Peace, both at Home and Abroad; and Died in the Year of our Lord 824.

To *Convallus* ſucceeded *DONGALLUS*, Son to King *Solvathius*. This Prince was very Severe in his Government; whereupon ſome of the Nobility got together in Arms, and endeavour'd to perſwade *Alpin*, King *Achaius*'s Son, to take the Title of King upon him: But that Prince, being Young and Timorous, ſtole ſecretly away from them, and ſurrender'd himſelf up to *Dongallus*, laying the whole Blame upon the Nobility. They, on the other hand, ſaid, That *Alpin* had prompt them to take up Arms for him: But he, finding that his Party was too weak, had Deſerted them. *Dongallus*, that he might the more ingratiate himſelf with the Young Prince, *Alpin*, was ſo far from giving any Credit to what they ſaid for themſelves, that he put ſeverals of them to Death. In the mean time, *Hungus*, King of the *Picts*, Died; and his Eldeſt Son, *Dorſtologus*, was ſlain by the Fraud of his Brother, *Eganus*, who died ſhortly after. The Male Stock of *Hungus* being then extinct, his Siſter's Son, *Alpin*, as next Heir, both by an Ancient Law, and in Right of Blood, claim'd the Kingdom: But the *Picts* would not hear of it, becauſe they look'd upon him, as a Foreigner. Whereupon *Dongallus* ſent Ambaſſadors to them, to expoſtulate the Matter: Nevertheleſs they were ſo far from complying with *Dongallus*'s Deſire, that they not only refus'd to give them Audience, but Commanded them to depart, out of their Dominions, in Four Days time. Upon this, *Dongallus* march'd with his Army againſt them, and paſſing over the River of *Spey*, whoſe Cur-

rent was very violent, the Veſſel, in which he was, ſunk, and he was Drown'd, in the Sixth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 830, and was Bury'd at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, *Egbert*, King of the Weſt *Saxons*, ſubdu'd the *Saxon* Heptarchy, and reduc'd it to his own Power. He was ſolemnly Crown'd King of South *Britain*, at *Winchester*; and, by an Edict or Proclamation, commanded, That the whole Heptarchy ſhould hereafter be call'd *Englelond* or *England*.

Upon the Death of *Dongallus*, *ALPIN*, King *Achaius*'s Son, was declar'd King. He march'd his Army ſtraight into *Angus*, and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Forfar*. Upon this, *Feredech*, King of the *Picts*, came, with his Army, to *Reſtenoth*, where they fought a Bloody Battel. In the Beginning of this Battel, the Right Wing of the *Scots* Army had been entirely cut off, had they not been timely ſupported by Four Hundred freſh Men, under the Command of *Fidenoth*, Thane of *Athol*. *Feredech*, ſeeing this, broke into the Heart of the *Scots* Army, with a Company of Reſolute Young Men: But, by this raſh Act of his, he was cut off from the Main Body of his own Army, and he himſelf kill'd, with all his Followers. Yet notwithſtanding of this great Advantage, that the *Scots* had obtain'd, the *Picts* continued reſolutely Fighting, till Night ſeparated both Armies. The next Day, *Alpin*, finding that about the Third Part of his Army was cut off, reſolv'd to retire Home with the Remnant of them. Yet, before he remov'd his Camp, he ſent out Spies to ſee in what Condition, the Enemy was; and having learn'd by them, that they had quit their Camp, and march'd towards *Camalodunum*, he led his Army into their Camp, where they ſeiz'd upon all, that was left behind them; and then return'd Home, in great Triumph. After this, the *Picts* made Choice of *Brudus*, the Son of *Feredech*, for their King. But, he proving a dull and lazy Prince, they put him quickly to Death; and made Choice of his Brother, *Kenneth*, in his Place, who, being a Prince likewiſe of a Cowardly and Daſtardly Spirit, had the like Fate. Thereafter another *Brudus* was choſen, who, being a Prince of a fierce and warlike Temper, rais'd a great Army, with which he march'd as far as the *Caledonian* Wood. Whereupon King *Alpin* call'd out all the Fencible Men he could get together, upon ſuch an unexpected Alarm, and went with them towards *Dundee*. Here, upon a Plain lying to the North of the Town, the Two Armies encounter'd, with their uſual Fury and Valour. *Brudus*, finding that they were like to be worſted, upon a Signal given, brought out of a Wood a great Body of Men and Women, who were attending the Army, whom he had purpoſely conceal'd for this Stratagem. This Unarm'd Mob moving in a Warlike Poſture towards the Rear of the *Scots* Army; the *Scots*, thinking it a freſh Supply of Men coming to attack them in the Rear, fled in great Confuſion. In this Battel, King *Alpin* was taken Priſoner, and brought, with his Hands bound behind him, to a ſmall Village, where *Brudus*, Order'd to cut off his Head, and carry it in Triumph to *Camelon*, where he caus'd fix it upon a Pole, in the higheſt Part of the Walls of the City. The Village, where King *Alpin* was ſlain, was, from that, call'd *Paſalpine*; which Name it retains to this Day. This King was Beheaded in the Fourth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 834.

To

To *Alpin* ſucceeded his Son, *KENNETH.* This Prince was a Perſon of Extraordinary Merit; and on what ſide ſoever we conſider the Kings his Predeceſſors, we'll find, that none of them excell'd him, in any of the Accompliſhments that are requir'd to make a Great Prince. In the Beginning of his Reign, *Brudus* deſign'd to have invaded his Dominions, with a Powerful Army: But, as they were upon their March, a Mutiny aroſe in his Army, which not only oblig'd him to march back again, with them; but gall'd him ſo to the Heart, that he Died of Grief. His Succeſſor and Brother, *Durskenus*, having no deſign to renew the War againſt the *Scots*, apply'd himſelf to compoſe the Factions and Animoſities, that had riſen amongſt his Nobility, at Home. In the mean time, ſome *Scots* Gentlemen, having got into the City of *Camelon*, under the Diſguiſe of *Pictiſh* Merchants, ſtole away King *Alpin*'s Head, and brought it to his Son; for which, he Nobly rewarded them, and ſent it to *Colmkyl*, where it was Bury'd amongſt his Predeceſſors.

After this, King *Kenneth* rais'd a Powerful Army; with which, he gave the *Picts* an entire Overthrow, in *Stirling*-Shire; and purſu'd their Army to the Water of *Forth*, in which ſeverals of them were Drown'd: But their King, *Durskenus*, made his Eſcape, by the Means of a ſwift Horſe.

The next Year, another pitch'd Battel was fought, betwixt theſe Two Kings, at *Scone*. The Right Wing of the *Scots* Army was Commanded by a Noble Chiftain, call'd *Bar*; the Left Wing, by another Chiftain, call'd *Dongallus*; the Body of the Army, by *Donald*, the King's Brother; and a Reſerve Body of Horſe, by the King himſelf. *Kenneth*, having told his Army of the Valour of their Anceſtors, the juſt Claim that he had to the *Pictiſh* Throne, and the unworthy Treatment of his Father, *Alpin*, concluded, that he had no more to ſay, *but to remember* Alpin. This was no ſooner ſaid, than the *Scots* ruſh'd upon their Enemies, with an incredible Fury; and, having met with as brave a Reſiſtance on the other hand, a Number of People were ſlain. For our Hiſtorians tell us, That, that Day, the *Picts* renew'd the Fight, Seven times, and were as often beat. Their King, *Durskenus*, was purſu'd to the Brink of the River of *Tay*, where he was kill'd, with his whole Retinue, and ſtript of his Armour, which was ſent to *Colmkyl*, to remain there as a Monument of this Signal Victory. After this, *Kenneth* march'd ſtraight with his Army, and laid Siege to the City of *Camelon*, whither the remnant of the *Pictiſh* Army had fled, who defended this City, for a long time, with the utmoſt Bravery: But at length, being reduced to great Straits, they deſir'd a Truce, for Three Days, till they conſulted what they ſhould do. The *Scots*, no ways ſuſpecting their Treachery, agreed to what they propos'd: But, during the time of the Truce, the *Picts* made a Sally upon the *Scots*, in the Night-time, and kill'd more than Six Hundred of them. Upon this, *Kenneth* renew'd the Siege, with greater Vigour than ever: And at laſt, being Maſter of the City, put the whole Inhabitants to the Sword. After this, ſome ſay, That he put to Death, and Baniſh'd, the whole *Pictiſh* Nation: But others, with more Probability, ſay, That it was only thoſe, who did not ſubmit to him. Whatever Truth be in this, 'tis Certain, that hereafter the *Picts* were no more heard of; and that *Kenneth* and his Heirs have

ever ſince poſſeſs'd their Throne and Dominions, as, of Right, belonging to them.

The War being thus at an End, this Excellent Prince's next Care was, to cauſe all the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom to be Collected into one Body; and he added ſeveral other New Laws to them, amongſt which, were the following, I. That, in every Shire of the Kingdom, there ſhould be a Judge, for Deciding of Controverſies, well Seen in the Laws; and that their Sons ſhould be brought up in the Study of the Laws. II. That the Laws of the Kingdom ſhall be kept by them; and, if any of them ſhall be Convicted of Læſe Majeſty, or wrongous Judgment, they ſhall be Hang'd. III. He, that is Convicted of Theft, ſhall be Hang'd; and he, that is Guilty of Slaughter, Beheaded. IV. Any Woman, Convict of a Capital Crime, ſhall be either Drown'd or Buried Alive. V. He, that Blaſphemes God, or ſpeaks diſreſpectfully of his Saints, of the King, or of his Chiftain, ſhall have his Tongue cut out. VI. He, that makes a Lye to his Neighbour's Prejudice, ſhall Forfault his Sword, and be excluded the Company of all Honeſt Men. VII. All Perſons, ſuſpected of any Crime, ſhall ſuffer the Inqueſt of Seven Wiſe and Judicious Men, or of any Number of Perſons above that, providing the Number be odd. VIII. All Oppreſſors, Robbers and Invaders of other People's Properties, ſhall be Beheaded. IX. All Vagabonds, Sturdy Beggers and other Idle Perſons, that may, and do not gain their Livelyhood by ſome Honeſt Calling, ſhall be Burnt upon the Cheek, and Whipt with Rods. X. The Wife, ſhall not be puniſh'd for her Husband's Fault: But the Man ſhall be puniſh'd for his Wife's Fault, if he know of it; and, if ſhe be not his Wife, but his Concubine, ſhe ſhall be puniſh'd with the ſame Puniſhment, that the Man deſerveth for his Crime. XI. He, that Raviſheth a Virgin, unleſs ſhe deſire him in Marriage, ſhall be Beheaded. XII. He, that Defiles another Man's Bed, ſhall be put to Death, with the Woman; unleſs ſhe has been Ravithed. XIII. He, that Raviſheth a Woman, ſhall be Beheaded; and the Woman declar'd Innocent. XIV. He, that is injurious to his Father by any Member of his Body, ſhall have that Member cut off, then Hang'd and remain Unburied above Ground. XV. He, that is a Manſlayer, Born Dumb, or Unthankful to his Father, ſhall ſucceed to no Heritage. XVI. All Witches, Juglars and others that have any Paction with the Devil, ſhall be burnt Alive. XVII. No Seed ſhall be ſowen, till it be firſt well cleans'd from all noxious Grains. XVIII. He, who ſuffers his Land to be overrun with Poiſonous and Hurtful Weeds, ſhall pay, for the Firſt Fault, an Ox to the Common Good; for the Second, Ten; and, for the Third, he ſhall be Forfaulted of his Lands. XIX. If you find your Comrade and Friend kill'd in the Field, bury him; but, if he be an Enemy, you are not bound to do it. XX. If any Beaſt be found ſtraying in the Fields, reſtore him, either to the Owner, the *Tocioderach* or Searcher after Thieves, or to the Prieſt of the Pariſh; and who ever keeps him up for Three Days, ſhall be puniſh'd, as a Thief. XXI. He, who finds any Thing that is loſt, ſhall cauſe it to be Proclaim'd Publickly, that it may be reſtor'd to the Owner; otherwiſe he ſhall be Puniſh'd as a Thief. XXII. He, who beats his Adverſary before a Judge, ſhall loſe his Plea; and the Perſon beat ſhall be Abſolv'd. XXIII. If your Neighbour's Kine fall a fighting with yours

yours, and if any of them happens to be kill'd, if it be not known whoſe Cow it was that did it, the Homyl Cow (or the Cow that wants Horns) ſhall be blam'd for it; and the Owner of that Cow ſhall be anſwerable for his Neighbour's Dammage. XXIV. A Sow, that eats her Pigs, ſhall be ſton'd to Death, and none be permitted to eat of her Fleſh. XXV. A Sow, that eats Corn, or furrows up another Man's Land, ſhall be kill'd, without any Redreſs to the Owner. XXVI. All other Beaſts, that ſhall be found eating their Neighbour's Corn or Graſs, ſhall be Poinded, till the Owner give Satisfaction for the Loſs, that his Neighbour has ſuſtain'd. XXVII. Altars, Churches, Oratories, Images of Saints, Chapels, Prieſts and all Eccleſiaſtic Perſons, ſhall be held in Veneration. XXVIII. Feſtival and Solemn Days, Faſts, Vigils and all other Ceremonies inſtituted by the Church, ſhall be punctually Obſerv'd. XXIX. He, who injures a Churchman, either by Word or Deed, ſhall be puniſh'd with Death. XXX. All Sepulchres ſhall be held in great Veneration, and a Croſs put upon them, that they may not be trampled upon. XXXI. The Place, where any Man is kill'd or buried, ſhall be untilled, Seven Years. XXXII. Every Man ſhall be buried according to his Quality. If he be a Nobleman that has done great Actions for the Common-Wealth, he ſhall be buried after this manner; Two Horſe-men ſhall paſs before him to the Church, the Firſt mounted upon a White Horſe, cloath'd in the Defunct's beſt Apparel, and bearing his Armour; the other ſhall be upon a Black Horſe, in a Mourning Apparel; and when the Corps is to be interr'd, he, who is in Mourning Apparel, ſhall turn his Back to the Altar, and lamentably bewail the Death of his Maſter, and then return the ſame Way that he came; the other ſhall offer his Horſe and Armour to the Prieſt, and then interr the Corps, with all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. This Cuſtom of Burying of Noblemen was afterwards Abrogated; and, Five Pound was paid to the Prieſt, in place of the Horſe and Armour. Theſe Laws were call'd *Mac Alpin*'s Laws, or the Laws of *Alpin*'s Son, many of which are Obſerv'd to this very Day.

This excellent Prince liv'd, in great Tranquillity, for Sixteen Years, after the Overthrow of the *Picts*; having Peace at Home, by reaſon of his juſt Government; and Peace Abroad, by the Power of his Arms. He enlarg'd his Dominions from *Cathneſs* to *Hadrian*'s Wall, ſays *Fordon* (*p*). This Monarch put a Period to the *Pictiſh* Kingdom, after it had continu'd 1161 Years; and Died in Peace, in the Twentieth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 855, at *Forteivet*, near *Scone*, as we Learn from this Ancient Diſtic, in the Chronicle of *Melroſs*;

Primus in Albania *fertur regnaſſe* Kinedhus
Filius Alpini, *Prælia multa gerens.*
Expulſis Pictis, *regnaverat octo bis Annis,*
Atque Fortemet *mortuus ille fuit.*

To *Kenneth* ſucceeded his Brother, *DONALD* V. Our Hiſtorians are extremely divided about this Prince's Actions. For, ſome of them have repreſented him as a moſt Vicious Prince, and Overcome by two Powerful *Engliſh* Monarchs, call'd *Osbreth* and *Ella*, who kill'd Twenty Thouſand of his Men, and extended the Dominions of the

(*p*) Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

Engliſh and *Britains*, as far as *Stirling*; and that upon the Bridge, which the *Engliſh* built over the *Forth*, there ſtood a Crucifix, beneath which, were ingraven theſe Two Lines,

Anglos *a* Scotis *ſeparat Crux iſta remotis:*
Arma hic ſtant Bruti, *ſtant* Scoti *ſub hac Cruce tuti.*

Which is thus *Engliſhed* by *Belenden*:

I am free Marche, as Paſſangeris may ken
To Scottis, *to* Britonis *and to* Inglis *Men.*

After this, they ſay, he was Impriſon'd by his Subjects, and kill'd himſelf. But others ſay, That this Prince perform'd many Noble Exploits both at Home and Abroad, was no ways inferior to his Brother; that he Died a Natural Death at *Scone*, and was Buried in the Iſle of *Man*. This Account of him ſeems to me the moſt Probable; becauſe the MS. of *Colmkyl* confirms it, wherein 'tis ſaid, that he was, *Miles inclitus, & ad omnes actus bellicos fortis & pronus; quique crebras victorias & triumphos in debellatione* Pictorum *glorioſe peregit; vicinis vero Regnis & Regibus pacem fovere ſtuduit & concordiam*: That's to ſay, a Valiant Soldier, prone to, and Couragious in, all Warlike Atchievements; who, in the Exterminating of the *Picts*, obtain'd frequent Victories and Glorious Triumphs; and who ſtudied to live in Concord and Peace with his Neighbouring Kingdoms and Kings. He Died in the Year of our Lord 860.

To *Donald* ſucceeded *CONSTANTINE*, Son to *Kenneth*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he quell'd a Sedition, rais'd by *Ewen* of the *Iſles* and Governour of *Dunſtaffage*. About this Time, a vaſt Army of *Danes*, under the Conduct of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Valiant Brothers, invaded this Iſland, and Landing in *Fife*, put all, they met with, to the Sword. *Adrian*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, and many Religious Men with him, having fled to the Iſland of *May*, were there moſt cruelly put to Death. Upon this, *Conſtantine* rais'd a great Army, and, coming to the Water of *Leven*, overcame a ſtrong Party of the *Danes* Commanded by *Hubba*, who had been ſeparated from his Brother, by the Swelling of the River: But *Hubba* made his Eſcape, with a great many others, and join'd his Brother *Hinguar*. *Conſtantine*, being puft up with this Victory, purſued them to the Eaſt Point of *Fife*, not far from the Town of *Crail*, where a Bloody Battel was fought between them: Here the *Scots* loſt Ten Thouſand Men; and *Conſtantine* was taken Priſoner and kill'd in a Cove, (which to this Day, in Memory of this Action, is call'd, the *Black* or the *Devil*'s *Cove.*) in the Thirteenth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 870. After this, the *Danes* march'd into *England*, where they gain'd ſeveral Victories.

To *Conſtantine* ſucceeded his Brother, *EITHUS*. This Prince was much addicted to Hunting; and was ſo ſwift, that none in his Kingdom was able to run with him, for which he was Sirnam'd *Alipes*. In the Second Year of his Reign, a Quarrel, at Hunting, hapned betwixt him and *Gregory*, Son to King *Dongallus*; in which, he was Mortally Wounded, and Died of his Wounds, two Months after, in the Year of our Lord 872.

To

To *Ethus* ſucceeded *GREGORY*, Son to *Congallus*. This Prince ſo ſoon as he was plac'd upon the Throne, being deſirous to be reveng'd upon the *Danes*, for Invading of *Scotland* in *Conſtantine*'s Time, rais'd a Powerful Army, and march'd towards the Borders of *England*, with a Deſign of joining the *Engliſh* againſt the *Danes*, who were ravaging their whole Country. The *Danes*, being advertis'd of this, did throw in ſome Forces into *Berwick*, to ſtrengthen that Gariſon. Howbeit the Inhabitants were no ſooner inform'd of the Arrival of *Gregory* and of his Deſign, but they open'd the Gates to him, in the Night-time; by which means, all the *Danes* in the Town were put to the Sword. From thence *Gregory* march'd into *Northumberland*, where he fought a Proſperous Battel againſt *Hardnute*; then having join'd his Forces with thoſe of *Alfred*, King of *England*, the Two Kings expell'd the *Danes* out of *Northumberland*. After *Gregory* had thus chaſtis'd the *Danes*, he turn'd his Arms againſt the *Britains*, who retain'd ſome Lands belonging to the *Scots*; but, they being willing to give them up, and entering into a League with him againſt the *Danes*, he return'd Home, and disbanded his Army. Howbeit, *Gregory* was no ſooner gone, than the *Britains* begun to repent of what they had done, and rais'd an Army, with which they invaded *Scotland*. Whereupon *Gregory* levies another Army, and, having met them at *Lochmaben*, in *Annandale*, defeat their Forces, kill'd their King, *Conſtantine*; and oblig'd them to reſtore *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland* to him. Then he renew'd the League with them and the *Engliſh*, againſt the *Danes*; and march'd with his Army, into *Galloway*, where ſome of the *Iriſh* had Landed, and Plunder'd the Country, under the Pretence, that ſome of their Ships, which had been driven, by Streſs of Weather, upon their Coaſt, had been Plunder'd by them. The *Iriſh*, ſo ſoon as they hear'd of *Gregory*'s marching towards them, immediately fled to their Ships: But *Gregory*, having got together a ſufficient Number of Tranſports, paſs'd over with his Army to *Ireland*. At that time, *Duncan*, or *Dunachus*, was King of *Ireland*, who, being under Age, *Brienus* and *Cornellius*, Two of the moſt Powerful of the Nobility, had divided the whole Land into Two Factions: *Gregory* overcame both theſe in Pitch'd Battels; and, having taken the Cities of *Dundalk* and *Drogheda*, he laid Siege to *Dublin*, and took it likewiſe, where he found the Young King, *Duncan*. Thereafter, calling together the Nobility, he made them take an Oath of Homage and Fealty to him, made himſelf Guardian to their King, till he ſhould be of Age; put Gariſons into their Forts, and made them Swear, That they ſhould never admit of either *Engliſh*, *Danes* or *Britains* into their Iſland, without his Permiſſion; then receiving Sixty Hoſtages, for the Performance of what they had Sworn, he return'd in great Triumph to his own Kingdom. After this, he made many excellent Laws for the Good of his Subjects; built the City of *Aberdeen*; and Died in Peace, at the Caſtle of *Dundore*, in the *Garioch*, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 893, and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*. This Prince is deſervedly Sirnam'd, by his Country-Men, *Gregory* the *Great*; for, he ſo admirably diſcharged all the Offices of a King, both in Peace and War, that he was the Delight of his Subjects, and a Terror to his Enemies; not only upon the Account of his Perſonal Valour, which was amazing,

but for his ſurpriſing Conduct, by which he gain'd the Hearts of all thoſe, who were forc'd to ſubmit to his irreſiſtible Courage.

To *Gregory* ſucceeded *DONALD* VI. the Son of *Conſtantine*, a Prince of Excellent Endowments. He aſſiſted the *Engliſh* againſt the *Danes*; and quell'd a Bloody Fewd, betwixt the Inhabitants of *Roſs* and *Murray*; in which, each of the Factions loſt about 2000 Men, in Two Months Time. *Fordon* ſays, this King died, in this Expedition, at *Forreſs*, a Town in *Murray*, not far from *Elgin*, in the Eleventh Year of his Reign, not without the ſuſpicion of Poiſon, in the Year of our Lord 904. and lyes Bury'd at *Colmkyl*.

To *Donald* VI. ſucceeded *CONSTANTINE* III. Son to *Ethus Alipes*. The *Danes* intiſed this Prince, with Hopes of extending his Dominions, to enter into a League with them, againſt the *Engliſh*: But that, which ſeems moſtly to have induc'd him to this, was, that King *Edward* of *England* demanded, of him, the Surrendery of the Counties of *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland*. During the Reign of King *Edward*, ſeveral Skirmiſhes paſs'd betwixt them; and, he Dying in the Year 924, his Son, *Athelſtane*, purſu'd the War, with the utmoſt Vigour; of whoſe Birth, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have this peculiar Story. In the Reign of King *Alfred*, when his Son *Edward* was Young, the Daughter of a Shepherd, by Name, *Edgina*, in a Village of the Weſt *Saxons*, had a Dream, That the Moon did ſhine, out of her Womb, ſo bright, that all *England* was enlightned by the Splendour of it. This being told to a grave Matron, who had been Nurſe to ſeveral of the King's Children, ſhe took her into her Houſe, and educated her as tenderly as if ſhe had been her own Daughter, inſtructing her to Demean her ſelf, as might become a Perſon both of Birth and Breeding. In Proceſs of Time, Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldeſt Son, occaſionally paſſing thro' the Town, thought himſelf oblig'd, in Civility, to Viſit his Nurſe; who brought him to the ſight of this Beautiful Maid, whoſe Charms ſo Captivated his Affections, that he was inceſſantly importunate to ly with her. His Deſire being at length obtain'd, *Elgina* prov'd with Child, and was deliver'd of a Son, to whom, *Edward*, in reſpect to her former Dream, gave the Name of *Athelſtane*, which ſignifies *the moſt Noble*, in the *Saxon* Language. This *Athelſtane*, having overthrown in Battel *Godefrid*, King of the *Danes*, and his Brother, *Anlaf*, and they both having fled into *Scotland*, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Conſtantine*, to deliver them up; which he very Generouſly refuſing, *Athelſtane* invades *Scotland*. Whereupon the *Scots* and *Danes* having join'd their Forces, *Conſtantine*, being a Prince that was more addicted to a Religious and Sedentary Life than War, makes *Malcolm*, Son to King *Donald* VI. General of his Forces; and, the more to Encourage him, he makes him Prince of *Cumberland*. *Malcolm*, with this numerous and well ordered Army, march'd into *Northumberland*; and, at a Place call'd *Brunanburg*, the *Scots* had the Misfortune to be Overthrown, by truſting too much to their Numbers. *This Battel*, ſays *Echard*, *which prov'd highly to the Honour and Advantage of* Athelſtane, *was fought from Morning till Night, and was the Bloodieſt that ever had been known in* England. *In which*, Ingulph *ſays*, *That, beſides* Conſtantine, *Five other Kings were there Slain, Twelve Earls, and an infinite Number of the inferior Sort*. But our Hiſtorians, who acknowledge the Loſs of the Battel, ſay, That, the *Engliſh* having made a feint Flight, the *Scots* and

and *Danes*, ſuppoſing themſelves Conquerors, purſu'd them a ſhort way, and then returning, fell to the Plunder of their Camp; which being perceiv'd by *Athelſtane*, he rallied his Broken Army, and ſet upon them, as they were ſcatter'd and laden with Booty; and, after a huge Slaughter, *Malcolm*, being ſorely Wounded, was carried off by his Men. However, by the Accounts of the Writers of both Nations, 'tis very probable, what our Hiſtorians further add, *viz.* That a Peace enſu'd, betwixt the Two Kings, upon *Conſtantine*'s paying Homage to *Athelſtane*, for the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*. Nevertheleſs, *Conſtantine* was ſo griev'd for the Loſs of this Battel, that he forſook the World; and having reſign'd his Crown, in the Fourtieth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 943. ſpent the remnant of his Days amongſt the *Culdees*, at S. *Andrew*'s; and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Lawrence*, a Famous Presbyter in *Germany*, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 379.

To *Conſtantine* ſucceeded *MALCOLM*, Son to King *Donald*. *Athelſtane* being dead, and his Brother, *Edmund*, Reigning; the *Danes*, under the Conduct of their King, *Anlaf*, waſted the Country from *York* Southward to *Northampton*. This mov'd King *Edmond* to renew the League, with King *Malcolm*, that *Conſtantine* had made with *Athelſtane*, with this ſuperadded Article, That, for the Future, the Prince or apparent Heir of *Scotland* ſhould always be Stiled, Prince of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*. Whereupon *Indulphus*, Son to *Conſtantine* III. was declared Prince of *Cumberland*; and an Army of 10000 *Scots* was ſent to the Aſſiſtance of King *Edmund*. After this, King *Malcolm* went thro' his Kingdom to Reform the Abuſes, (eſpecially Theft and Robbery) that had crept in amongſt his Subjects, during the late Wars. He himſelf did ordinarily Viſit all the Courts of Judicature, once in Two Years; and Adminiſtrated Juſtice with great Equity. At length he was Aſſaſſinated, in the Night-time, by ſome of thoſe Ruffians, at *Ulrine*, a Town in *Murray*, in the Fifteenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 959. and lyes Bury'd at *Colmkyl*.

To *Malcolm* ſucceeded *INDULPHUS*, Son to *Conſtantine* III. The *Danes*, being extremely exaſperated againſt the *Scots* for aſſiſting the *Engliſh*, came, in the Beginning of his Reign, with a Navy of 50 Ships, into the Firth of *Forth*; and having in vain attempt to land in ſeveral Places, at length they landed in *Buchan*, at the Mouth of the River *Cullen*. *Indulphus*, being inform'd of this, march'd, with all imaginable Haſte, to *Buchan*, where he fell upon the *Danes* unexpectedly; and, in the Heat of the Fight, *Grahame* and *Dumbar*, two *Lothian* Men, coming to his Aſſiſtance with a freſh Body of Men, the *Danes* were immediately put to the Flight. But, in the Purſuit, *Indulphus* was kill'd, by an Arrow, from one of their Ships, as ſome ſay; or in a Wood, whither ſome of them had fled, as others affirm, in the Ninth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 968. and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*.

To *Indulphus* ſucceeded *DUFFUS*, Son to King *Malcolm*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he ſent *Culen*, Prince of *Scotland* and *Cumberland*, to quell an Inſurrection amongſt the *Iſlanders*; and went himſelf to *Murray*-Land, to puniſh ſome Robbers and Thieves, that were there. In the mean time, he fell Sick of a Diſeaſe, which, the Phyſicians ſaid, was Supernatural; and, a ſtrict Enquiry being made, they found

certain Witches toſting his Image, in Wax, full of Pins, at a Fire. This Picture being taken from them, ſo ſoon as it was broken, the King was immediately freed from his Diſeaſe; and the Witches were Burnt alive. Whilſt he was in *Murray*-Land, he put to Death ſome Relations of one, *Donald*, who was Governour of the Town and Caſtle of *Forreſs*. In Revenge whereof, he, one Night, having given the King and his Attendants a Sumptuous Feaſt, did, about Midnight when all were faſt aſleep, Murder the King in his Bed; and, having carried him out by a Poſtern-Gate, Buried him in a Blind Place, under a Bridge, in the middle of a Water. The next Day, when the King was amiſſing, none ſeem'd ſo much concern'd as *Donald*; for, in the Heat of his Diſſembled Paſſion, he kill'd ſeverals of the King's Bed-Chamber, as if they had been Guilty of the Murder. However, God did not ſuffer him to paſs thus unpuniſh'd; for, *Culen* being declar'd King, the Firſt thing he did, was to Order, that Public Proceſſions ſhould be made thro' the whole Kingdom, to implore God's Aſſiſtance for diſcovering the Murderers. Whereupon *Donald* and his Aſſociates, being afraid that they ſhould be diſcover'd, immediately went Aboard of a Ship, that was going to *Norway*. *Culen*, being inform'd of this, caus'd apprehend his Lady and Daughter, who confeſs'd the whole Affair; and thereafter the King's Body being taken up, was Buried, with great Solemnity at *Colmkyl*, amongſt his Predeceſſors. About the ſame time, News was brought to *Culen*, that *Donald* and his Followers had been Ship-wrack'd upon the Coaſt; who, being apprehended ſo ſoon as they came to Land, were deliver'd up to him, and, according to his Order, were all Torn in Pieces by Wild Horſes. All our Hiſtorians ſay, That this King was Murder'd, in the Flower of his Age, in the Fourth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 972; and that there were Four Miraculous Things, that hapned about his Death. The Firſt was, that, for Six Months, the Sun and Moon were ſo overclouded, that they never appear'd, till that Day that the Corps was taken up. The Second was, that his Corps was no ways ſpoil'd, being as freſh and ſound as if he had been but newly Dead. The Third was, that the Courſe of the River alter'd. And the Laſt was, that all the Plain, about the Place where he was interr'd, was Beautify'd with freſh and fragrant Flowers, as if it had been the midſt of Summer, tho' it was in the middle of the Month of *November*. Here was a Monaſtery of *Ciſtercians* afterwards Erected, which, from this, was call'd *Killflos*, and now by Corruption, *Kinloſs*.

To *Duffus* ſucceeded *CULEN*, the Son of *Indulphus*. In the Beginning of his Reign, as we have already ſaid, he ſeverely puniſh'd thoſe who had Murder'd King *Duffus*; and his Subjects had great Hopes of him. But he, ſuppoſing that the ſevere Meaſures, that were taken by King *Duffus* and many of his Predeceſſors, was the reaſon of their being Murder'd, thought to Reign more ſecurely and quietly, by indulging himſelf and his Subjects to whatever they inclin'd: By which means, the whole Kingdom became a Theatre of Debauchery. To remedy this, a Meeting of the Nobility was call'd, at *Scone*; and the King, as he was on his Journey, being attack'd at the Wood of *Methvin*, by *Rahartus*, Thane of *Methvin*, and his Followers, for violating his Daughter's Chaſtity, was kill'd, in the Fifth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 977. and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*.

To

To *Culen* ſucceeded *KENNETH* III. Brother to *Duffus*. In the Beginning of his Reign, he Summon'd all the Chiftains of Clans to meet him, upon ſuch a Day, at *Lanerick*, a Town of *Clydſdale*, upon the Banks of *Clyde*: But, they being inform'd, by their Relations, that this Prince was a Perſon of ſevere Virtue, and reſolv'd to puniſh all thoſe who were guilty of any Miſdemeanours, moſt of them did not appear at the time appointed. Whereupon the King, diſſembling his Anger, gave a kindly Entertainment to ſuch of them as had come; and, diſſolving the Aſſembly, went into *Galloway*, where he perform'd his Devotions at the Shrine of S. *Ninian*. The next Year, having call'd another Meeting of the Chiftains and Barons, at *Scone*, his Behaviour, to ſuch of them as had met at *Lanerick*, encourag'd all of them to come to this Diet: Where, when they were fully conveen'd, he ſurrounded them with a Band of Arm'd Men, whom he had, till then, conceal'd ſecretly, in a Houſe, beſide his Palace. Then he told them, That he had no Deſign upon any of their Lives; only he would keep ſuch of them Priſoners, as he knew to harbour and protect Notorious Robbers and Thieves, till ſuch time as they ſhould deliver them up to him; for he was firmly reſolv'd not to ſuffer Thieves or Robbers to live within his Dominions. After this, he caus'd all thoſe, whom he moſt ſuſpected, to be convoy'd Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Perth*; where they were kept in Cuſtody till they produc'd ſuch of their Tenents and Vaſſals, as he Named: And, after a Legal Trial, there were 500 of them found Guilty, and Hang'd upon Gibbets.

Not long after this, theſe barbarous and inhuman Rovers, the *Danes*, landed an Army at *Montroſe*, took and burnt the Town, and laid the whole Country waſte before them. The King, who was then at *Stirling*, being inform'd of this, rais'd an Army of all the Fencible Men he could get together; and, coming to the Mouth of the River of *Erne*, he was inform'd, that the *Danes* had paſs'd the River of *Tay*, and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Perth*. Whereupon he march'd his Army, that Night, to *Loncarty*, a Village ſtanding two Miles Weſt from the Confluence of *Almond* and *Tay*, where the *Danes* met him with aſſured Hopes of Victory. The Right Wing of the *Scots* Army was Commanded by *Malcolm Duff*, Prince of *Scotland* and *Cumberland*; the Left Wing, by *Duncan*, Thane of *Athol*; and the Body of the Army, by the King himſelf. Before the Engagement, the King, to encourage his Army, promis'd them, if they behav'd Valiantly in Imitation of their Anceſtors, that, for Five Years to come, they ſhould be exeem'd from all Mails and Duties; and that every one ſhould have Ten Pound, in Silver, or, to the Value of it, in Land, for the Head of every *Dane* they ſhould bring to him. Upon this, a cruel Fight began; and the Victory, a long time, remain'd uncertain. At length the Right and Left Wing of the *Scots* Army gave way, and had receiv'd a Total Overthrow, had they not been aſſiſted by one of the Name of *Hay*, who was coming up to the Army with his Sons and Followers; and, meeting them flying at a narrow Paſs, oppoſed them with all their Might, crying out to them, *Help was at hand*. Upon this, ſeverals returning back upon their Neighbours, with the Cry of a freſh Supply of Men coming up to them, the Fight was renew'd with more Vigour than ever; and the *Danes* were ſo terrify'd, with this Rumor of an Additional Force to the *Scots* Army,

that they fled, in great Haſte, to their Ships; and *Kenneth* was never more troubled with them, during his Reign. Others ſay, That this *Hay* was caſually Plowing in the Field with his Two Sons, and that the Father took a Yoke, and the Sons, what Inſtruments they could catch; and having plac'd themſelves in the narrow Paſs, drove the Run-a-ways back upon their Neighbours. But, whatever Truth be in this, 'tis Certain, that the Victory was entirely owing to him and his Followers; and that the King beſtow'd, upon him and his Sons, the Barony of *Errol*, with as much Lands in the *Carſe* of *Gowry*, as a Falcon could fly over without lighting. For which Cauſe, *Errol* bears for his Arms, *A.* 3 Eſcutcheons G. and hath for his Supporters Two Savages, proper, carrying on their Shoulders Two Oxen Bowes, G. with their Yokes; for his Creſt, a Falcon volant, proper and arm'd; and, for his Motto, theſe Words, *Serva Jugum.* This was the Firſt Riſe of the Noble Family of *Errol*, who ever ſince have Signaliz'd themſelves, by their Valour and Merit, in ſupporting the Intereſt of their King and Country: They were made High Conſtables of *Scotland* in the Reign of King *Robert Bruce.*

After this Battel, ſeveral Inteſtine Jarrs hapned. The Firſt was rais'd by the *Iſlanders*, who, in a Plundering way, ranged over all *Roſs*: This was quickly ſuppreſs'd, ſome of them being ſlain, and others taken and Hang'd. But *Crathilinthus*, Thane of the *Merns*, the Son of *Fenella*, or (as ſome call her) *Finabella*, gave far greater Diſturbance; for, his Grandfather by the Mother's Side being made the King's Chamberlain, for uplifting of his Revenue, in that Part of *Angus* which lyes betwixt the Two Rivers of *Southesk* and *Northesk*, *Crathilinthus* went with a great Train to ſee him at his Caſtle of *Delbogyn*, where afterwards a ſudden Quarrel aroſe amongſt their Servants, and the Grandfather and Grandchild Vindicating each of them their own, parted in great Paſſion. *Crathilinthus*, ſo ſoon as he return'd to *Fettercairn*, where his Mother liv'd, told her what had befaln him; and ſhe, inſtead of allaying his Rage, prompted him to Revenge againſt his Grandfather, her own Father. For this End, not long after, he, having got together a Company of Arm'd Men fit for his Purpoſe, came with them to *Delbogyn*, where being admitted with his Servants, he open'd the Gate to the reſt, who were lying in Ambuſh; and, having kill'd his Grandfather with his whole Family, plunder'd the Caſtle, depopulated the adjacent Country, and went in Triumph, Home, with the Booty. Upon this, the People of *Angus*, having got together, made an Incurſion upon the *Merns*, and laid all waſte before them. This coming to the King's Ears, he Summon'd the Principal Actors of each Faction, to appear before him at *Scone*, within Fifteen Days, to Anſwer to what ſhould be Objected againſt them: But, they refuſing to appear, he quickly march'd his Army into theſe Countries, and having apprehended moſt of the Guilty, brought them to *Donſinnan*, where he put *Crathilinthus* and the Ring-leaders to Death.

About this time, *Malcolm Duff*, Prince of *Cumberland*, Died. Upon this, the King call'd together the Nobility at *Scone*, where, in a long Oration, he told them of the many Wars that had been rais'd, upon altering the Lineal Succeſſion from Father to Son, in the *Scotiſh* Monarchy; and how contrary it was to the Practice of other Nations, where Mo-

Monarchy was eſtabliſh'd. The King having propos'd his Mind, it was unanimouſly agreed, *That the King's Eldeſt Son, for the future, ſhould always ſucceed to his Father, whatever his Age ſhould be: Likewiſe, if the Son died before the Father, that the next of Kin ſhould ſucceed the Grandfather. That, when the King was under Age, a Tutor or Protector ſhould be Choſen, being ſome Eminent Man for Intereſt and Power, to Govern in Name and Place of the King, till he came to be Fourteen Years of Age; and then he had Liberty to chooſe Guardians for himſelf.* And many other Things were enacted concerning the Legitimate Succeſſion of Heirs. After this, *Conſtantine* the Son of *Culenus*, and *Grimus* Son of *Mogallus*, Brother to King *Duffus*, (who were, by this Law, depriv'd of their Hopes of the Crown, which they might have claim'd to by a former,) rais'd a Report that King *Kenneth* had Poiſon'd the Young Prince, *Malcolm Duff*; and that a Voice was heard, from Heaven, reproving him for what he had done. But *Kenneth* Govern'd his Kingdom with ſuch Equity and Juſtice, that all his Subjects were perſwaded of the contrary, and liv'd in great Quietneſs and Peace under him, during the laſt Years of his Government. At length, in the Twenty Fifth Year of his Reign, and the Year of our Lord 1000, *Finella*, of whom we have ſpoken before, caus'd him to be Murder'd by ſome Men, who lay in Ambuſh for him, as he was travelling thro' the Country, in Revenge for the Death of her Son, *Crathilinthus*. This ſeems more probable, than what others ſay, That he ſhould have been Murder'd by her in her own Houſe, by the means of a curious Statue richly adorn'd with Jewels. He lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*.

The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, That this Prince paid Homage, for the Crown of *Scotland*, to their King *Edgar*; and that he was one of Eight Petty Kings, who row'd him in a Gally on the River of *Dee*, whilſt he himſelf held the Steerage. But this Fable is ſufficiently expos'd by the Learn'd Sir *Thomas Craig*, in his Book of *Homage*; as well as that of King *Edgar*'s challenging him to a Duel, and his refuſing to Fight him. For there was not a more brave and valiant Prince in that Age than this King *Kenneth*, as it appear'd not only from his Behaviour in the Battel of *Loncarty*, where he ſuſtain'd the Shoke of the whole *Daniſh* Army, when the two Wings of his own were beat; but likewiſe by extinguiſhing the Factions that were form'd in his Reign. Neither was it by Terror and Arms alone, but by his Juſtice and Wonderful Prudence, that he made himſelf obſerv'd by all his Subjects.

Upon the Death of *Kenneth*, his Son *MALCOLM* II. was Crown'd King. But *Conſtantine*, Son to King *Culenus*, having got ſome of the Chiftains to own his Right to the Crown, whilſt *Malcolm* was interring his Father, they declar'd him King. Whereupon *Malcolm*, with an Army of Ten Thouſand Men, marches againſt him into *Lothian*. On the other hand, *Conſtantine*, having gather'd together a greater Army, oblig'd *Malcolm* to go with his Men, towards *Cumberland*, deſigning to augment his Forces there. In the mean time, *Kenneth*, Natural Brother to *Malcolm*, rais'd an Army from the Parts benorth *Forth*, and came upon the Rear of *Conſtantine*'s Army. *Conſtantine* being thus pent in betwixt the two Armies, and the whole Country being laid waſte, ſo that he could get no Proviſions for them, was neceſſitate, moſt ſhamefully, to Disband his Army, and ſculk, with the Heads of his Faction,

in Mountains and Woods, till ſome other Opportunity. About this Time *England* was ſtrangely haraſſed by the *Danes*, who had landed Seven great Ships at *Southampton*. Whereupon *Ethelred* II. King of *England*, having demanded Succour from King *Malcolm*, as he was oblig'd to give, for his Lands of *Cumberland*; King *Malcolm* march'd, with his Army into *Cumberland*. The *Danes*, being advertis'd of this, made ſome Propoſals of Peace to *Ethelred*; and it was agreed to, That they ſhould get Ten Thouſand Pounds, upon Condition that they ſhould quit the Country, and no more infeſt the Coaſts. This was an infamous Example, ſays *Malmesbury*, and unworthy of Men, to Redeem their Liberty with Money, which no Violence can force from an unconquer'd Mind. In the mean time, *Conſtantine*, taking the Advantage of King *Malcolm*'s Abſence, gets together a great many of his Followers, and marches with them into *Lothian*. Upon this, *Kenneth*, *Malcolm*'s Natural Brother, whom he had left Governour of the Kingdom in his Abſence, march'd againſt him with a ſtout and reſolute Army, but far inferior in Number to that of *Conſtantine*'s. Theſe Two Armies met at the Mouth of the River *Almond*, and becauſe *Kenneth*, as I have ſaid, was inferior in Number, he ſupply'd that Defect by a Stratagem: For he ſo order'd his Army, that he had the Advantage both of the Sun and Wind; and beſides, his Army was flanked as much as it could with the River. *Conſtantine*, truſting to his Numerous Army, ruſh'd violently into the Battel; and the Sun ſhining in their Faces, a Storm ſuddenly ariſing drove ſo much Duſt into their Eyes, that they could ſcarce lift up their Heads againſt their Enemies. At length the Two Generals having met, they attack'd one another with ſuch Fury, that both of them were kill'd; but the Victory remain'd to the Royaliſts. *Conſtantine* was kill'd in the Third Year of King *Malcolm*'s Reign, and in the Year of our Lord 1002, after he had invaded the Kingdom, One Year and Six Months. Thoſe that remain'd of *Conſtantine*'s Army, fled for Protection to *Grimus*, Nephew, or, according to others, Son to King *Duffus*. This Prince, having had an Eye to the Crown, as well as *Conſtantine*, was acknowledg'd King by them. Upon this, King *Malcolm*, who was then in *Cumberland*, marches with an Army againſt this new Uſurper; and having come the length of *Stirling* with his Army, *Fothadus* a Biſhop, endeavour'd by his Authority to compoſe Matters betwixt them. King *Malcolm*, having Compaſſion upon the Condition of the Country, which was render'd almoſt deſolate by the former Civil War in *Conſtantine*'s Time, willingly agreed to the following Conditions. *Viz.* "That "*Grimus* ſhould retain the Name of King as long as he liv'd, and that, "after his Death, the whole Kingdom ſhould return to him; and that, "for the future, the Law of *Kenneth*, for eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion in "the King's Children, ſhould be obſerv'd as Sacred and Inviolable. In "the mean time, the Wall of *Severus* was to be the Boundary of both "their Dominions: That, which was Benorth the Wall, was to be-"long to *Grimus*; and that, Beſouth the Wall, to *Malcolm*.

Thus for the Good of the Poor Country, was this Prince contented to divide his Dominions, thinking thereby to procure a laſting Peace to his Subjects: But in this he was greatly deceiv'd; for *Grimus* no ſooner found himſelf in the Peaceable Poſſeſſion of the one half of the Kingdom, than he begun to graſp at the other. Whereupon the War was renew'd; and

and *Malcolm*, coming with a Powerful Army againſt him, cut off this Tyrant in the Year of our Lord 1010, after he had invaded the Kingdom, Nine Years. After this, *Malcolm* march'd with his Army, from the Town of *Auchnabart*, where this Battel was fought, to *Scone*; and there ratify'd the Law concerning the Hereditary Succeſſion to the Crown. Then, in Imitation of his Predeceſſors, he Travell'd thro' the Kingdom, and reform'd all the Abuſes he found amongſt his Subjects. The *Engliſh* having concluded a Peace with the *Danes*, there were ſeveral *Danes* of the higheſt Quality receiv'd, upon the Public Faith, as Hoſtages, to ratify the Peace. Amongſt theſe, was King *Swain*'s Siſter, *Gunilides*, Wife to Count *Paleng*; who, ſeveral Years before, had come into *England* with her Family, where ſhe had receiv'd the Chriſtian Faith; and being a Woman of great Prudence and Temper, had often interpos'd to make Peace between the Two Nations; and had now lately given up her ſelf, her Husband and her Son, as Hoſtages to *Ethelred*, King of *England*. This Princeſs had Firſt her Husband and her Son ſlain before her Face; and was then order'd to be Beheaded her ſelf, which Sentence ſhe took with an unconcern'd Bravery and Courage; and at her Death foretold, *That her Blood would coſt* England *dear, and would not be long unreveng'd.* Which, as ſhe ſaid, accordingly hapned; for King *Swain*, being exaſperated to the higheſt Degree of Rage and Reſentment, not only conquer'd the *Engliſh* Nation with a great deal of Blood and Slaughter: But likewiſe reſolv'd to be as much reveng'd upon the *Scots* for aſſiſting King *Ethelred*. For that end, he ſent an Army under the Command of *Olaus* and *Onetus*, who, landing in the Mouth of *Spey*, laid the whole Country waſte, and having ſubdu'd all before them, ſave the Caſtles of *Elgin*, *Forreſs* and *Narne*, they laid Siege to *Narne*. By this time, King *Malcolm* had got together a conſiderable Army, and march'd ſtraight towards them. The *Danes*, hearing of this, left the Siege, and went to meet him. Before they came in ſight of other, King *Malcolm* ſent his Ambaſſadors to them, to expoſtulate about the invading of his Country: But all the Anſwer, that he got, was, that they put them immediately to Death. The *Scots*, being extremely exaſperated, with great Noiſe and Clamour, deſir'd their King to lead them on againſt their barbarous Enemies. But they having come that Night to a Meadow nigh to *Kinloſs*, the next Morning they had a View of the Enemy, from a riſing Hill, and finding that they were almoſt double their Number, were mightily diſheartned. King *Malcolm* perceiving this, encourag'd them with a Pathetic Speech, wherein he repreſented the Noble Atchievements of their Anceſtors againſt the *Romans*, *Saxons* and *Danes*; which ſo fired their Breaſts, that they ruſh'd in upon their Enemies with incredible Valour: But, being overpower'd with Numbers, they were at length forced to give way; and the King hardly eſcaped, being ſorely wounded.

After this Battel, the *Danes* return'd to the Siege of the Caſtle of *Narne*; and the Governour, being inform'd, that the King and his Army were defeat, ſurrender'd upon Honourable Terms: But the *Danes*, contrary to the Articles of Capitulation, put them all to Death. The Gariſons of the Caſtles of *Forreſs* and *Elgin*, hearing of this, deſerted them, and fled unto King *Malcolm*, who was gathering together his

ſcatter'd Army, and raiſing new Forces to oppoſe them. The *Danes*, upon this good Succeſs, reſolv'd to fix their Habitations in *Murray*; and ſent Home their Ships to bring their Wives and Children. The next Year, in the Beginning of the Spring, *Malcolm* came with a freſh Army againſt them, and having met at *Murthlack*, a Town in *Mar*, a Bloody Battel enſued betwixt them. In the Beginning of the Fight, the *Scots* were extremely diſcourag'd by the Death of Three of their moſt Valiant Worthies, *viz. Kenneth*, Thane of the *Iſles*; *Grahame*, Thane of *Strathern*; and *Dumbar*, Thane of *Lothian*; who all fell preſently one after another. Upon this, the Army beginning to give way, King *Malcolm*, with extended Arms, fixing his Countenance towards Heaven, cry'd, with a loud Voice, *O Great God of Vertue, Rewarder of Piety and Puniſher of Vice, we Thy Chriſtian People, Defenders of our Native Country granted to us by Thy Bounty, now deſtitute of all Human Help againſt theſe Inhuman Invaders of us, have Recourſe to Thee, in this our extreme Neceſſity, praying Thee to have Compaſſion on our Miſerable Condition; and remove, O moſt Merciful Lord, this Cowardly Temper from my People.* Then ruſhing in amidſt the Enemies, he kill'd *Onetus*, their General, with his own Hand. The *Scots*, being thus encourag'd by the Example of their brave Prince, fell upon the Enemy with incredible Fury; and, after an obſtinate Fight upon both Sides, the *Danes* were put to the Flight. *Malcolm*, finding his Army much diminiſh'd by the terrible Slaughter that had been amongſt them, did not puſh the Purſuit ſo much, as otherwiſe he might have done: But march'd, with the remnant of his Army, to *Angus*; where they Quarter'd till the next Year.

Swain, being inform'd of the Overthrow of the *Danes* in *Scotland*, ſent a Fleet to their Aſſiſtance with *Camus*, a General of renown'd Valour; who, coming firſt to the Firth of *Forth*, endeavour'd to land his Forces at S. *Ebbes-head*. But, finding the Country ready to oppoſe them, he Sail'd ſtraight to the Red Promontory, in *Angus*, now call'd *Redhead*, and Landed his Men there; from thence he went to *Brechin*, which he deſtroy'd with Fire and Sword. Thereafter he pitch'd his Camp at *Balbride*, now *Bambride*, in the Mid-way between *Dundee* and *Aberbrothock*. By this time, King *Malcolm* had got together a Powerful Army, and coming to the Town of *Barre*, Two Miles from *Bambride*, he ſpent all that Night in Devotion and Prayer. The next Morning, both Armies join'd in Battel, and the *Scots* obtain'd a complete Victoy. *Camus*, endeavouring to make his Eſcape, by flying with a few of his Army to the Mountains, towards *Murray*, was hotly purſu'd; and being overtaken by a brave young Gentleman of the Name of *Keith*, he and all his Men were cut off; and the Place, where he was ſlain, is call'd *Camuſtane* to this Day. Another Party of them was cut off at *Aberlenon*, not Four Miles diſtant from *Brechin*. The few, that remain'd of their Army, under the Covert of the Night, made their Eſcape to their Ships. *Keith*, for the Good Service he had done in the Battel, by killing their General, *Camus*, was rewarded with Lands in *Lothian*, call'd *Keith*. Which Family, ſays *Balanten*, is now *illuſtrious by their great Honour, being* Mariſchals *of* Scotland, (which they were made in the Reign of King *Robert Bruce*,) *of whom are deſcended many Noble*

and

and Valiant Gentlemen, who have always Signaliz'd themſelvos for the Defence of their Country, ſince their firſt Riſe.

After this Battel, the *Danes*, who eſcaped to their Ships, having been long toſs'd at Sea by a violent Tempeſt, came to the Coaſt of *Buchan*, where they ſent about 500 of their Men aſhore, to procure freſh Victuals. *Marnachus*, Thane of that Place, upon this, rais'd all the Fencible Men of that Country; and coming to the Town of *Gemmar*, where the *Danes* then lay, and who were carrying off a conſiderable Booty, put them all to the Sword. *Swain*, being advertis'd of this, ſent his Son *Canute* with new Levies into *Scotland*, who landed in *Buchan*. *Malcolm*, who had not as yet recover'd the Loſs that he had ſuſtain'd in former Battels, made Head againſt him; and, not being willing to hazard all, by Fighting a Pitch'd Battel, he thought it beſt to weary the Enemy with light Skirmiſhes: But the *Scots*, underſtanding what their Enemies Strength was, told the King, That they deſir'd nothing more than to have a fair Battel, with the Enemy. Upon this, *Malcolm*, who courted all Occaſions of ſhowing the Zeal, that he had for his Country and Subjects, gave Orders immediately for Battel; which was fought with ſo much Deſperate Rage and Fury, that neither Party had reaſon to boaſt of the Victory. Yet the *Scots* gain'd this by it, that the *Danes* immediately concluded a Peace, with them, upon theſe Conditions. *That the* Danes *ſhould depart and leave* Murray *and* Buchan: *And that, as long as* Malcolm *and* Swain *liv'd, neither of them ſhould wage War with one another any more, nor help one another's Enemies: That the Field, in which the Battel was fought, ſhould be ſet apart and Conſecrated for the Burial of the Dead.* Upon this, the *Danes* withdrew, and *Malcolm* took Order for the Interment of the Slain. Thereafter he order'd Proceſſions to be made thro' the whole Nation for God's Goodneſs to them, in freeing them from that Bondage and Slavery, under which the *Danes* had brought the South *Britains*: And the more to encourage them againſt all Attempts of the like Nature, he call'd the Chiftains and Thanes to *Scone*, and divided his Kingdom amongſt them, (for, before that Time, the Lands of the whole Nation belong'd in Property to the King,) only he reſerv'd to himſelf the Mount of *Scone*: And that, when any of them Died, their Children ſhould be under the Wardſhip and Tutelage of the King, till they arriv'd at the Age of Twenty One Years; and that the King ſhould receive all their Revenue, except what was expended for the Education of the Ward; beſides, that he ſhould have the Power to give them in Marriage, or otherwiſe to diſpoſe of them, when they were grown up, and ſhould alſo receive their Dowry.

Malcolm, having thus finiſh'd his toilſome War with the *Danes*, Reigned for ſome Years in great Splendour and Glory: And, in Memory of the Victory he had obtain'd over them at *Murthlack*, he erected a Biſhop's See there, endowing it with the Lands of *Murthlack*, *Cleometh* and *Dunmeth*; and, at his Intreaty, Pope *Benedict* IX. made one, *Beyn*, Biſhop of that See. All which appears from the Charter of Foundation, which I ſhall here inſert from the Chartulary of *Aberdeen*.

Malcolmus, *Rex* Scotorum, *omnibus probis Hominibus ſuis, tam Clericis quam Laicis, Salutem; Sciatis me dediſſe, & hac Charta mea confirmaſſe, Deo & Beatæ* Mariæ, *& omnibus Sanctis, & Epiſcopo* Beyn *de* Morthelach, *Eccleſiam de* Morthelach, *ut ibidem conſtruatur Sedes Epiſcopalis, Terras meas de* Morthelach, *Eccleſiam de* Clouth, *cum Terris; Eccleſiam de* Dulmeth, *cum Terra; ita libere ſicut eas tenui, & in puram & perpetuam Eleemoſynam, teſte meipſo: Apud* Forfar *octavo die menſis* Octobris, *Anno Regni mei ſexto.*

The Thanes and Chiftains, being put in Poſſeſſion of the Lands, that this Prince had unadviſedly diſtributed amongſt them, begun to cenſure his Actions, and to think that they had as good Right to theſe Lands, as he himſelf had. Whereupon he forfaulted ſeverals, which ſo incens'd ſome of them againſt him, that they Aſſaſſinated him, one Night, in his Bed-chamber, in the Caſtle of *Glames*, in *Angus*. The Murderers endeavour'd to make their Eſcape, by unknown Paths; but the Vengeance of God purſu'd them: For, it being in the Winter Seaſon, and the whole Ground cover'd over with Snow, they hapned to come to a Lake, hard by the Town of *Forfar*; and not knowing it, the Ice broke with their Weight, and they were all Drown'd. Some time after, their Bodies were Fiſhed out of the Lake, and their Quarters were fixt upon the Walls of the Principal Cities of the Kingdom. He was Murder'd in the Fourty Third Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 1040, and lyes Buried at *Colmkyl*. This Prince was of large Stature and a Beautiful Mean; he looked on his Subjects as his Children; he honour'd, with Eſteem and Bounty, Men of Merit and Learning. Pleaſure, which hath ruin'd many Princes, made no Impreſſion upon him: And in a word, he was Modeſt, Grateful, Juſt, Civil, Sober, Valiant, Generous and Magnificent. Yet notwithſtanding of all this, he is juſtly blamed for ſuffering an Uſurper, for ſome time, to ſhare the Half of his Dominions; and for being too extravagant in his Largeſſes to his Subjects, which they ungratefully requitted.

Malcolm left Two Daughters behind him, *Beatrix* and *Doada*. The Youngeſt, *Doada*, was given in Marriage to *Synel*, Thane of *Glames*; ſhe bore *Mackbeth* to him, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. The Eldeſt, *Beatrix*, was Married to *Abbanath Crynin*, Thane of the Weſt *Iſles*, or, as *Buchanan* calls him, *Grimus*, Abthane; ſhe bore to him a Son call'd *DUNCAN*, who ſucceeded to his Grandfather. In the beginning of his Reign, *Bancho*, Thane of *Lochaber*, of whom is deſcended the Family of the *Stewarts*, that have for ſeveral Generations Govern'd this Nation, with no leſs Juſtice, than Splendour and Glory: This *Bancho*, I ſay, being appointed by the King to uplift his Rents in thoſe Places, was Robbed by one, *MacDowald*, and ſorely wounded; and after he had recover'd of his Wounds, went to Court, complain'd of his hard Uſage, and deſir'd ſome Forces to aſſiſt him, that he might bring theſe Robbers to Judgment. *Duncan*, who was a Prince of a Merciful Temper, Summon'd them Firſt to appear before him, that he might Judge of the Crime laid to their Charge: But *MacDowald* had ſo little regard to this, that he cauſed the Meſſenger, who was ſent to ſummon him, to be put to Death. Upon this, one *Malcolm*, the King's Lieutenant in theſe Parts, was Order'd to reduce *MacDowald* and his Fol-

Followers by Force: But *MacDowald* had the Good Fortune to put his Foes to the Flight. Thereafter *Macbeth* and *Bancho* were Order'd againſt him; and, after a ſharp Engagement, *MacDowald* was at laſt defeat; and he having betaken himſelf to a ſtrong Caſtle, they beſieg'd him, forc'd him to ſurrender, put his Wife and Children to Death, cut off his Head, and ſent it to the King, then at the Caſtle of *Perth*.

This Rebellion being thus quell'd, a far greater Tempeſt aroſe; for *Swain*, King of *Norway*, landed with an Army in *Fife*, to Revenge, as he ſaid, the Slaughter of the *Danes* in King *Malcolm*'s Time. Whereupon King *Duncan* rais'd a ſtrong Army to oppoſe him, and met him at *Culroſs*, a Town ſtanding on the *Forth*, in *Perth*-Shire. The Right Wing of King *Duncan*'s Army was commanded by *Macbeth*; the Left, by *Bancho*; and the Main Body of the Army, by the King. Then both Armies having engaged, fought with ſuch obſtinate Courage, that the *Scots* were oblig'd to retire towards *Perth*; and the *Danes*, not being able to purſue them, lay all that Night upon the Field of Battel: But, having got themſelves ſufficiently refreſhed, they laid Siege to the Town of *Perth*, where the King and the Remnant of his Army were. *Duncan*, finding himſelf thus ſtraitned, ſent word to *Macbeth*, who was raiſing Men to re-inforce his Army, that he ſhould ſtay with them at *Inchcuthel*, till he got further Orders. In the mean time, *Duncan* amuſed the *Danes* with Propoſals of Peace, and offer'd to ſupply their Army with Meat and Drink, till ſuch time as the Peace ſhould be concluded betwixt them. The *Danes* very willingly accepted of the Offers as to Proviſions, and granted a Delay for ſome Days; but would needs have them ſurrender at Diſcretion. Upon this, a great deal of Meat and Drink was ſent them, wherein the King caus'd put great Quantities of the Juice of the Herb, *Night-Shade*, which is of a Poiſonous and Narcotic Quality; the *Danes* having overheated themſelves with the Drink, fell immediately aſleep; the King, being inform'd of this by his Scouts, ſent word to *Mackbeth*, who attack'd them in the Night-time, while they were thus Deadly Drunk and aſleep, and cut them all to Pieces, ſave the King and a few with him, who made their Eſcape to their Ships, then lying in the River of *Tay*. A great Number of them having ſunk down at the Mouth of the River, by a Violent Tempeſt, did, by the Acceſſion of Sand, form a Bank, which the Vulgar call *Drumilaw-Sands*, to this Day. Not long after this, ſome more *Danes* landed at *Kinghorn*: But they were quickly beat back to their Ships by *Bancho* and *Macbeth*.

King *Duncan*, having thus expell'd the *Danes* out of his Kingdom, went to the North to Adminiſtrate Juſtice to ſome Poor People, who had complain'd of the Oppreſſions of their Maſters. Here our Hiſtorians tell us of a ſtrange Accident that hapned to *Macbeth* and *Bancho*; that, as they were travelling upon the Road to *Forreſs*, where the King then lay, they met with Three Old Women, who ſaluted *Macbeth* thus; the Firſt ſaid, *Hail, Thane of* Glames; the Second, *Hail, Thane of* Cawder; and the Third, *Hail, King of* Scotland. *Bancho*, upon this, ſaid to them, why do you give all to my Friend and nothing to me. Then Anſwer'd the Firſt of them, *You will be happier than he; for tho' he will be King, yet his Poſterity will never ſucceed him; and tho' you never be King, yet your Poſterity will be Kings of this Realm.* And then they evaniſh'd. This is what is ſaid by the Generality of our Hiſtorians. But

Buchanan thinks it was only a Dream of *Macbeth*'s. Whatever Truth be in the Matter, they are all agreed, that not long after, *Macbeth*, being made Thane of *Cawder* by King *Duncan*, accompliſh'd the other Part of the Prophecy by Murdering the King, at *Inverneſs*, in the Sixth Year of his Reign, the Year of our Lord 1046. and cauſing himſelf to be Crown'd King. This Prince was, by his Natural Temper, more inclinable to Peace than War; yet, when forc'd to it, he behav'd with extraordinary Valour and Prudence: He was Firſt Buried at *Elgin*, and afterwards was tranſported to *Colmkyl*.

MACBETH, after the Death of King *Duncan*, went ſtraight to *Scone*, where he got himſelf Crown'd King. Thereafter, that he might ingratiate himſelf with the People, as all Uſurpers do, in the Beginning of his Reign, he ſeverely puniſh'd all Thieves, Robbers, Murderers, &c. and made many excellent Laws, both for the Good of the Church and State. Having thus ſtrengthned himſelf by the Aid and Favour of the Multitude, that he fear'd no Force to diſturb him, he begun to reflect, upon what had been ſaid to *Bancho*, about his Poſterity's enjoying the Crown, and how he might prevent the ſame. For this end, he invited him and his Son to a Supper, and, in their Return home, *Bancho* was kill'd by ſome Arm'd Men, whom *Macbeth* had order'd to ly in wait for them: But his Son *Fleanchus* made his Eſcape, under the Covert of the Night, and fled into *Wales*. After this, the Horrours of a troubled Conſcience daily increaſing upon him, he ſuſpected every Body about him, put ſeverals of the Nobility to Death, and not thinking himſelf ſecure enough with his Guard, caus'd build a Caſtle upon the Top of the Hill of *Dunſinnan*, lying South-Weſt Three Miles from *Cowper*, in *Angus*, where there was a large Proſpect over all the Country, and there he reſolved to ſpend the remaining part of his Days. All the Thanes of the Country being Summon'd to aſſiſt him in the building of this Caſtle, *MacDuff*, Thane of *Fife*, having only ſent his Servants, he became jealous of him, and threatned to puniſh him for his Contempt. *MacDuff* reſolving to prevent him, went aboard of a Ship, and ſail'd ſtraight to *England* in Queſt of the Young Prince *Malcolm*, King *Duncan*'s Eldeſt Son, who had fled thither, upon the Murder of his Father. *Macbeth*, being inform'd of this, came to *Fife*, apprehended the Thane's Wife and Children, put them to Death and Proclaim'd him Traitor. But this did not ſatisfy him, for ſo anxious was he, about knowing what his Fate might be, that it's ſaid, He went and Conſulted a Sorcereſs, who told him, *That he ſhould never be kill'd by any Man, that was born of a Woman; or overcome in Battel, till the Wood of* Birnane *came to the Caſtle of* Dunſinnan: Both which ſeeming to him impoſſible, he acted more Tyrannically than ever. In the mean time, *MacDuff*, having found the Young Prince, *Malcolm*, at King *Edward*'s Court, where he was Nobly entertain'd, told him the lamentable Condition of his oppreſſed Subjects; and how willingly they would join him, if he had but a very ſmall Army. The Young Prince being afraid, that *MacDuff* had come only to lead him into ſome Snare; told him, "That he was fully perſwaded of the Truth of what he ſaid; but that "he was altogether unfit for Governing, being Naturally Luſtful and "Avaritious. *MacDuff* reply'd, that for his Luſt it might be ſtem'd "by a lawful Marriage; and that his Avarice might be ſatisfy'd with the

" the Revenues of his Crown. But, ſays the Prince, there is no Truth or " Sincerity in me; I confide in no Body living, but change my Deſigns " and Counſels upon every Blaſt of Suſpicion; and from the Inconſtancy " of my own Diſpoſition, I uſe to make a Judgment of other Mens. Then, " ſays *MacDuff*, you are worſe than the Devil that's Reigning over them, " if worſe can be. And burſting forth in Tears, was going from him: Then *Malcolm* taking him by the Hand, told him, That what he had ſaid of himſelf, was falſe, and only done to try his Fidelity. After this, they went to King *Edward* and repreſented the Caſe to him; who immediately order'd *Syward*, the Valiant Earl of *Northumberland*, to aſſiſt King *Malcolm* with Ten Thouſand Men. The Certainty of this was no ſooner known in *Scotland*, than moſt of the Thanes and Barons declar'd for him, as being their only Lawful Prince; and having join'd *Malcolm*'s Army, they march'd ſtraight to *Dunſinnan*, where *Macbeth*'s Men lay. Then after a ſharp Engagement, *Macbeth*'s Forces were defeat, and himſelf kill'd by *MacDuff*, who brought his Head to King *Malcolm* in a Preſent. Moſt of our Hiſtorians tell us, That, the Night before the Action, *Malcolm* Ordered every one of his Soldiers to take a green Bough in their Hands, out of the Wood of *Birnane*, as a Token of their approaching Victory; and that *MacDuff* was taken out of his Mother's Womb, after her Death: So that, what the Sorcereſs ſaid to him, was accompliſh'd. This Tyrant was kill'd in the Year of our Lord 1061. after he had Uſurped the Crown, Sixteen Years. In his time, liv'd *Marianus Scotus*, Profeſſor of Theology and Mathematics at *Ratisbone*, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pag. 99.

MALCOLM, having thus recover'd his Father's Crown, was inaugurated at *Scone*; and from thence went to *Forfar*, where the Firſt thing that he did, was to reſtore to the Children their Fathers Eſtates, who had been put to Death by *Macbeth* for their Loyalty to him, during his Abſence. Then he made *MacDuff* Thane of *Fife*, Earl of *Fife*; and granted to him and his Poſterity Four Privileges above all the reſt of the Nobility, " The Firſt was, that his Poſterity ſhould place the " King, who was to be Crown'd, in the Chair of State. The Second, " that they ſhould lead the Van of the King's Armies. The Third, " that they ſhould have a free Regality within themſelves; and to re- " pledge his Men from all other Courts to his Regality to be Judged " there. The Fourth was, that, if any of his Family was guilty of un- " premeditate Slaughter of a Nobleman, he ſhould pay Four and Twenty " Merks of Silver, as a Fine; if a Plebeian, Twelve Merks. *This laſt Law*, ſays *Buchanan*, *was obſerv'd till the Days of our Fathers as long as any of that Family were in Being*. The other Thanes and Barons, who had been aſſiſting to him, he honour'd with Titles, according to their reſpective Merits. Thus the Thanes of *Athol*, *Lenox*, *Murray*, *Cathneſs*, *Roſs* and *Angus* were made Earls; and many others, Lords and Knights.

Whilſt he was beſtowing theſe Honours (which were never known before in this Kingdom) at *Forfar*, *Macbeth*'s Son, *Lugtac*, having got together a Party of the Rebels, who had adhered to his Father, went with them to *Scone*, where they Proclaim'd him King. But *Malcolm*, having purſu'd them to *Strath-bogy*, *Lugtac* was ſlain, and his whole Party routed, after he had uſurped the Name of King, Three Months.

After this, Word was brought to him, that a great Troup of Robbers were neſted in *Cockburn*-Forreſt, who were infeſting the Countries of *Lothian* and the *Mers*; and that *Patrick Dumbar* of That-Ilk, had rais'd his Followers in Purſuit of them, and, after a briſk Onſet, had overcome them, with the Loſs only of Fourty of his own Men, having kill'd Six Hundred of theirs, taken Fourty Priſoners, and Hang'd them: For which, the King made him Earl of *March*.

About this Time, *Edgar*, the Lawful Heir of the Crown of *England*, came with his Mother and Siſters into *Scotland*: The Hiſtory of whoſe Adventures, together with the Life of his Siſter *Margaret*, whom King *Malcolm* Married, and who is ſo well known by the Name of S. *Margaret*, you have fully in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 129, &c. *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, having Conquer'd all *England*, fearing that a Tempeſt might ariſe from *Scotland*, where the True and Lawful Heir of the Kingdom was harbour'd, ſent an Herauld to King *Malcolm*, to deliver *Edgar* up to him, otherwiſe he would declare War againſt him. *Malcolm* not only refuſed to deliver up *Edgar*; but told the Herauld, That he would Protect him and his Friends to the utmoſt of his Power. Wherefore an open War was declar'd betwixt *William* the Conqueror and King *Malcolm*. Upon this, Prince *Edgar*'s Friends flocked to him from all Parts; and King *Malcolm*, the more to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the *Engliſh*, renew'd the Old League with the *French*, as appears from *Marianus Scotus* (*p*), who tells us, That, about this Time, the *Scots* and *French* waſted the *Engliſh* Country. Likewiſe from the Hiſtories of that Time, we find, that there was little Friendſhip betwixt the King of *France* and the Conqueror (*q*); and that *Robert*, Earl of *Normandy*, the Conqueror's Son, did join with Prince *Edgar* againſt his Father; and that both (*r*) were ſupported by the *Scots* and *French*. King *William*, being puft up with his Good Succeſs againſt the *Engliſh*, doubted not, but that, in a ſhort Time, he would conquer the *Scots* likewiſe; and to prepare his Way, he ſent one *Roger*, a Nobleman of his own Country, with Forces into *Northumberland*: But he was overcome, put to the Flight, and ſlain by his own Men. Then *Richard*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, was ſent with a greater Army; whom *Patric*, Earl of *Dumbar*, wearied out with light Skirmiſhes, ſo that he did little or nothing. At laſt, *Odo*, King *William*'s Brother and Biſhop of *Bayon*, being made Earl of *Kent*, came down with a much greater Strength: But, as he was returning with a great Booty, having only plunder'd the Country of *Northumberland*, *Malcolm* ſet upon him, ſlew and took many of his Men Priſoners, and recover'd the Prey. Thereafter, when his Army was recruited, *Robert*, King *William*'s Son, was ſent down with new Forces; but did little or nothing. At length, *William* reſolv'd to put an End to the War himſelf, and accordingly enter'd *Galloway* with a Powerful Army: But his Soldiers finding none to oppoſe them there, he march'd directly towards *Malcolm*'s Army, then lying in *Lothian*. Nevertheleſs, both Kings being afraid of each other, a Peace was concluded betwixt them, which was made on theſe Conditions, That at *Stanmore*, in *Richmond*-Shire, the Bounds of both Kingdoms ſhould be fix'd; and in the Boundary a Croſs of Stone ſhould be erected, which ſhould contain the Statues and Arms of the Kings of both Sides: (That Croſs, as long as

(*p*) Ad An. 1070. (*q*) Ch. de Mel. ad An. 1077. (*r*) Id. ad An. 1079.

as it ſtood, was call'd the *Recroſs*, or the *King-Croſs.)* That *Malcolm* ſhould enjoy *Cumberland*, as his Anceſtors held it. Moreover *Edgar* was alſo receiv'd into *William*'s Favour, and endow'd with large Revenues.

After this Peace, ſome inteſtine Seditions aroſe in the Country. The moſt conſiderable of which, was one in *Galloway*, that was quell'd by *Walter* (Nephew to *Bancho*, Thane of *Lochaber*, begot by his Son *Fleanchus*, in his Baniſhment, with a Daughter of one of the *Welſh* Kings,) for which he was made Steward of *Scotland*, being appointed to gather in all the King's Revenues; and all his Deſcendants ever ſince, have been call'd *Stewards*. The other in *Roſs*, *Murray* and *Marr*, Headed by one *MacDuncan*: Againſt whom the King march'd in Perſon with an Army, and coming to the River of *Spey*, found the Rebels encamped upon the other Side thereof. The King having order'd his Men to paſs the River and attack them, his Standard-bearer made a Halt, it being one of the moſt Violent Currents in all *Scotland*. Whereupon the King ſnatch'd the Standard out of his Hand, and gave it to one, *Alexander Caron*, a Knight of renown'd Valour, whoſe Poſterity had ever afterwards the Honour of carrying the King's Standard in the Wars: And, inſtead of *Caron*, the Name of *Scrimzeur* was given him. As the King was paſſing the River with his Army, he was met by the Clergy; and, at their Interceſſion, he pardon'd all the Vulgar, upon their Submiſſion: But *MacDuncan* and the Principal Perſons, amongſt them, were either put to Death or Forfaulted. This Excellent Prince, having thus obtain'd Peace both at Home and Abroad, apply'd himſelf to the Reforming all the Abuſes, he found amongſt his Subjects.

In the mean time, *William* the Conqueror died, and his Son *William Rufus* ſucceeded him; who being a King of a very different Diſpoſition from that of *Malcolm*, no wonder that Peace was not long continu'd betwixt them. For the *Engliſh* King had no regard to Religion or Religious Perſons: Whereas *Malcolm* was ſincerely Religious and Devout. K. *William* immediately after his Acceſſion to the Throne, made a Breach with *Malcolm*, invaded *Northumberland*, took the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, and put the whole Gariſon to the Sword. Whereupon King *Malcolm* march'd with an Army into *Northumberland*, laid Siege to the foreſaid Caſtle, newly Gariſon'd with *Engliſh*, and oblig'd them to Capitulate: But as they were delivering him the Keys upon the point of a Spear, the Soldier, who offer'd them, run him in at the Eye, kill'd him, and made his eſcape to the Caſtle. Some think, that this Soldier, from this Action, was call'd *Pierce Eye*, and was the Firſt of the Noble Family of the *Percy*'s in *England*. But the *Saxon* Chronicle (*ſ*) calls him, who kill'd King *Malcolm*, *Morlæus de Bæbbaburch*. *Edward*, King *Malcolm*'s Eldeſt Son, endeavouring to revenge his Father's Death, receiv'd a Wound, of which he ſhortly after Died, and the Army return'd to *Scotland*. *Fordon* gives us the following Elegy upon King *Malcolm*'s Death.

Ter deca quinque valens Annis & Menſibus octo,
Malcolmus *ſanctus Rex erat in* Scotia.
Anglorum *gladiis in Bello ſternitur Hæres,*
Hic Rex in Scotia *primus humatus erat.*

(*ſ*) Ad An. 1093.

Here he is ſaid to be the Firſt King that was Buried in *Scotland*; becauſe all the reſt were Buried at *Colmkyl*. The Generality of our Hiſtorians place his Death in the Year of our Lord 1097, in the Thirty Sixth Year of his Reign. He was Buried Firſt at *Tinmouth*; but afterwards was tranſported to *Dumfermling*.

This Prince was of a Stature beyond the Common Size of Men, and had a large big Head; for which he was call'd *Malcolm Canmoir*, or *Malcolm* with the *Great Head*. When he was in his Baniſhment, if we may believe *Marianus Scotus*, he went to *Rome*, where he gave early Proofs of his Generoſity and Devotion. In the Peaceable Intervals of his Reign, he caus'd Re-edify the Churches that had been Ruin'd by the Wars; founded the Two Biſhopricks of *Murthlack* and *Cathneſs*; endow'd the reſt with ſeveral Lands and Revenues; built ſeveral Churches, amongſt which, were the Cathedrals of *Dumfermling* and *Durham*; and led a moſt Chriſtian and Exemplary Life before his Subjects: And all the *French* Hiſtorians ſay, that when the Chriſtian Princes join'd in the Holy War againſt the *Turks*, he was not deficient in ſending a Proportionable *Quota* of Men. As he was conſpicuous for his Piety, ſo he was no leſs noticeable for his Valour and Conduct in Arms: And his Perſonal Courage was ſo extraordinary, that being inform'd, that one of his Nobles was deſigning to Aſſaſſinate him, as he was at the Hunting, he call'd this Nobleman aſide, and going into a Wood, when they were all alone, told him, how he had got Notice of his Deſign; and deſir'd him to draw his Sword, ſince they were both Arm'd, and to try if he could obtain that by Valour, which he intended by Treachery. He ſpoke this with ſuch a Preſence of Mind, that the Conſpirator trembling fell at his Feet, and begg'd his Life of him, which he generouſly granted. He was Bleſs'd with a Numerous Iſſue, as I have ſhown in the Life of his Queen.

Our Hiſtorians ſay, that this King, when Prince *Edgar*'s Friends came to him from *England* and *Hungary*, call'd the *French* to his Aſſiſtance, and gave many of them Lands and Dignities, from whom are deſcended moſt of our Ancient Families: Amongſt theſe, they mention, from *England*, *Caulder*, *Lockart*, *Seyon*, *Lauder*, *Wawan*, *Meldrum*, *Schaw*, *Leirmouth*, *Libertoun*, *Wachop*, *Strachquen*, *Cargill*, *Ratry*, *Dundas*, *Cockburn*, *Mirtoun*, *Inglis*, *Menzies*, *Abercrumy*, *Leſly*, *Cuilra*, *Mar*, *Lindſay*, *Waus*, *Ramſay*, *Loual*, *Towirs*, *Preſtoun*, *Sandelandis*, *Biſſart*, *Fowlis*, *Wardlaw*, *Maxwel*; from *Hungary*, *Creichton*, *Fotringham*, *Giffart*, *Meluil* *Borthwik*, *Manlis*; from *France*, *Gordon*, *Fraſeir*, *Sinclare*, *Boſwel*, *Mowtray*, *Montgumery*, *Campbel*, *Boyis*, *Betoun*, *Tailzefer*, *Bothwel*, *Briſe* and *Monteth*.

To *Malcolm* ſucceeded his Son *Edgar*. But, he being Young, his Uncle *Donald* ſent Word to the King of *Norway*, that if he would aſſiſt him in obtaining the Crown of *Scotland*, he ſhould let him have the Weſtern *Iſlands* for his Reward. Whereupon, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Norwegians*, he gets together an Army, comes to *Scone*, and is declar'd King, under the Name of King DONALD VI. Upon this, *Edgar*, with his Brethren and Siſters, fled into *England*, where they ſtaid with their Uncle, *Edgar*, by the Mother's Side, Six Months. Thereafter *Duncan*, a Baſtard Son of King *Malcolm*, being aſſiſted with ſome Soldiers given him by King *Rufus*, under whom he had ſerv'd for ſome time, march'd into

into *Scotland*, was join'd by a great many, who were deſirous Firſt to Dethrone *Donald*, and to wait for the next Opportunity of turning out *Duncan*. *Donald*, ſeeing a Powerful Army coming up againſt him, and diffident of the Fidelity of thoſe that were with him, fled to the *Iſles*, about Six Months after he had Uſurped the Throne. Then *DUNCAN* was declar'd King, but he did not enjoy it long; for *Macpender*, Earl of *Merns*, being bribed with a Sum of Money by *Donald*, kill'd him in his Bed; and reſtor'd *Donald* to the Throne, after he had Uſurp'd the Crown, Two Years and Six Months. By this Time, King *Edgar*, *Malcolm*'s Son, being come to a competent Age, did, at the earneſt Deſire of *Edgar*, his Uncle, obtain from King *William Rufus*, the Command of an Army to recover his Kingdom: With which he had ſcarce enter'd into *Scotland*, when he was join'd by the whole Kingdom. *Donald*, finding himſelf deſerted, fled towards the *Iſles*, which were now in the *Norwegians* Hands: But he was purſu'd ſo hard, that he was taken Priſoner, and thrown into a Jail, where he had his Eyes put out, and Died ſhortly after at *Reſcolpyne*.

EDGAR, having thus recover'd his Kingdom, was Crown'd and Anointed by *Godricus*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 155. Not long after this, *William Rufus* Dying, his Brother *Henry* ſucceeded; and King *Edgar* having enter'd into a ſtrict Friendſhip with him, King *Henry*, to confirm it the more, Marry'd his Siſter, *Maud*; of whom you have an Account in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of her Excellent Mother, Queen *Margaret*. *Edgar* reign'd in great Peace, reverenced and beloved by all his Subjects, in ſo much that, during his whole Reign, there was not the leaſt Sedition or Tumult. He founded the Monaſtery of *Coldingham*, and Died in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, at *Dundee*, in the Year of our Lord 1109, and lyes Buried at *Dumfermling*.

Edgar Dying without Iſſue, his Brother, *ALEXANDER*, ſucceeded him. This Prince was a ſevere Juſticiar, puniſhing all Robbers, Murderers and Thieves with the utmoſt Rigour, which had almoſt coſt him his Life. For one Night, as he was lodged in the Caſtle of *Baledgar*, ſo call'd from its being built by King *Edgar*, and is now call'd *Ballegary*, lying in the Breas of the *Carſs* of *Gowry*, Five Miles above *Dundee*: I ſay, as he was lodged in this Caſtle, he was attack'd by a Company of Thieves, in the Night-time, who had brib'd the Gentleman, that was waiting that Night, to let them into his Chamber. The King, hearing a Noiſe, got to his Sword; and finding Arm'd Men ruſhing in upon him, he defended himſelf againſt them, put them all to the Flight, and kill'd Six of them with his own Hands: The reſt, being purſu'd and taken by his Guards, confeſs'd, who they were that had prompted them to this Villany, whom he likewiſe ſeverely puniſh'd.

Another time, having diſcover'd a Conſpiracy againſt him, the Conſpirators, ſo ſoon as they got Notice of it, fled: But he follow'd them with all imaginable Haſte; and they, coming to the River of *Spey*, thought, that That would put a ſtop to the King's Purſuit, by reaſon of the Rapidneſs thereof. At that time likewiſe the Tide was coming in, which render'd the River almoſt impaſſible; yet ſo forward was he;

that he put the Spurs to his Horſe, and had ſwim'd the River, had it not been for Sir *Alexander Caron*, his Standard-bearer, who told him, That there was no Neceſſity for his expoſing of himſelf; for he ſhould undertake to give a good Account of them: Which he effectually did; for paſſing the River, with a great part of the Army, he kill'd the moſt part of them, and brought the principal Conſpirators to the King, who caus'd them all to be Hang'd. This Expedition procur'd him Peace to the End of his Reign; yet theſe were not the only Dangers, that he eſcaped. For, being once at Sea, there aroſe a violent Tempeſt which drove his Ship upon the Iſland of *Inch-Colm*; where he was kept for Three Days, having no other Food but what he got from a Poor Hermite, that liv'd there. He Married *Sybil*, Daughter to *William* the *Norman*; but had no Children by her. He Died in Peace, in the Seventeenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 1126. and lyes Buried at *Dumfermling*.

This Prince was Naturally of a very Hot and Fiery Temper; but withal very Equal and Impartial in his Adminiſtration of Juſtice. A ſingular Inſtance of which, ſome give, is, that at a Time, when he was Travelling thro' the *Merns*, a Poor Woman came to him, and, falling upon her Knees, told him, how the Earl of *Merns*'s Son had put her Husband and Son to Death, becauſe they had ſued him for a Debt: Upon which, the King alighted from his Horſe, and would never mount him again, till he apprehended the Earl's Son and put him to Death. He was likewiſe very Devout and Charitable; for he built a Church in *Scone* to the Chanon Regulars, and Dedicate it to S. *Michael*; he built another in *Inch-Colm*, and Dedicate it to S. *Columba*, in Memory of his being ſav'd from Shipwrack there, ſupplying it with Chanon Regulars, and Lands to maintain them: He finiſh'd the Church at *Dumfermling*, begun by his Father, endowing it with ſeveral Lands; he gave the Lands of *Bairrink* to the Church of S. *Andrew*'s, ſo call'd from a Bair or Boar, which infeſted theſe Lands. *The Teith of this Bair*, ſays *Ballanden*, *are Sextene Inche lang, and Foure Inche thik; and hyngis now with Chenzies on the Stallis of the Queir of the hie Alter of* Sanct Andros. I ſhall conclude this Prince's Character, with what S. *Ælred* or *Ethelred* ſays of him. *Porro* (*t*) Alexander *Clericis & Monachis ſatis humilis & amabilis erat, cæteris Subditorum ſupra modum terribilis, homo magni cordis ultra vires ſuas ſe in omnibus extendens, erat autem literatus.* That's to ſay, *That he was Affable and Humble enough to the Monks and Clergy; but to his other Subjects he was Terrible above Expreſſion: A Man of a great Spirit and Learn'd, but of an overacting Nature, never conſulting his own Strength.* In this Prince's Reign, liv'd *David Scot*, Hiſtoriographer to the Emperor, *Henry* V. whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 109. Likewiſe Biſhop *Lejly* tells, That the *Cumings* had their firſt Riſe in his Reign. And *Bellenden* ſays, That Sir *Alexander Caron* had his Name changed to that of *Skrimgeour*, from a crooked Sword that he had at the Battel of *Spey*, with which he did great Execution; *Skrimgeour*, ſays he, ſignifying a ſharp Fighter: He and his Poſterity were made Heritable Conſtables of *Dundee*.

To *Alexander* ſucceeded his Brother *DAVID*, of whom I have given a large Account in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 135.

To

(*t*) Inter decem Script. Pag. 388.

To *David* ſucceeded *MALCOLM* IV. his Grand-child, Prince *Henry*'s Eldeſt Son, being about the Age of Thirteen Years. In the Beginning of his Reign, *Somerled*, Thane of *Argile*, a Man of an unbounded Ambition, roſe in Rebellion; and, having got a great many to join him, made no doubt of the Dethroning of *Malcolm*. But *Gilchriſt*, Earl of *Angus*, the King's Lieutenant, being ſent againſt him with an Army, put him to the Flight, having kill'd and taken Priſoners about Two Thouſand of his Men, and obliged himſelf with a few more to fly to *Ireland*. This Victory produc'd Tranquillity at Home, but Envy Abroad. For *Henry*, King of *England*, an Ambitious Prince, deſigning to make War with *France*; and being afraid, that the *French* might ſtir up *Malcolm*, in his Abſence, to invade *England*, ſent a Herauld to him, requiring that he ſhould come and pay Homage to him for the Lands, that he held in *England*. *Malcolm*, having obtain'd a ſafe Conduct, for going and returning at his Pleaſure, after he had paid his Homage, came to *London*: But, when he offer'd to return to his own Dominions, King *Henry* told him, That there was a Neceſſity for his going along with him to *France*. *Malcolm*, perceiving how he was catch'd by *Henry*'s Fraud, and that he had no Power to reſiſt him, ſeem'd willing to comply. By this, K. *Henry* ſecur'd himſelf againſt all Attempts of the *Scots*, in his Abſence; and K. *Malcolm* was compell'd, for Fear of a greater Miſchief, to go againſt his old Allies, the *French*. After K. *Henry* had proſecuted this War for ſome time, but with no great Succeſs; both Kings return'd Home. So ſoon as *Malcolm* arriv'd in *Scotland*, he call'd together his Nobles, who were grumbling extremely at his Conduct; becauſe they thought, that he had carried Arms againſt the King of *France*, their Ally: But finding how he was compell'd, by meer Force, to accompany him, they were ſatisfy'd.

In the mean time, King *Henry* ſeiſes upon the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*, alledging, That they were the Demeſneſs of the Crown, and that they could not be Aliened: But he was content, that King *Malcolm* ſhould enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington*, as being a Poſſeſſion near to the Middle of *England*, of which he could make no further Uſe, than pleas'd him. Whereupon *Malcolm* declares open War againſt King *Henry*, hoping to recover, by juſt Arms, what had been unlawfully taken from him, by Force and Perjury. For, when this King *Henry* was Knighted, at *Carliſle*, by King *David*, he Swore upon the Evangeliſts, as *William* of *Newberry* tells us, *That he would never go about to deprive either* David *himſelf, or any of his Poſterity, of any Part of thoſe Poſſeſſions, which* David *then held in* England. After this War had continued, for ſome time, not without great Inconveniencies to both Nations; at laſt, both the Kings came to a Conference, not far from *Carliſle*; where it was agreed betwixt them, That King *Henry* ſhould have *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*; and King *Malcolm* ſhould keep *Cumberland* and *Huntington*-Shire.

After this, *Malcolm* quell'd ſeveral Seditions, rais'd againſt him by his Subjects. The Firſt was by *Angus*, Thane of *Galloway*, who was overcome by *Gilchriſt*, Earl of *Angus*, in Three Fights: After which, he was forc'd to ſubmit to the King's Clemency, who granted him his Life; but forfaulted him of his Lands. Upon which, he ſhaved his Head and became a Chanon in the Abbacy of *Holy-rood-houſe*, where he Died. The

next was by the *Murray* Men, under the Command of their Thane, *Gildo*, or *Gildominic*, as others call him, who overcame *Gilchriſt* in a pitch'd Battel. Whereupon *Malcolm* rais'd a Powerful Army, march'd in Perſon againſt them, and, at the Mouth of the River *Spey*, having overcome the Rebels, put them all to the Sword. About which time, likewiſe *Sumerled* landed with a Company of *Banditi*, and plunder'd the Country as far as *Renfrew*: There his Forces were put to Flight, and himſelf, being apprehended, was brought to the King, and Hang'd upon a Gibbet. From thenceforth King *Malcolm*, being in Reſt and Quiet, it was his principal Endeavour and Deſire to Govern his Realm well, and duly to adminiſter Juſtice. Then having call'd his Council to *Scone*, about the preſſing Affairs of the Nation, *Arnold*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, took this occaſion of exhorting him to Marry, for the Good of his Kingdom and Subjects. But his Anſwer was, That he had made a Vow to God, to live all his Life in a Virgin-State; and ſince there were Heirs to ſucceed him in the Kingdom, he thought there was no Neceſſity for breaking of his Vow. After this, falling Sick of a languiſhing Infirmity, he apply'd his Mind to Acts of Charity and Devotion, founded and built the Abbacies of S. *Andrew*'s and *Cowper*, for the *Ciſtercian* Order, and provided them with ſufficient Revenues. At length, being worn out with this Infirmity, he ended his Life, in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, at *Jedburgh*, in the Year of our Lord 1165. and lyes Buried at *Dumfermling*.

This Prince reſembled his Father and Grandfather, not only in the Lineaments of his Body, but in the Vertues of his Mind. And tho' our Hiſtorians have repreſented him as a weak Prince; yet all Things duly conſider'd, it will be found, that what he did, was not ſo much from his own Inclination, as from the hard Circumſtance he was brought to, by the Perfidy and Fraud of King *Henry*. In this King's Reign, liv'd S: *Ælred*, Abbot of *Riedual*; the Anonymous Author of the Chronicle of *Holy-rood-houſe*; and *Robert Ellis*, Arch-Dean of *Agde*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 123, 380, 381.

To *Malcolm* ſucceeded his Brother, *WILLIAM*. Upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, he inſiſted upon the Reſtitution of the Counties, that King *Henry* had taken from his Brother. On the other hand, King *Henry* deſir'd King *William* to come, to *London*, to pay Homage to him, for *Cumberland* and *Huntington*. King *William* went, and hoped, by this Obſequiouſneſs, ſays *Polidore Virgil*, to recover theſe Counties: But, after he had ſtaid, for ſome time, at *London*, and finding that the King of *England* invented many Cauſes of Delay, he return'd Home, very Angry, with a Deſign to recover his Right by Arms; which are always juſt and neceſſary, when Right cannot be obtain'd without them: And Firſt he eſſay'd, tho' in vain, to get back his own, by Intreaties and all fair Means, from *Henry*; but being ſtill deny'd, he went and Ravag'd all *Northumberland*. Then, having ſent out his Cavalry to plunder the Country, as he was returning Home, by Way of *Alnwick*, accompany'd only with Sixty Horſe, he fell into an Ambuſh; and being taken, he was treated in a barbarous and inhuman manner, was carried to *Henry*, with his Feet tied under the Horſe's Belly, and kept in very harſh Cuſtody, for Ten Years. Yet *Matthew Paris* writes, that he was defeated

in

in a pitch'd Battel, and that *ſo great a Multitude of thoſe* Scots *Piſmires* (as he is pleas'd to call them) *were ſlain, as cannot be number'd.* Neither could the Nearneſs of Blood, nor the Merits of *David*, his Grandfather, who expos'd himſelf ſo often to defend *Henry*'s Dignity, prevail any thing in favours of *William*, till he not only paid Homage for the Counties in *England*, but for the Crown of *Scotland*; if we may believe the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. But granting this to be a Truth, I muſt ſay, with the Learn'd Sir *Thomas Craig* (*u*), *That it was not only contrary to all Law, but Humanity it ſelf, to require of a Man, who was not his own Maſter, but a Captive of* England, *an Acknowledgment of Superiority over* Scotland. *For all Kingdoms agree in this, that there lyes a Claim of Reſtitution againſt all Actions extorted by Violence or Force: Or, let us,* ſays he, *have the Benefit of the* Engliſh *Law, at leaſt according to the Anſwer of* William Brivier, *one of King* Henry *the Third's Counſellors, to the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *and the Barons, when they demanded a Confirmation of their Liberties by the King*, viz. "That the Liberties, they ſought, ought not to be obſerv'd "in Law, becauſe they were extorted by Violence. The *Scots*, being extremely concern'd about the Captivity of their King, ſent *Richard*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, and ſeveral other Noblemen to treat about his Ranſom, which was at length agreed to, upon the following Conditions: *That he ſhould pay One Hundred Thouſand Pound* Sterling *for his Ranſom, the one Half to be paid in ready Money; and for the other Half,* Cumberland, Huntington *and* Northumberland *were to be kept under Reverſion, ay and till it was paid to the King of* England: *And to prevent all Wars, betwixt the Two Nations, for recovering of theſe Counties, during the Payment of the Ranſom, it was agreed, That the Caſtles of* Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh *and* Stirling, *ſhould be deliver'd to the* Engliſh.

Upon theſe Terms, King *William*, on the Eighth Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord 1175, returned Home; and from henceforth, during the joint Lives of theſe Two Kings, there was fair Correſpondency between them, tho' they wanted not their ſeveral Troubles. Thoſe of King *William*, ariſing from his Rebellious Subjects in *Galloway*, under one *Gilbert*, a Powerful Man in that Country, who was overcome by *Gilchriſt*, Earl of *Angus*. But thoſe of King *Henry*, occaſioned by the Diſobedience and Inconſtancy of his Sons, who combined with the King of *France* againſt him, were much more grievous: For they laſted and increaſed as long as he liv'd; and when he was making his Approaches to Eternity, he curſed the Hour of his Birth; and ſolemnly laid God's Imprecations and his own upon his Sons, which no Perſwaſion of the Biſhops could cauſe him to Revoke, to the Hour of his Death, which was in the Year of our Lord 1189.

After the Death of King *Henry*, his Son *Richard* ſucceeded him, who was no ſooner ſettled upon the Throne, but he endeavour'd to expiate his Father's Crimes and his own: And, in regard that his Father had, contrary to his Oath and againſt the Laws of all Nations, extorted Homage from King *William*, he reſtored to him the Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Edinburgh*, *Roxburgh* and *Stirling*; and freed him of all Engagements, that he had bound himſelf to, at the time of his being Ranſomed, as extorted from him, being then Priſoner; reſerving to himſelf only ſuch Rights, as had been, and were to be, performed by his Brother *Malcolm*

(*u*) Diſp. concerning Homage, Pag. 294.

to his Anceſtors, the Kings of *England*, for the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland* and *Huntington*. And to expiate his Diſobedience to his Father, he entred into a League with *Philip*, King of *France* and divers other Chriſtian Princes, for recovering of the *Holy Land*. On the other hand, King *William* paid him Ten Thouſand Merks, and ſent his Brother *David*, Earl of *Huntington*, with Five Thouſand Men, to aſſiſt him in the ſaid Holy War.

In the mean time, *Gilchriſt*, whom I have ſo often mention'd, did, upon Suſpicion of Adultery, put his Lady, who was the King's Siſter, to Death. For this, he was Baniſhed, his Houſe Demoliſhed, and his Goods Confiſcate. Thereafter the King, having gone into *Roſs* to ſuppreſs the Robberies of *Maculzem* and *Macbane*, two Notorious Robbers, in his Return near *Perth*, met Three Country-Men, begging upon the Road; and finding ſomething more extraordinary about them, than what is to be ſeen in Common Beggers, inquir'd narrowly at them, What they were, and from whence they came? Whereupon the Eldeſt of them fell down upon his Knees, and intreated him to have Compaſſion on his Bald and Hoary Head, which was going in Sorrow to the Grave. Then the King, diſcovering him to be *Gilchriſt*, to whoſe Valour he had been ſo often obliged, rais'd him from the Ground, embraced him, and reſtored him to his Former Poſſeſſions, to the unexpreſſible Joy of all thoſe who attended him. This *Gilchriſt* had a Brother call'd *Bredus*, who, before his Brother's Misfortune, had the Lands of *Ogilvy* given him; and from him are deſcended all the *Ogilvies*.

Not long after this, the King's Brother return'd from the *Holy Land*, where he had behaved himſelf with great Bravery. And here I cannot omit to Relate, what our Hiſtorians have ſaid of him, when he was at the Siege of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, which had continu'd for Three Years and ſome Months: And 'tis this, There was one, *Oliver*, who had been baniſh'd, from *Scotland*, for ſome hainous Crime, and was then in the Service of the *Saracenes*, and a Soldier in the Caſtle of *Acon*. This Fellow, having ſeen one Day, from the Ramparts, a Relation of his own, nam'd *John Durward*, who had come over with Earl *David*, call'd him by his Name; and it was agreed betwixt them, That, if the Earl would aſſure him of his Brother the King's Protection in *Scotland*, and ſome Lands to live upon, he would deliver the Caſtle to him, by letting them in at a ſecret Gate, in the Night-time. The Earl having aſſured him of what he had propoſed, the Caſtle was ſurprized and taken by him, and the *Scots* Standard placed upon the Walls, the next Day.

King *Richard*, after various Adventures and Misfortunes, coming Home at length to his own Dominions, King *William* and his Brother went to viſit him; and K. *William*, finding that he was ſtraitned for Money, very generouſly gave him, in a Compliment, Two Thouſand Merks of Silver. This ſo endeared K. *Richard* to him, "That he, by the Adviſe "and Conſent of his Council, granted to *William* King of *Scots* and his "Heirs for ever, that, when they were Summon'd to come to the Court "of *England*, to pay Homage for their Lands there, the Biſhop of "*Dureſme* and the Sheriff of *Northumberland* ſhould receive them, at the "River of *Tweed*, and bring them, under ſafe Conduct, to the River "of *Teis*, and there the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Sheriff of *York*-Shire "ſhould receive and conduct them to the Bounds of that County; and

ſo

" ſo the Biſhops and Sheriffs of other Shires, until they came to the " Court of the King of *England*: And, from the time that the King of " *Scots* Firſt enter'd into that Realm, he ſhould have a Hundred Shil- " ling, a Day, allowed of Gift for his Charges; and after he came to " Court, Thirty Shillings, a Day, and Twelve Waſtels, Twelve Sim- " nels of the King's, Four Quarts of the King's beſt Wine, and Six of " ordinary Wine, Two Pounds of Pepper, and Four Pounds of Cinna- " mon, Two Pounds of Wax, or Four Wax Lights, Fourty great long " Pearchers of the King's beſt Candles, and Twenty Four of other ordi- " dinary: And, at his Return, to be ſafely Conducted as he came, and " with the ſame Allowance.

During King *William*'s Abſence, *Harald*, Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathneſs*, apprehended *John* Biſhop of *Cathneſs*, cut out his Tongue, and put out his Eyes, for having oppoſed ſome Deſigns of his, at Court: For which, King *William*, upon his Return, cauſed the Earl to be apprehended, cut out his Tongue, pull'd out his Eyes, and then Hanged him upon a Gibbet. Theſe things hapned in the Year of our Lord 1198; in which Year, King *William* had a Son born to him, by his Queen (*Ermingard*, Daughter to *Richard*, Viſcount *Beamont*, Son to a Daughter of *William*, the Conqueror) who was Chriſtned *Alexander*.

The next Year, *Richard*, King of *England*, Died; and his Brother, *John*, ſucceeded him. This Prince not only required Homage from King *William* for the Counties, that he held in *England*; but laid Claim to them as belonging to the Crown of *England*. Upon this, a War was like to enſue between the Two Kings; if the *Engliſh* Lords had not diſſwaded King *John* from it, as thinking it unfit to have War with the *Scots* and *French*, at the ſame time. But when King *John* had made an End of his Wars in *France*; in the next Spring after, he began to build a Caſtle in *Northumberland* over againſt *Berwick*. Upon this, King *William* ſent Ambaſſadors to him, requiring that he would deſiſt from building of any Fort there; and King *John* giving no Ear to them, he came with a few Forces, threw down and razed the Fort to the Ground. King *John*, being inform'd thereof, raiſes a mighty Army, and comes to the Borders with them: But finding King *William* attending him there, and ready to give him Battel, the Matter, by the Mediation of ſome Wiſe and Diſcreet Men on both Sides, was taken up between them, and their Armies disbanded. Then both the Kings, going to the City of *York*, agreed upon theſe Terms; *That* William's *Two Daughters*, Iſobel *and* Margaret, *ſhould be given in Marriage to* John's *Two Sons*, Hary *and* Richard, *as ſoon as ever they were Marriageable*; *a great Dowry was promiſed, and Nine Noblemen were Hoſtages for it.*

After this, King *William* return'd to *Scotland*, and as he was lying, one Night, at the City of *Bertha*, the whole Town was almoſt deſtroy'd by an Inundation of the River of *Tay*: his Son, an Infant, with his Nurſe and Fourteen more, who were lodged in his Palace, were Drown'd; he himſelf having hardly made his Eſcape. Whereupon he cauſed build a New City, a little below the Situation of the Firſt, and call'd it *Perth*, from the Name of the Land, upon which it was built. After this, King *William* quell'd a Rebellion in the North, rais'd by *Gothred*, Son of *Maculzem*; and Died in Peace at *Stirling*, in the Fourty Ninth Year of his

Reign, the Seventy and Fourth of his Age, in the Year of our Lord 1214; and lyes Buried at *Aberbrothock*, before the High Altar.

This Prince, after his Captivity, made it appear, that he had not been wanting in informing himſelf, either as to the Power, Strength or Policy of his Enemies. And tho' he found his Treaſury empty, his People Poor, and his Forces weak; yet all his Reign, he managed his Affairs ſo, that his Subjects liv'd very happily under him: He obliged the *Engliſh* to reſtore to him, what they had moſt unjuſtly taken from his Predeceſſor; neither durſt they ever invade his Dominions,during his whole Reign. In his time, ſeveral Religious Houſes were founded, his Mother, *Adama*, founded the Abbacy of *Hadingtoun*; he himſelf, that of *Aberbrothock*; his Brother, that of *Lundoris*, (where *Bellenden* ſays, there uſed to be prodigious Numbers of Serpents; but ſo harmleſs,that he has often ſeen the Children playing with them, and never any thing follow'd upon it;) and his Queen, *Ermingard*, that of *Balmerinocht*. He gave ſeveral Lands to the Churches of *Newbottel*, *Melroſs*, *Dumfermling* and *Aberdeen*;he erected the Biſhoprick of *Argile*; to Two of the Monks of the *Holy Trinity*, that were ſent over by the Pope, he gave his Palace, at *Aberdeen*. In a word, he was ſo ſingular for his Devotion and Piety, that our Hiſtorians tell us of a Miracle, which he perform'd at *York*, whilſt he and King *John* were there; which I ſhall here inſert in *Bellenden*'s Words, *Eſter that thir two Kingis war at thair counſal at* Zork, *was brocht to thaym an Child of gret bewte, Heritour to ſindry Landis of* Ingland: *Bot he was trublit with meruellus Infirmitie; for ane of his Ene was conſumit be Flux of euyll Humours, his Hand pynit away, and had na Power of his Toung, nor zet his ta Side. The Medcynaris, ſeing hym haue ſic contrarius Infirmiteis, and nocht knawing the Caus thairof, jugit hym incurabyll, nochtheles King* Wyllyam *maid an Croce on hym, and reſtorit hym incontinent to his Heill.* By this Account, it would appear, that this Child was troubled with Scrophulous Tumors, and that,from this, the Cuſtom of our Kings, in Praying over and Touching thoſe Troubled with this Diſeaſe, had its Firſt Riſe, and was call'd the *King's Evil*: It was likewiſe for his great Zeal to the Church, that the Pope ſent him a Sword,with a Gold Hilt, and Scabbard all ſet over with Precious Stones, and *ane Bonat*, ſays *Bellenden*, *of tyre maid in maner of Diademe of Purpoure Hew, to ſignify that he was Deffender of the Faith*: He Order'd, that, every *Saturday* at Twelve of the Clock, all the Bells of the Churches ſhould ring, to advertiſe the People to give over their Employments; for he Ordain'd, that, from *Saturday* Noon till *Monday* Morning, ſhould be kept Holy. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Adam Scot*, of the Order of *Premontre*; *Richard*, Abbot of S. *Victore*; *Godricus*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s; *Eugenius*, Abbot of *Wirtzburg*; and *John Scot*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pag. 141, 147, 155, 383, &c.

To *William* ſucceeded his Son, *ALEXANDER*, who was Fifteen or Sixteen Years of Age. About this time, there aroſe great Diſſention betwixt King *John* and his Barons; by reaſon whereof, great Wars enſu'd. The Barons ſent to the King of *France* and the Young King of *Scotland*, for Aid; *Alexander*, being inform'd, that *Lewis*, the *Dauphine* of *France* was coming to ſuccour them, march'd with an Army into *England*, and went ſtraight to *London*; cauſing his Soldiers, by

by the way, to abſtain from doing any kind of Dammage to the People. By his coming, Things being ſomewhat appeaſed, he and the Dauphine paſſed from thence into *France*, leaving Ten Thouſand Men, behind them, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Lords. *Philip*, the *French* King met them at *Bologne*, where they renew'd the Ancient League, between *France* and *Scotland*, with this further Addition, *That neither Prince ſhould entertain the Enemies of the other's Realm; nor Marry with any Stranger, but the one to make the other privy thereto.* Theſe things being thus ratify'd, *Alexander* and *Lewis* return'd into *England*; and in a ſhort time after, King *John* ended his Miſerable Life, at *Newark* upon *Trent*, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, and his Son *Henry* ſucceeded him.

After this, *Alexander* return'd Home with his Army; but in his Journey, ſome of his Men ſtraying abroad, out of Order from the reſt, were ſuddenly invaded and ſurpris'd by ſome *Engliſh* Men, who lay in Wait for them. This ſo incenſed King *Alexander*, that he laid waſte the whole Counties, thro' which he paſſed Homeward. King *Henry*, in Revenge of this, went with an Army into *Scotland*; but hearing, that King *Alexander* was marching againſt him with a Powerful Hoſt, he preſently retired into *England*. King *Alexander* follow'd him into *Northumberland*, where he beat down and overthrew many Caſtles, which the *Engliſh* had put Gariſons in. Then he went and beſieged the City of *Carliſle*, which he took, and Gariſon'd. From thence he went to *Norham*-Caſtle: But finding, that it was not worth his time to beſiege it, he march'd ſtraight Home, pleas'd with what he had done. King *Henry*, hearing that King *Alexander* had broke up his Camp, laid Siege to *Berwick*, and took the Town and Caſtle: Then march'd his Army into *Scotland*, burnt and ſpoiled all alongſt the Sea-Coaſt, as far as *Hadingtoun*; and thought to have ſurpris'd the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, but failing in his Deſign, he return'd Home again. At length, by the Pains and Mediation of the Biſhops of *York* and *Salisbury*, a Peace was concluded between King *Alexander* and King *Henry*, upon theſe Conditions; *That King* Alexander *ſhould re-deliver the City of* Carliſle *into the King of* England's *Hands*; *and that King* Henry *ſhould likewiſe render up the Town of* Berwick *unto the* Scots; *That the County of* Cumberland *ſhould remain unto King* Alexander *with the one Half of* Northumberland *to the* Re-croſs *in* Stanmore; *That King* Alexander *ſhould be abſolved from the Cenſures of the Church, which Cardinal* Gwallo, *the Pope's Legate, had denounced againſt him and his Kingdom, for the War againſt* England, *in King* John's *Time.* Accordingly King *Alexander* was abſolv'd at *Berwick*, and the whole Realm delivered from the Interdiction, by the foreſaid Biſhops, authoriz'd thereunto by the Pope's Legate; and the Two Kings were agreed, and afterwards met at *York*, where, the better to preſerve Amity and Peace between them, King *Alexander* Married *Joan*, King *Henry*'s Siſter; and *Margaret*, K. *Alexander*'s Eldeſt Siſter, was Married to *Hubert de Burgh*, new made Chief-Juſtice of *England* and Earl of *Kent*. About this time, *David*, Earl of *Huntingtoun*, the King's Brother, Died, and was Buried in the Abbay of *Seuicia*.

King *Alexander*, having thus ſettled a firm Peace with the *Engliſh*, travelled, with his Queen, over the whole Kingdom, puniſhing ſeverely, wherever he came, all ſorts of Crimes. Yet ſuch was the perverſe

Humour of ſome of his Subjects, that he had Three different Inſurrections to quell. The Firſt was rais'd by *Gileſpy* in *Roſs*, who had ravag'd over all the Country of *Roſs*, and Burnt the Town of *Inverneſs*; againſt whom was ſent *John Cuming*, Earl of *Buchan*, who took him and his Two Sons, cut off their Heads, and ſent them to the King. The Second was by the Men of *Cathneſs*, who in the Night-time broke in upon their Biſhop's Houſe, Murder'd his Companion and Bedfellow, a Monk of *Melroſs*, Dragged himſelf to his Kitchen, and Burnt him Alive; becauſe he had inflicted the Church Cenſures upon them, for not paying him the Tithes. The Earl of *Cathneſs*, tho' he was not preſent at the Fact, yet was known to have had a Hand in it; and tho' the King pardon'd him, yet God did not ſuffer him to paſs unpuniſh'd; for he was Murder'd in his Bed, one Night, by ſome of his Followers, who, to conceal the Murder, caus'd his Houſe to be ſet on Fire, that it might be thought, he had periſh'd, that way. Four Hundred of the other Murderers were brought to the King, who, by his Order, were all Hang'd on Gibbets; and that there might be none of their Poſterity to ſucceed them, he caus'd all their Male Children to be Gelded, and their Stones thrown out, in a Heap together, in a Place, which, from that to this Day, is call'd *Stony-Hill*. The Third was occaſion'd thus: *Allan*, Lord of *Galloway* and Conſtable of *Scotland*, Dying, left Three Daughters behind him, amongſt whom he divided his Lands. His Baſtard Son, thinking, by meer Force, to poſſeſs the Lordſhip of *Galloway*, got together a conſiderable Army. Againſt him, the King ſent the Earl of *March* and *Walter Stewart*, by whom he was overthrown in Battel, and ſlain with Five Thouſand of his Men. The Eldeſt Daughter of *Allan*, Lord *Galloway*, was Married to *Roger Quincy*, who was made Conſtable of *Scotland*; and he and his Succeſſors were ſo till the Days of King *Robert Bruce*: In his Reign, they were forfaulted for High Treaſon, and the *Hays* of *Arrol* were made Heritable Conſtables. About this time, *viz.* 1220, the Cardinal of S. *Giles* was ſent to *Britain*, to Collect Money for the Holy War; and having ſcrapt together a great Sum of Money out of both Kingdoms, he return'd to *Rome*, and ſaid, he had been Robb'd by the way. Whereupon another Legate was ſent, whom King *Alexander* diſcharged to ſet his Foot upon his Dominions.

Alexander, having quell'd theſe Rebellions at Home, went ſtraight to *London* with his Queen, with a deſign to reconcile King *Henry* to the Nobility and Barons, who were then at Variance with him. Which having effectually done, he Married *Iſobel*, his Siſter, whom he had taken alongſt with him, to *Roger Bigod*, Earl of *Norfolk*. After the Solemnities of this Marriage were over, Queen *Joan* went in Pilgrimage, with the Queen of *England*, to *Canterbury*; and, upon her Return, fell Sick of a Fever, of which ſhe Died, and lyes Buried at *London*. Thereafter King *Alexander* return'd to *Scotland*, much grieved for the Loſs of his Queen: But the Time of due or convenient Mourning being expired, in the Year 1239, King *Alexander*, having no Children, Married at *Roxburgh*, *Mary*, the Daughter of *Ingelram*, Earl of *Coucy*, in *France*, a Lady of Excellent Beauty; with her he had a Son, Nam'd alſo *Alexander*, who ſucceeded him. King *Henry* being now at Peace at Home, *David*, Prince of North-*Wales*, whom he had ſubdu'd, fled for Protection

to

to King *Alexander*; and told him, how King *Henry* did brag, That he was Liege Lord of all *Scotland*. King *Alexander* was the more induced to believe this Report, becauſe the *Engliſh* were going to build a Fort, foregainſt *Berwick*. Whereupon King *Alexander ſent him*, ſays *Matthew Paris* (x), *a ſharp Meſſage, ſignifying, that he neither did nor ought to hold one ſingle Foot of* Scots *Ground of him: And thereupon bid him Defiance; and entring* England, *in a Hoſtile manner, haraſs'd and laid waſte all the bordering Countries.* Henry, *that he might be avenged for this Arrogance of the King of* Scots, *prepared an huge Army privately, having alſo ſent for the Count of* Flanders *with his Auxiliary Forces; which being arrived in* England, *the* Engliſh *did murmur and fret, that Foreign Aid ſhould be ſent for, bragging, that the* Engliſh *were ſufficient of themſelves to extinguiſh the Name of* Scots. *But* Henry, *having propoſed the entire Conqueſt of* Scotland, *muſter'd all who were obliged to do Military Service in* England; *and having laid a Tax upon the Eccleſiaſtics, for payment of his hired Troops, gather'd together the whole Nobility and Gentry of* England *at* Newcaſtle. But notwithſtanding of all this Preparation, when he heard, that King *Alexander* was ready to receive him with an Army, and that the Matter was now brought to the Critical Point, he began to carry himſelf more modeſtly. For the Borders of *Scotland*, which were within his View, having afforded him a Dreadful Aſpect of long Spears and huge Pole-Axes; and perceiving, that he was likely to have a Rugged Adverſary to deal with, he propoſed a Peace, by his Brother *Richard*; and by his Means he obtain'd it, under the Pretence of Piety, and to avoid ſuch an Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood as was likely to enſue: And, if we may believe *Weſtminſter* and *Paris*, two of the moſt famed Hiſtorians amongſt the *Engliſh*, he acted in this very prudently. For *Alexander* had at that time, in his Army, 1000 Horſe-men bravely equipped, and 100000 Valiant Foot, who, having all Confeſſed themſelves, and being animated by the Example of their Prince and the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, deſpis'd Death, which made *Henry* return Home ingloriouſly, without doing any thing.

After this, King *Alexander* entertain'd his Nobility and Barons with a Noble Turnament at *Hadingtoun*: But the Joy of this Solemnity was diſturb'd by the Murder of *Patrick Cuming*, Earl of *Athol*, who was ſlain by *John Biſſart*; for which, he and the Principal Perſons of his Name, were obliged to fly the Kingdom. About this time likewiſe, *Somerleid*, Thane of *Argile*, infeſted the adjacent Countries with his Followers: But *Patrick*, Earl of *March*, brought him before the King with a Rope about his Neck, in Sign of his Penitence; and the King was graciouſly pleas'd to Pardon him. The next Year, Ambaſſadors came from *Lewis*, King of *France*, requiring King *Alexander*'s Aid and Aſſiſtance, for recovering of the *Holy Land*. Whereupon a Number of brave Choſen Men were ſent to accompany him to the *Holy Land*, under the Command of *Patrick*, Earl of *March*; *David Lindſay*, of *Glenesk*; and *Walter Stewart*, of *Dundonald*; who all Died in this Expedition. Shortly after this, King *Alexander* Died in the Thirty Fifth Year of his Reign, upon the Eighth Day of *July*, at *Carnire*, an Iſland in the Weſt, in the Year of our Lord 1249, in the Fifty Firſt Year of his Age, and was Buried at *Melroſs*, with this Inſcription upon his Tomb.

(x) Vid. Matth. Weſt. Matth. Paris & Polyd. Virg. in Hen. III.

Eccleſiæ clypeus, pax plebis, dux miſerorum,
Rex rectus, rigidus, ſapiens, conſultus, honeſtus,
Rex pius, Rex fortis, Rex optimus, Rex opulentus,
Nominis iſtius ipſe ſecundus erat.
Annis ter denis & quinis Rex fuit ipſe;
Inſula, quæ Carneri *dicitur, hunc rapuit.*
Spiritus alta petit Cœleſtibus aſſociatus:
Sed Melroſſenſis *Oſſa ſepulta tenet.*

This Prince had a Warm and Martial Diſpoſition; and, in all his Expeditions, gave great Proofs of a penetrating Underſtanding, in a wiſe and judicious Conduct. He was very Prudent and Politic in Peace; Magnificent and Generous in all his Public Affairs; and very Frugal in his Pivate. He was very ſevere to all Murderers and Rebels; but merciful to thoſe, who ſubmitted to him. He was very Devout and Charitable; and in a Word, he had ſo many Shining Vertues, and ſo few Vices, that he is deſervedly ranked amongſt the beſt of our Kings. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Gilbert Murray*, Biſhop of *Cathneſs*; *Gaufrid*, Sacriſt of the Monaſtery of *Coldingham*; *John Cuming*, Arch-Biſhop of *Dublin*; and *Jonathan*, Biſhop of *Dumblane*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 388, 392, 393, 394.

To *Alexander* II. ſucceeded his Son *ALEXANDER* III. In the Year after, thoſe, who were appointed his Governours during the time of his Minority, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry* of *England*, deſiring, That the Peace, before-mention'd, might now again be ratify'd and confirm'd between the Two Kings; and that a Marriage might be made betwixt the Young King and Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry*'s Daughter, for the more ſure Uniting of the Two Kingdoms, in Peace and Amity. Upon this their Motion and Deſire, at *Chriſtmaſs* next after, both the Kings met at *York*, with a great Number of Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal of both the Realms. Here, the Nuptials, upon S. *Stephen*'s Day, were Solemnized; where, beſides the Lords Spiritual and Temporal out of *Scotland*, *England* and *France*, there were the Two Kings, Three Queens, Six Hundred *Scots* Knights, and a Thouſand *Engliſh*, who all appear'd in moſt Splendid Apparel and Equipage. The Arch-Biſhop of *York* gave Sixty fat Oxen towards the Nuptial Dinner; and was beſides, at the Expence of Four Thouſand Merks. This Feaſt being ended, King *Alexander* paid Homage for his Lands in *England*, was Knighted by King *Henry*, and then return'd to *Scotland*, with his Queen. During this King's Minority, the Realm of *Scotland* was well Govern'd by ſuch of the Nobility, as were deputed thereunto: Yet when he came to Age, there were divers Complaints made unto him of ſome Oppreſſions, that had been done. His Chancellor, *Robert*, Abbot of *Dumfermling*, was accuſed, becauſe he had legitimated the Wife of *Allan Durward*, Baſtard Daughter to *Alexander* II. with a Deſign, as it was thought, that, if the King Died without Iſſue, ſhe might come in as Heireſs: Upon this, the Chancellor was turn'd out; and *Gamelinus*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, put in his Place. The King, after this, Summon'd *Walter*, Earl of *Montieth*; *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*; *John*, Earl of *Athol*; *William*, Earl of *Mar*; the Lord *Strathbogy*; *Hugh Abernethy*, and ſeveral others to appear and Anſwer before him, for what was laid

to

to their Charge, which they refuſing to do, were proclaim'd Traitors. Theſe Noblemen, upon this, got together their Vaſſals and Followers, came to *Kinroſs*, where the King then was, took him Priſoner, and carried him to the Caſtle of *Stirling*, where they kept him for a long time. Mean while, *Walter*, Earl of *Montieth*, who was the Greateſt in Authority amongſt them, was poiſon'd by his Wife, an *Engliſh* Woman, who fled to *England*, and Married one, *John Ruſſel*, with whom ſhe had been blam'd in her Husband's Time. The *Cumings*, of which Name were the Rebels above-mention'd, finding themſelves conſiderably weakned by the Earl of *Montieth*'s Death, ſet the King at Liberty, and begged their Lives, for what they had done; which he granted, upon the account of their great Power. For, at that time, beſides the Earls of *Montieth*, *Buchan*, *Athol*, *Mar* and the Lord *Strathbogy*, there were Thirty Knights of this Name, who had great Eſtates.

After this, all Troubles being well quieted in *Scotland*, King *Alexander* and his Queen *Margaret* went to *England*, to viſit her Father, King *Henry*, in the Fourtieth Year of his Reign, whom they then found at *Woodſtock*. Here they ſtaid ſome time, giving and receiving mutual Teſtimonies of Love and Courteſy, and ſo return'd into *Scotland*. He is ſaid to have had another Interview, with King *Henry*, in the Year 1262, at *Warkcaſtle*, with a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of both Realms; where they ſo adjuſted their Affairs, that both the Nations continued afterwards in greater Tranquillity, than ever was ſeen in any King's Reign before that time.

In the Year of our Lord 1263, upon the Firſt Day of *Auguſt*, *Acho*, King of *Norway*, with a Fleet of 160 Sail, came to *Air*, a Maritime Town in *Coil*, where he landed 20000 Men. The Cauſe of the War, as he pretended, was, that ſome Iſlands, which were promiſed to his Anceſtors by *Macbeth*, were not yet put into his Hands. Before *Acho* met with any Oppoſition from *Alexander*, he took Two of the Greateſt of thoſe Iſlands, *viz.* *Bote* and *Aran*: Then he made a Deſcent into *Cuningham*, the next Continent, over-againſt *Bote*; where, when he came to that Part of it, which they call *Largs*, he was met by King *Alexander*, with an Army of 40000 Men. The Two Armies were no ſooner in View of other, but they drew up in Line of Battel: The Right Wing of the *Scots* Army was commanded by the Valiant Sir *Alexander Stewart*, who had under him all the Men of *Argile*, *Lenox*, *Athol* and *Galloway*; the Left Wing, by *Patrick Dumbar*, who had under him the Men of *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Mers*, *Berwick* and *Stirling*; and the Body of the Army, by the King, who had, under him, all the remaining People of his Dominions. The Two Bodies of the Armies Firſt engaged, being commanded by the Two Kings; and ſhortly after, the reſt. At length, after a long and Bloody Diſpute, Sir *Alexander Stewart* put the Right Wing of the *Daniſh* Army to the Flight: Then, he ſtriking in with the main Body, and fluſh'd with Succeſs, gave them ſuch a Vigorous Attack, that the *Scots* obtain'd a complete Victory: *Acho* fled ſtraight to his Ships; but, to complete his Misfortune, the moſt of them all periſh'd by a Storm, and, with the few that remain'd, he got into the *Orcades*, and from thence to *Norway*, where he Died of Grief for the Loſs of his Army. In this Fight there were ſlain 16000 of the *Norwegians*, and 5000 of the *Scots*.

After this Battel, King *Alexander* rewarded, with Lands and Honours, ſeverals of thoſe Gentlemen, who had Signalized themſelves, by their Valour, in this Action; and in a Fragment of the Records of *Colmkyl*, ſtill extant in the Earl of *Cromerty*'s Library, wherein mention is made of the moſt Eminent Perſons, there are Nam'd with the *Stewart* and *Cuming*, *Walter Stewart*, Earl of *Carick* and *March*, the Thane of *Argile*, *Robert de Londin*, *Joannes de Strivelin*, *Walter Cuming*, *Thomas Maliber* and *Colin Fitz-Gerald*, *Peregrinus* & Hibernus, *nobilis ex Familia* Giraldinorum, *qui proximo Anno ab* Hibernia *pulſus*, *apud Regem benigne acceptus*, *hucuſque in Curia permanſit*, & *in præfato prælio ſtrenue pugnavit*. That's to ſay, *A Stranger from* Ireland *of the Noble Family of the* Geralds, *who being expell'd* Ireland, *the Year before*, *and being kindly received by the King*, *remain'd in this Court*, *and fought bravely in the foreſaid Battel*. And I find, in the above-cited Fragment, that this *Colin Fitz-Gerald* was ſent, with a Body of Men with the *Stewart*, to curb the Rebellious *Iſlanders*; for which, King *Alexander* gave the Lands of *Kintail* to him and his Succeſſors. And from his Son, *Kenneth*, are deſcended all the *Mackenneths* or *Mackenzies*.

The Joy, expreſs'd for this Victory, was not a little increas'd by the Queen's being brought to Bed of a Son, who was Chriſtned *Alexander*. All the Iſlands alſo were reſtored to King *Alexander* by *Magnus*, King of *Norway*, Son to King *Acho*, upon theſe Terms, That *Alexander* ſhould pay a Thouſand Merks *Sterl.* in hand, and a Penſion of a Hundred Merks a Year to *Magnus*; and that *Margaret*, *Alexander*'s Daughter, ſhould be Married, as ſoon as ſhe was fit, to *Hangonan*, *Magnus*'s Son. About this time, *Henry* King of *England* being moleſted by a Rebellion of his Subjects, King *Alexander* ſent 5000 Men to his Aſſiſtance, under the Command of *Alexander Cuming*. *Henry*, with theſe and his other Forces, went to *Northampton*, where he defeat and took Priſoner, *Simon Mountfort*, the Younger, and Fourteen other Perſons of Note of that Faction: But ſhortly after, at the Battel of *Lewes*, King *Henry* himſelf, Prince *Edward* his Son, the Earl of *Cornwal* and his Son *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundale* and *Hereford*, *Alexander Cuming*, *John Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce* and ſeveral other Noblemen were taken Priſoners by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who kept them a Year and a Half, until the Prince eſcaped out of the Caſtle of *Hereford*. Before this Time, *Gilbert Clare*, Earl of *Glouceſter* had revolted, which was a Means to bring many Valiant Men to the Prince; who, with this Power, encounter'd with his Enemies at *Eveſham*, where the Earl of *Leiceſter* and his Son *Henry*, Eleven Barons and many Thouſands of Common Soldiers were ſlain: And, by the Death of this great Earl, the King, and the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Nobility were ſet at Liberty. About this time, likewiſe a Legate came from the Pope, requiring Four Merks *Sterling* for every Paroch-Church in *Scotland*, and Eighty Merks *Sterling* for each Biſhoprick and Abbacy, for carrying on the Holy War againſt the *Turks*. King *Alexander*, before he came to the Borders, ſent him Word, that he would not permit him to enter into his Dominions, neither any Tax to be put upon his People by the Pope, ſince he held his Crown and Kingdom only of God. As for the Holy War, he was willing to concur with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, in ſending Forces upon his own Expences, but no otherwiſe. Accordingly in the Year 1271, he ſent *Thomas*, Earl of *Carick*, the

the Earl of *Athol*, *Robert Stewart* and ſeveral other Noblemen with an Army to the *Holy Land*, where moſt of them all Died.

After the Death of King *Henry* of *England*, *Edward* his Son, who was then in *Paleſtine* in the Holy War, was Proclaim'd King, by the Name of *Edward* I. and arriv'd in *England*, Three Years after his Father's Death, and Five Years from his Firſt Departure. King *Alexander* was no ſooner inform'd of the Arrival of King *Edward*, than he and his Queen went up to *London* to Viſit him, and were preſent at his Coronation, at *Weſtminſter*, in the Year 1274. After that King *Alexander* had ſtaid for ſome time at *London*, he and his Queen return'd to *Scotland*, where ſhe ſhortly after Died, and was Buried at *Dumfermling*: She left Three Children behind her, *viz.* *Alexander*, *David* and *Margaret*. *David*, the Youngeſt Son, Died ſhortly after his Mother. King *Alexander* therefore, being careful to have ſome of his Poſterity to ſucceed him, Married Prince *Alexander*, his Eldeſt Son, to the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*: But he alſo, in the Twentieth Year of his Age, Died, leaving no Iſſue behind him, and was Buried at *Lundoris*. The Death of both his Sons induced him to think of a Second Marriage, and accordingly, to the unexpreſſible Joy of his Subjects, he Married, at *Jedburgh*, *Joleta*, Daughter to the Earl of *Campaigne*, in *France*. But the Joy and Hopes of this Marriage laſted not long; for, in *April* next, by an Unhappy Fall, from an unruly Horſe, over the Weſt Rock towards the Sea at *Kinghorn*, he ended his Life, in the Thirty Fifth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 1285, and was Buried at *Dumfermling*.

This Prince was Inferior to none of his Predeceſſors, either as to the Accompliſhments of his Mind or Body. He divided the Kingdom into Four Parts; and almoſt every Year he travell'd them all over, ſtaying well near Three Months, in each of them, to do Juſtice, and to hear the Complaints of the Poor, who had free Acceſs to him all that time. When he went to any Aſſize, he Commanded the Sheriff of that Precinct to meet him, with the Nobility and principal Barons of his Diſtrict, who were to Convoy him to the next; where he was to be ſerv'd after the ſame manner. By this Means, he became acquainted with all his Nobility and Barons, and was as well known to them; and mean while, the People, as he went, were not burden'd with his Court. He Commanded the Magiſtrates to Puniſh all Idle Perſons, who had no Trade, nor had any Eſtates to maintain them. He reduced the Horſe-Train of the Nobility to a certain Number, when they travell'd. He was a great Encourager of all Traders; and, for the Good of the Merchants Company, he Forbad that any, but Merchants, ſhould buy, what was imported, by Whole Sale; and what every Man wanted, he was to buy it at Second Hand or by Retail from them. Whilſt he was at *London* with *Edward Longſhanks*, there was a *Norman*, at his Court, who, for his Strength in Wreſtling, was Famed over *Europe*; and while none offer'd to put this *Norman* to a Trial, one, *Ferquhard Roſs*, who then attended King *Alexander*, undertook to Wreſtle with him, and overcame him. King *Alexander*, in honour of this, made him Earl of *Roſs*; and from this *Ferquhard*, there were Five Earls deſcended, all of that Name. But the Sixth Earl was Nam'd *Walter Roſs*, *alias Leſly*: And *Bellenden* ſays, *The Earldom failzied in his Son for Fault of Succeſſion.* Our Hiſtorians likewiſe tell us, That, at this King's Marriage with the Earl of

Campaigne's Daughter, the Skelet of a Dead Man came in amongſt the Dancers, and ſpoil'd their Sport; and that ſeveral other Prodigies were in his Reign, which portended the many Calamities, that hapned to the Country by his Death. In this King's Reign, liv'd *Richard*, Abbot of S. *Victore*; *Joannes a Sacro Boſco*, Profeſſor of Mathematics at *Paris*; *Hugh Benham*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; *Simon Taylor*, a Friar of the Order of S. *Dominic*; *Michael Scot* of *Balwiry*; *Thomas Lermont* of *Erſlingtoun*; Mr. *Wood*; *William*, an Abbot of the Order of S. *Auguſtine*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pag. 147, 161, 169, 187, 197, 394, 402, 403.

King *Alexander*'s Daughter, *Margaret*, was Married to *Hangonanus*, King of *Norway*, as it was agreed to betwixt her Father and King *Magnus*: But, ſhe Dying before her Father, her Daughter, *MARGARET*, who was in *Norway*, was Declar'd Queen. How Affairs were Managed under her and her Succeſſors till the Death of King *Robert Bruce*, you have at large, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, from Page 247, to Page 297. Yet for a further Illuſtration to that Part of our Hiſtory, I ſhall here give an Account of King *Robert Bruce*'s Brethren, Siſters and his own Progeny from Authentic Documents. He had four Brethren, *viz. Niel*, *Thomas*, *Alexander* and *Edward*, who Died, all before him, in War; and he had Nine Siſters, *viz. Maud*, who was Married to *Hugh*, Earl of *Roſs*, as appears by Two Charters, granted to them, the one, of *Nairne*, and the other, of *Cumbuthy*; both marked in the Inventary of that King's Charters. *Chriſtian*, who was Firſt Married to Sir *Chriſtopher Seaton*; as appears by a Mortification, granted by that King, of a Chaplainry near *Dumfries*, (where Sir *Chriſtopher*, her Husband, was kill'd by the *Engliſh*,) for ſaying of Maſſes for the Soul of the ſaid Sir *Chriſtopher*, Brother-in-Law to the King. Thereafter ſhe was Marry'd to *Andrew Murray*, Lord *Bothwal*, as is own'd by all our Hiſtorians. Another Siſter of King *Robert*'s was Married to *Thomas Rendolf*, of *Strathdon*; and was Mother to *Thomas Rendolf*, Earl of *Murray*, who was the Firſt of the Governours in the Minority of *David Bruce*, as appears by many Charters, granted by that King, to the ſaid *Thomas*, (in which he is Deſign'd *Nepos Regis*) of ſeveral Lands, as the Earldom of *Murray*, the Lordſhip of *Annandale*, Iſle of *Man*, &c. *Margaret* Married to Sir *William Carliſle*, as appears by a Charter, granted to him and *Margaret*, Siſter to the King, his Spouſe, of the Lands of *Crumington* and *Muni-kig*; and by another Charter to Sir *William Carliſle*, the King's Siſter's Son, of the Lands of *Cullen*. *Iſobella* was Firſt Married to *David*, Earl of *Athol*, and thereafter to *Bruce*; as appears by many Charters, granted to her and *Alexander Bruce*, her Son, Nephew to the King, of the Lands of *Balgillo* and others. *Mary* was Firſt Married to Sir *Niel Campbel*, of *Lochow*, and thereafter to Sir *Alexander Frazer*; as appears by a Charter, granted to Sir *Niel Campbel* and *Mary* his Spouſe, Siſter to the King, and *John Campbel* their Son, of all the Lands which belong'd to *David*, Earl of *Athol*; as alſo by an other Charter, granted by the King to *Mary*, Spouſe to Sir *Alexander Frazer*, well beloved Siſter to the King, and *John Campbel* her Son, of the foreſaid Lands of *Athol*'s. Another was Married to *Diſhingtoun* of *Ardroſs*; as appears by a Charter, granted by the King to Sir *John Diſhingtoun*, his Nephew, of the Lordſhip of *Long-Hermiſtoun* and Barony of *Curry*, in *Edinburgh*-Shire; as alſo by a-

another Charter, be King *David Bruce*, to Sir *William Diſhingtoun*, his Couſin, of the Lands of *Kilbrachmont*, in the Shire of *Fife*; which Charters are in the Hands of *Hamilton*, of *Kilbrachmont*. It would appear likewiſe, that he had one was Married to the Lord *Brichen*; becauſe *David*, Lord *Brichen*, who was Forfaulted by that King, is deſign'd *Nepos Regis*. And, in the Regiſter of *Balmerinoch*, there is mention made of one, who was Married to *Gartny*, Earl of *Mar*. As for King *Robert* himſelf, he was Twice Married; Firſt, to the Earl of *Mar*'s Siſter, with her he had one Daughter, call'd *Marjory*, who was Married to *Walter*, Great Stewart of *Scotland*. Then he Married *Helen*, Daughter to *Walterus de Burgo*, Earl of *Ulſter*, with whom he had one Son, call'd *David*, who ſucceeded him; and Two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Maud*. *Margaret* was Married to the Earl of *Sutherland*, and bore him a Son, call'd *John*: But *Maud* Died unmarried. Another Daughter of this Earl of *Ulſter*, call'd *Margaret*, was Married to the Earl of *Deſmond* Couſin-German to that *Colin Fitz-Gerald*, whom we made mention of, in the Reign of King *Alexander* III (*y*). In the Reign of King *Robert Bruce*, liv'd the Famous *John Scot* of *Duns*; *William Dempſter*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Paris*; *Johel*, Abbot of *Wirtsburgh*; *William Malvoiſin*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s; *William*, Abbot of *Glenlus*; the Continuator of the Chronicle of *Melroſs*; *Peter Ramſay*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; *Simon White*, of the Order of the Templars; and *Matthew Amarbaricenſis*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pages 215, 231, 404, 406, 409, 416, 420.

After the Death of the Valiant King *Robert Bruce*, his Son *DAVID*, a Child of about Eight Years of Age, was Proclaim'd King; and afterwards Crown'd at *Scone*, upon the Twentieth Day of *November* 1331. During the Time of his Minority, the Kingdom was Govern'd by *Thomas Randolf*, Earl of *Murray*, who renew'd the Peace with *England*, for Three Years; and he diſcharged the Truſt repoſed in him, with ſuch Wiſdom and Faithfulneſs, that the Kingdom was never better Govern'd than during his Regency. But this Careful and Provident Governour, did not out-live King *Robert* above Two Years. After his Death, *Patrick Dumbar*, Earl of *March*, was choſen Governour of that Part of the Kingdom, which lyeth on the South Side of *Forth*; and *Donald*, Earl of *Mar* was appointed to Govern all benorth it. About this time, *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol*, ſome time King of *Scotland*, 32 Years after his Father was Depos'd, taking Advantage of the tender Age of the King, and the Factions amongſt the Nobility, did, by the Solicitation of the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, the Lord *Talbot*, and others then in *France* with him, ſet his Thoughts upon the Recovery of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and came over with them to *England*, where he ſtaid, for ſome time, privately with the Lady *Veſcy*, at a Place, call'd *Sandhall*, upon *Ouſe*, in *York*-Shire. At length, by King *Edward*'s Permiſſion, who had then the Government in his own Hands, he made his Deſign publickly known. Moreover King *Edward* III. notwithſtanding of his Siſter's being Married to King *David*, and of the Truce agreed to between the Two Nations, without any Provocation, aſſiſted *Baliol* with Six Thouſand Foot: And a great many *Engliſh* Noblemen reſorted to him, upon the View of recovering the Lands, that had been given

(*y*) Vid. Sir James Ware. An. of Irel. Pag. 55, 56.

to them and their Predeceſſors, in *Scotland*, by *Edward Langſhanks*; ſuch as the Lord *Beaumont*, who claim'd the Earldom of *Buchan* in Right of his Lady; Sir *Gilbert Umphrevill*, who claim'd the Earldom of *Angus*; the Lord *Piercy*, who claim'd the Earldom of *Galloway*; *David Strathbogy*, who claim'd the Earldom of *Athol*; with the Lord *Stafford*, Lord *Talbot*, Sir *Geofry Mowbray*, *Walter Cuming* and divers others.

All Things being in Readineſs, and Shipping provided; *Baliol*, with his Army, ſet Sail, and landed at *Kinghorn*. Immediately upon his landing, he ſent back all his Ships, that he might put his Men upon the Neceſſity of Fighting for their own Preſervation. The Rumor of *Baliol*'s being landed, having ſpread abroad, Sir *Alexander Seton*, Son to the Lord *Seton*, who hapned to be in thoſe Parts at that time, ſtrove to oppoſe them, thinking, that, upon their diſorderly landing, ſome Opportunity of Service might be offer'd: But in regard that few of the Country came in to him, this Brave Gentleman was put to the Flight, and moſt of his Men were cut off. *Baliol* allow'd ſome few Days to his Soldiers, to refreſh themſelves after their troubleſome Voyage; then march'd directly towards *Perth*, and pitch'd his Tents by the Water-Mills. The Two Regents were encamped within Five Miles of each other; and *Baliol*, having got Notice of this, reſolved to attack them ſeparately. Accordingly in the Night-time, he fell upon the Earl of *Mar* and his Army, then lying at *Duplin*; and routed him after a moſt obſtinate Fight; in which, upon the Regent's Side were ſlain, the Earl himſelf, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, *Thomas Randolf* Earl of *Murray*, Sir *Alexander Frazer*, *Murdo* Earl of *Montieth*, *William Hay* Conſtable (whoſe Name had been quite extinguiſh'd, had it not been, that he had left his Wife big with Child at Home,) Sir *David Lindſay* of *Glenesk*, with Eighty of his Name, Sir *Alexander Seton*, Sir *George Dumbar*, Sir *Robert Straquhen*, Sir *Thomas Haliburton* and Sir *John Skrymgeour*, with many other Brave Gentlemen: *Duncan MacDuff*, Earl of *Fife*, and *William Santclair*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld* were taken Priſoners. This Action hapned upon the Third Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Lord 1332.

After this Battel, *BALIOL* went to *Perth*, and from thence to *Scone*, where he was Crown'd and Proclaim'd King, upon the Twenty Fifth Day of *Auguſt*. Upon the News of this, the Young King, being now about the Ninth Year of his Age, fled, with his Queen, over to *France*; where he was kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by King *Philip*. In the mean time, *Robert Keith*, Earl Mariſchal, got together a great Number of Loyal Gentlemen, and came to the City of *Perth*, which he Summon'd to ſurrender; and the Earl of *Fife*, who was Governour, refuſing to ſubmit, they took the Town after a Siege of Three Months, levell'd the Walls to the Ground, and ſent the Earl of *Fife* with his Wife and Children Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Kildrumy*, in *Mar*. But *Andrew Murray* of *Tullibardin*, whom they found in the Town, was put to Death; becauſe he had been very Inſtrumental in the Overthrow of the King's Army, at *Duplin*, having betray'd them, by ſetting up a Torch, in the Night-time, to ſhow the Enemy the Ford, where they were to croſs the River.

Patrick Dumbar having Disbanded his Forces, and fled, for Fear, to his own Caſtle; *Andrew Murray*, King *Robert Bruce*'s Nephew, was De-

Declar'd Governour of the Kingdom. When the News of this Succeſs of the Mariſchal came to the Ears of *Archibald Douglaſs*, Brother to the Valiant *James Douglaſs*, he, with *William Douglaſs*, Earl of *Liddiſdale*, *John Randolf*, Son to the Famous *Thomas Randolf*, *Simon Frazer* and a Thouſand Horſe, came to *Maufet*; and having diſcover'd by their Scouts, where *Baliol* and his Army were, they ſet upon them in the Night-time, and put them in ſuch a Confuſion, that they were intirely Diſcomfited: And *Baliol* himſelf, half Naked, was fain to get upon an Horſe without Bridle and Saddle, and ſo fled away. In this Action, were kill'd, upon the *Baliol*'s Side, *Henry Baliol*, Sir *John Mowbray*, *Walter Cuming* and *Richard Kirkle*; *Alexander Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, and the Lord *Galloway* were taken Priſoners. The Governour immediately, upon this Victory, ſent *Alexander*, Lord *Seton*, to be Governour of the Town of *Berwick*; and *Patrick Dumbar*, of the Caſtle. In the mean time, *William Douglaſs*, Earl of *Liddiſdale*, whoſe Valour and Prudence was highly commended in thoſe Days, was defeat, and taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*; as was likewiſe the Earl of *Murray*, by *Baliol*, at *Roxburgh*.

King *Edward*, being inform'd of the State of *Baliol*'s Affairs, came down with a Powerful Army to aſſiſt him, and having come the length of the Town of *Berwick*, ſent a Trumpeter, with a Herauld, to Summon them to ſurrender. But the Lord *Seton*, their Governour, ſent him Word, That he would diſcharge the Truſt committed to him, with the utmoſt Fidelity; and nothing but a Superior Force ſhould ever oblige him to ſurrender. Upon this, King *Edward* laid a cloſe Siege to the Town, both by Sea and Land. During the time of this Siege, *William Seton*, the Governour's Baſtard Son was loſt, being much Lamented, upon the account of his ſingular Valour, and the manner of his Death: For, whilſt he endeavour'd to leap into an *Engliſh* Ship, his own being driven too far off by the Waves, he fell into the Sea, and was Drown'd. Moreover, his Eldeſt Son, *Alexander*, having advanced too far in a Sally, was taken Priſoner. Alſo, after a Siege of Three Months, a Fire broke out in the Town; wherefore the Governour, being afraid, that the Enemy might aſſault him, whilſt his Men were buſied in extinguiſhing the Flames, beat a Parley; and made an Agreement with King *Edward*, upon theſe Terms, *viz. That unleſs the Town were relieved in Six Days Time, he ſhould ſurrender it; and during that Time, all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, and his Son* Thomas *ſhould remain a Hoſtage with King* Edward. In the mean time, *Archibald Douglaſs*, who was choſen Governour of the Realm, during the Impriſonment of the Earl of *Murray*, went in with an Army into *England*; and having laid waſte and deſtroy'd all the Country before him, at length march'd his Army ſtraight towards *Berwick*. King *Edward*, being advertis'd of this, and afraid that he would be obliged to raiſe the Siege, ſent a Herauld to the Governour, to acquaint him, *That, unleſs he preſently ſurrender'd his Gariſon, he would put his Two Sons* Alexander *and* Thomas *to Death, before his Eyes*. Accordingly he caus'd erect a Gibbet, where it could be beſt ſeen by the Beſieg'd; and the Two Young Men were brought to the Place, by the Executioner. At this Miſerable Spectacle, the Governour had ſuch a Fluctuation of Thoughts, about his Duty to his King and Country, and Affection to his Children, that

he knew not which way to Determine himſelf. At length his Lady came up to him, and told him, " That he ought to remember his Fi- " delity, which he had Sworn to King *David*, his Duty to his Coun- " try, the great Truſt committed to him, and the Honour of his Fa- " mily: That, tho' he ſhould loſe Two Children by it, yet they had " more Alive; neither were they themſelves ſo old, but that they might " have more: That, if the Lives of their Two Sons ſhould, by a Diſ- " honourable yielding up of the Town, be ſaved at this time, they " might otherwiſe, before it were long, loſe them, with leſs Honour: " That, by a baſe Act of Betraying the Place, Entruſted to him, he " ſhould leave a Diſgraceful Blot upon his Name and Poſterity for ever: " That there was no Certainty of the Preſervation of his Children's " Lives by this Means; For, how could he Truſt this King, who had al- " ready violated his Promiſe to him? Therefore ſhe beſought him, " That he would not accept of an Uncertain and Momentary Benefit, " that muſt needs be accompany'd with a Certain and Perpetual Igno- " miny. Thus ſhe confirm'd her Lord's Reſolution for holding out, and withdrew him from the Walls, that he might not behold the Sad Spectacle of the Execution of his Innocent Children, who, by their Deaths, got that Honour, which King *Edward* loſt by his Cruelty.

By this time, *Douglaſs* was come up with his Army; and, contrary to the Advice of all his Old Captains, would needs Fight King *Edward*, who had a greater Number and better Diſciplined Men than he. The Van-Guard of the *Scots* was Commanded by *Hugh*, Earl of *Roſs*, having with him *Kenneth*, Earl of *Sutherland*, *Simon* and *John Frazers*, and *John Murray*; another Body of the Army was Commanded by *Alexander Lindſay*, *Alexander Gordon*, *Reginald Grahame*, and *Robert Kenneth*; and a Third Body was Commanded by the Governour himſelf, and under him were *James*, *John* and *Allan*, Sons to *Walter* Great Stewart of *Scotland*. Early in the Morning, upon S. *Mary Magdalene*'s Day, in the Year 1333, the Two Armies join'd in Battel, at a Place call'd *Halidon*-Hill; where, after a moſt Bloody and Obſtinate Fight, the *Scots* were put to the Flight. In this Action, if we may believe the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, there were Seven *Scots* Earls, Nine Hundred Knights and Baronets, Four Hundred Eſquires, and Thirty Two Thouſand common Soldiers ſlain. But our Hiſtorians, with much greater Probability, ſay, That we loſt about Fourteen Thouſand Men in all, with a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen. The Principal Perſons, whoſe Names are left upon Record, were *Archibald Douglaſs* the Governour, *John*, *James* and *Allan Stewarts*, *Hugh* Earl of *Roſs*, *Kenneth* Earl of *Sutherland*, *Alexander* Earl of *Carrick*, *Hugh Kenneth*, *Alexander Bruce*, *Andrew*, *John* and *Simon Frazers*; *William Douglaſs* of *Liddiſdale* was taken Priſoner.

After this Defeat of the *Scots*, *Alexander Seton* and *Patrick Dumbar*, deſpairing of any Relief, ſurrender'd the Town and Caſtle to King *Edward*, upon the Condition of ſaving their Lives and Goods; which was granted them. King *Edward*, having ſtaid for ſome Days in the Town, return'd to *England*, and left *Edward Baliol*, with a good Army, to reduce the reſt of *Scotland*: For ſtill there remain'd Five Strong Caſtles, that held out for King *David*, *viz.* the Caſtle of *Dunbriton*, Commanded by *Malcolm Fleeming* of *Cumbernald*; the Caſtle of *Lochleven*, Commanded by *Allan Vepont* and *James Lamby*, Citizens of S. *Andrew*'s; the Caſtle of

of *Kildrumy*, by *Chriſtian Bruce*; the Caſtle of *Urquhart*, by *Robert Lauder*; and the Pile of *Loudoun*, by *John Thomſon*. *Edward Baliol* marched, with his Army, ſtraight to *Perth*; where, calling a Parliament, he cauſed them all ſwear to him, as their Lawful Liege-Lord. From thence he went to *Renfrew*, where he had the Keys of the Caſtles of *Rothſay* and *Dunnone* delivered to him by Sir *Allan Lyle*, whom he made Sheriff of *Bute*. *Robert Stewart*, being afraid of falling into his Hands, made his Eſcape, out of *Bute*, to the Caſtle of *Dunbriton*, where he was kindly received by the Governour. In the mean time, Sir *John Stirling*, who was a great Favourite of *Baliol*, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*; and, being baffl'd in ſeveral of his Attempts againſt it, at length reſolved to Drown the whole Gariſon, by ſtopping up the Paſſage of the River, that runs out of it. After he had done this, he went to *Dumfermling*, upon S. *Margaret*'s Day, to pay his Devotion, accompany'd with the moſt Part of the Army, and leaving the reſt to carry on the Siege. The Governour, being informed of this and of the Negligence of the Beſiegers, did, in the Night time, ſend out Four Men, in a Boat, with Spears and other fit Inſtruments, whereby they made many Breaches in the Damm; and the Water, having widen'd them by degrees, at laſt it broke forth with ſuch Violence, that it tumbled down all that was before it, overflowed all the Plains, and carry'd away, with it, Tents, Hutts, Men half aſleep, and Horſes, with a mighty ruſhing Noiſe, into the Sea. Thoſe who eſcaped Drowning, fled away very ſore afraid, leaving Bag and Baggage behind them. By this Means the Siege was rais'd, and the Governour found in their Camp, not only Prey, but likewiſe great Store of Proviſions, for carrying on a long Siege: All which he cauſed be brought in to the Caſtle.

Edward, King of *England*, about the Feaſt of S. *John* the Baptiſt, in the Seventh Year of his Reign, called a Parliament at *Newcaſtle*; to which, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians tell us, *Edward Baliol* came, and performed Homage for the Crown of *Scotland*. But tho' this were true, which none of our Hiſtorians affirm; yet, as Sir *Thomas Craig* ſays, it is not to be regarded, becauſe he followed his Father's Footſteps, was an Uſurper, and the *Scots* drove both him and *Edward* out of the Nation, which hapned thus. King *Edward*, being afraid that *Edward Baliol* had a Deſign upon Foot againſt *England*, came down, with a great Army both by Sea and Land. When the Ships came into the *Forth*, their Admiral ſtruck upon a Rock, and the reſt of the Fleet was ſorely ſhatter'd by a Tempeſt: But the Land Forces went as far as *Glaſgow*; and finding the Country no ways inclined to oppoſe him, he returned to *England*, carrying *Edward Baliol* alongſt with him, and leaving *David Cuming*, Earl of *Athol*, to Govern the Kingdom, in his Abſence. This New Governour, taking upon himſelf a Regal Power, took Poſſeſſion of the Lands of *Murray* and *Buchan*, which belonged to *Robert Stewart*, the apparent Heir of the Crown. Upon this, *Stewart* and *Dougal Campbel* of *Lochquhow*, joined with a few Loyaliſts that followed them, Surprized and Took the Caſtle of *Dunnone*; and were immediately after joined by 400 of the Inhabitants of *Bute* and *Aran*. Sir *Allan Lyle*, to oppoſe their further Progreſs, came upon them with all the Forces that he could get together: But his Men were put to the Flight, and himſelf ſlain; *John Gilbert*, Governour of the Caſtle of *Bute*, was taken Priſoner, with ſeveral o-

thers. The News of this Victory was no ſooner noiſed abroad, than they were joined by *Thomas Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, and his Followers, *William Carruthers* in *Annandale* (a Gentleman highly Commended by *Buchanan*, *Hector Boece* and *John Major*, for being a conſtant Oppoſer of the *Engliſh*) and ſeveral others out of *Kyle* and *Cunningham*. In the mean time, the Earl of *Murray*, who had been ſent to the King in *France*, arrived at *Dunbriton*, where he was very kindly received by the Governour; and being informed of the State of the Nation, raiſed all his Followers: Thereafter joining with the *Stewart* and *Godfrey Roſs* Sheriff of *Air*, they Reduced the Countries of *Clidſdale*, *Renfrew*, *Kyle*, *Cunningham* and *Air*. The Earl of *Murray*, having got notice, that the Earl of *Athol* was Moleſting all the King's Friends in the North, march'd with an Army againſt him; and being join'd by *Murdo Mackenzie* of *Kintail*, and ſeveral others out of the Countries of *Murray* and *Roſs*, purſu'd him the length of *Loch-aber*, where he defeat his Forces, took himſelf Priſoner; but ſet him at Liberty upon his Swearing, Never more to appear in Arms againſt his Lawful Prince, King *DAVID*.

About this time, Sir *William Douglaſs* of *Liddiſdale* and *Andrew Murray* were Ranſom'd for a great Sum of Money, after that they had been detain'd Three Years in *England*. Upon their arrival, *Robert Stewart*, *David* Earl of *Athol*, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *Alexander Moubray*, *William Douglaſs* of *Nithſdale*, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Barons, met at *Perth*, where they made Choice of the Earl of *Murray* and of *Robert Stewart* for Governours of the Realm. At this Convention of Eſtates, Sir *Lawrence Preſton*, Sir *John Heryng*, Sir *Alexander Ramſay*, Sir *John Halyburton* and ſeveral others, ſwore Allegiance to King *David*. The King of *England*, being informed by the *Baliol*, who had fled to *Carliſle* for Safety, how all *Scotland* were like to Declare againſt him, ſent a Navy of an Hundred and Eighty Ships to the Firth of *Forth*, who Burnt the Monaſtery of S. *Colm* and ſeveral of the Coaſt-Towns: But God puniſhed them for their Sacrilege, by diſſipating their Fleet, with a violent Tempeſt, as they returned to *England*. King *Edward* alſo came down in Perſon, with an Army of Fifty Thouſand Men, and laid Siege to the Town of *Perth*. *Robert Stewart* being then Sick, the whole Power of Governing was devolved on the Earl of *Murray*, who, finding that King *Edward* was much ſuperior to him in Forces, very wiſely reſolved only to Fatigue them by conſtant Skirmiſhing; as King *Robert Bruce* had Adviſed, at his Death. During the time that King *Edward* lay at *Perth*, *Guy*, Earl of *Namure*, came with an Army out of *Guelderland* to *England*, to aſſiſt King *Edward* in the Conquering of *Scotland*. The Governour being informed of this, met him at the *Burrow-Moor*, nigh to *Edinburgh*, where, with the Aſſiſtance of *William Douglaſs* Earl of *Liddiſdale*, *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, and Sir *Alexander Ramſay*, one of the moſt Experienced Soldiers of the Age, he obtained a complete Victory over the *Gueldrians*, took the Earl of *Namure* Priſoner, and moſt generouſly ſet him at Liberty, without any Ranſom, and convoy'd him back again to the *Engliſh* Border: But the Governour, in his Return, was taken Priſoner by an Ambuſh of the *Engliſh*, who lay in Wait for him, and was brought to King *Edward* at *Perth*, which ſhortly after Surrender'd.

The Earl of *Athol*, ſo ſoon as he hear'd of the taking of the Governour, *Murray*, came with all his Followers, join'd King *Edward*, and

ſwore

ſwore Allegiance again to the *Baliol*. King *Edward*, having got *Athol* to Submit, whom he looked upon as the moſt Powerful Man in *Scotland*, returned to *England*, taking *Baliol* alongſt with him; and committed again the Government of *Scotland* to *Athol*, who, having receiv'd a Powerful Army from *Baliol*, march'd with a Part of them and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Kildrumy*. Whereupon *Patrick Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *Andrew Murray*, and *William Douglaſs* of *Liddiſdale*, joined their Forces, and marched ſtraight againſt him. *Athol*, being advertis'd of their coming, rais'd the Siege, and met them at the Forreſt of *Kilblane*, where they had a ſharp Rencounter. The Battel, for a long time, was dubious; but at length, one, *John Craig*, who was in the Gariſon, coming up with 400 Men to their Aſsiſtance, *Athol* was put to the Flight, and a great many of his Men kill'd and taken Priſoners. Amongſt the ſlain, were the Earl himſelf, who was kill'd by *Alexander Gordon*, and *Robert Brady*, with diverſe others: Sir *Thomas Cuming*, the Earl's Brother, was taken Priſoner, and Beheaded the next Day. *Robert Menzies* fled, with a great Number, to the Caſtle of *Cameron*; but not having Proviſions, they were forc'd to Surrender; and all of them were Pardon'd, upon their Swearing Allegiance to King *David*.

At this time, *Randolf* Earl of *Murray*, being Priſoner, and *Robert Stewart* Sick; *Andrew Murray* was reſtored to his former Station, and made Governour of the Realm. The Firſt thing he did, was to lay Siege to the Caſtle of *Cowper*: But hearing that the *Cumings* were in Arms in the North, he raiſed the Siege, marched againſt them, encountred with them, overthrew their Army, and put them all to the Flight. In this Battel, were kill'd Sir *Robert Cuming*, Sir *William Cuming*, Sir *Thomas Calder* and many others. After this, the whole North was reduced, and not one *Engliſh* Man left alive in it, excepting thoſe who were in the Caſtle of *Dondarg*, in *Buchan*; which was at length taken, and all, who were within it, put to the Sword, except *Henry Beaumont* the Governour, who was permitted to return to his own Country, upon his ſwearing, That he ſhould never come to *Scotland* again. Then he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Lochindoris*, in which was the Counteſs of *Athol*: But, King *Edward* coming up with an Army of Fourty Thouſand Men to her Relief, he was obliged to raiſe the Siege, and retire with his Men to the Mountains. In the mean time, King *Edward* marched the length of *Elgin*, which he burnt, as he likewiſe did *Aberdeen* in his Return; and having put ſtrong Gariſons into ſeveral Caſtles and Forts, he returned to *England*, and left *Baliol*, with a Powerful Army, behind him.

King *Edward* was no ſooner gone, than the Regent, having much ſtrengthned his Army by the Clans who had joined him, came down to the Caſtle of *Kinclevyn*, which he took and razed to the Ground. Then he marched to the *Merns*, and having taken the Caſtles of *Kylneſs* and *Dunnoter*, he came to *Panmore* in *Angus*. Here he met with 4000 *Engliſh*, under the Command of *Henry Mountfort*, whoſe Army he Defeat and killed himſelf. Then marching through *Fife* and *Angus*, he Demoliſhed all the *Engliſh* Forts. King *Edward*, being informed of this, ſent a Re-inforcement to *Baliol*'s Army, under the Command of Sir *William Talbot*, a Knight of approved Valour. The Governour, having had notice thereof, ſent *William Keith* Mariſchal, Sir *Lawrence Preſton*, and Sir *Robert*

Gordon, with a ſelect Body of Men, to prevent their joining: Who ſucceeded ſo well, that they Defeat *Talbot* and took him Priſoner; but the Brave Sir *Lawrence Preſton* was kill'd in the Action. Shortly after, *Talbot* was Ranſom'd for 200 Merks *Sterling*. About this time, *William Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, which was moſt valiantly Defended, for Twenty Two Weeks, by the Counteſs of *March*, commonly call'd, *Black* Agnes *of* Dunbar; a Lady of ſuch a Maſculine Spirit, that ſhe not only encouraged the Gariſon, but ſhe her ſelf underwent the greateſt Hardſhips of War: And, as they were reduced to the laſt Extremities, Sir *Alexander Ramſay*, under Covert of the Night, got in with Fourty choiſe Men and a great deal of Proviſions. The next Night they made a Sally upon the *Engliſh*, and cut off a Number of their Men, when they were expecting that they ſhould have ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. The *Engliſh*, finding by this, that the Caſtle was ſupply'd both with Men and Victuals, broke up the Siege, and went ſhamefully Home to their own Country. About this time, the Governour reduced the *Lothians*; and finding the Country almoſt freed from the *Engliſh*, and out of Danger of a New Invaſion, becauſe King *Edward* had enter'd in a War with *France*, he went to the North to take a View of his Poſſeſſions there, where he ſickned and died, in the Year 1338, and was buried at *Roſemarky*, greatly lamented by all thoſe who had a Love for their Country: For, during the Two Years and a half, that he ſat at the Helm of Affairs, he performed, ſays *Buchanan*, ſuch great Atchievements as might ſeem ſufficient for the whole Life of one of the greateſt Captains in the World.

By this time, the Regent *Robert Stewart*, having recover'd his Health, and aſſumed the Government of the Realm, did, with *William Douglaſs*, obtain ſeveral Advantages over the *Engliſh*. *Douglaſs* beat them out of all *Teviotdale*, took the Caſtle of *Hermitage* in *Liddiſdale*, ſurprized *Melroſs*, fought *Barclay*, an *Engliſh* Man, (who had the Command of a conſiderable Party) ſo obſtinately, that when Night parted them, he and Three more only remained of all his Followers. At another time, meeting with *John Stirling* with 500 Men, tho' he had only 40, he fought him and put him to the Rout. He had the like Succeſs againſt *Lawrence Vaux*: And tho' he had been Five times worſted by *William Abernethy*, in one Day; yet he ſtill Rallied again, and at length beat him and took him Priſoner. He ſurprized the Town of *Edinburgh* in the Night-time, and put 400 of the *Engliſh*, who were in it, to the Sword. Then, finding that all things ſeem'd to tend to the King's Reſtoration, he went over to *France*, to acquaint both the *French* King and his own Prince of the State of the Nation. In the mean time, the Governour raiſed an Army, with which he beſieged the City of *Perth*: But the Country was ſo haraſſed by the *Engliſh* on the one Hand, and Loyaliſts on the other, that a great Famine aroſe in the Land. The *Engliſh* Gariſon of the Caſtle of *Comper*, were obliged, for want of Proviſions, to deſert it; and coming to *Kinghorn*, they agreed with a Skipper to carry them to *England*: But he having landed them upon an Iſland, inſtead of the Continent, and then left them, they all miſerably periſhed: Others ſay, it was by ſtricking upon a Rock. The Governour and his Army were ſo ſtraitned likewiſe, for want of Proviſions, that, after a Siege of Ten Weeks, he was going to quit it, when *William Douglaſs* came

came up the River with Five Ships, with Men and Proviſions from *France*. Upon this the Town immediately ſurrender'd, on Condition of having the Liberty to march, Bag and Baggage, where they pleaſed. Thereafter they laid Siege to *Stirling*, which ſurrender'd upon the ſame Terms; and *Maurice Murray*, Son to *Andrew Murray*, was made Governour of the Caſtle.

About the ſame time, the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was ſurprized by *William Douglaſs*, Sir *William Bullok*, Sir *Walter Frazer*, Sir *Walter Touris*, and Sir *John Sandelands*, which they managed thus: *Walter Curry*, a Merchant, who had then a Ship, at *Dundee*, laded with Proviſions, was ſent for to the *Forth*; and he and they agreed, that he ſhould feign himſelf an *Engliſh* Man, and carry Two Bottles of his beſt Wine, with ſome other Preſents, to the Governour of the Caſtle, and to make an Offer, if he wanted any Proviſions, of Furniſhing him with what he pleaſed. He acted accordingly, and the Governour, no ways ſuſpecting him, ordered to bring him, next Morning, ſome Hogſheads of Wine, and ſome Bisket. *Curry* condeſcended to the Governour's Propoſal; but earneſtly urged, that it ſhould be very early in the Morning, for fear of his being diſcovered by the *Scots*, who were making frequent Incurſions about the Suburbs of the Town. That Night, *Douglaſs*, and Twelve ſelect Men attending him, clad themſelves with Mariners Clothes, under which their Armour was hid, and ſo carried Proviſions into the Caſtle; his Soldiers, mean while lying in Ambuſh, as near as they could conveniently, waited till he Advertiſed them by the Sound of a Horn. The former, ſo ſoon as they were admitted within the Gate of the Caſtle, ſeiſed upon the Porter who had the Keys; then throwing down all their Burdens in the Paſſage of the Gate, to keep the Doors from being ſhut againſt their Men, they gave the Signal; and, after a ſharp Conflict, became Maſters of the Caſtle, the whole Gariſon being ſlain, except the Governour and Six Men.

Baliol, who was then in *Galloway*, hearing of the proſperous Succeſs of his Enemies, fled into *England*. Thus, by the undaunted Courage of the Noblemen and Gentlemen above-mentioned, *Scotland* was recovered from the *Engliſh* Power, notwithſtanding of the Abſence of their King, and the incredible Numbers of Men, that were daily pour'd down upon them.

Upon the Second Day of *June*, in the Year 1341, King *David*, with his Queen and a great many *Scots* and *French*, arrived at *Innerbervy*, Nine Years after his Departure; and was Nobly Attended to *Perth*, where, having call'd a Parliament, it was Reſolved unanimouſly, That the War againſt *England* ſhould be continued, upon the Account of the Old Alliance between the Crowns of *Scotland* and *France*, with whom the King of *England* then had War; as likewiſe, upon the Account of the Generous Entertainment, given to King *David* and his Queen, by *Philip* King of *France*; and of the many Injuries, done to the *Scots*, and the ſaid King *David*, by King *Edward*'s frequent Invaſions. The Famous *Alexander Ramſay* was Order'd to open the War, by an Incurſion into *England*, which he very ſucceſsfully did, by giving the Forces of all the adjacent Gariſons, who had drawn out their Men to oppoſe him, a Signal Defeat by a Stratagem of an Ambuſh. In this Action, the Governour of *Roxburgh* was taken, with the moſt of his Gariſon; thereafter

he aſſaulted and took the Town and Caſtle, and returned with a great Booty. For theſe and his former Services, King *David* made him Governour of *Roxburgh* and Sheriff of *Teviotdale*. This ſo incenſed *William Douglaſs* againſt him, who thought, that *Teviotdale* ſhould only belong to him, ſince he had recovered it out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*, that, about Three Months after, he came upon *Ramſay*, as he was ſitting in Judgment in the Church of *Hawick*, unawares aſſaulted him, and wounded him; then carried him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Hermitage*, where he ſtarved him to Death. About that time alſo, Sir *William Bullock* was put to the ſame kind of Death by *David Barclay*. Theſe two Murders raiſed ſeveral Seditions, but the moſt of them were quell'd by the King's Pardoning the *Douglaſs*, at the earneſt Deſire of *Robert Stewart*, Prince of *Scotland*, and on the account of his former Services, which indeed were very great.

Sometime before this, King *David* cauſed a Liſt to be drawn up, of all thoſe who had been Faithful to him, during his Abſence; and of the Heirs of ſuch, as had been kill'd in the Battels of *Duplin* and *Hallydown*-Hill; and rewarded them with ſeveral Lands, as it appears by the Charters of ſeveral Gentlemen, yet to be ſeen. Amongſt theſe, there is one, to *Murdo Mackenzie* of *Kintail*, dated at *Edinburgh* 1342, to which *Alexander Ramſay* is a Witneſs. King *David*, having thus rewarded ſeveral Gentlemen for their good Services, Ordered all the Fencible Men in the Nation, to meet him againſt ſuch a Day; and, with theſe he made an Expedition into *England*, with pretty good Succeſs. Not long after, he made a Second Expedition, wherein Five Knights, whoſe Names were *Stewart*, *Craigy*, *Boyd*, *Eglingtoun* and *Fullartoun*, were taken Priſoners, in purſuing the Enemy too hotly, and afterwards Ranſomed with Great Sums of Money. In a Third Expedition, he demoliſhed ſeveral of their ſtrong Forts and Caſtles. After which a Truce was concluded between the Three Kings for Two Years.

The Truce being expired, the King of *England* gave a great Overthrow to the *French* at *Creſſy*, and then laid cloſe Siege to *Calis*. Whereupon the *French* King, by his Ambaſſadors, earneſtly preſs'd King *David*, to make another Expedition into *England*; thinking thereby to oblige the King of *England* to raiſe the Siege. King *Edward*, hearing of this, ſent his Ambaſſadors to *David*, offering, upon the Condition there might be Peace between them, to deliver into his Hands not only the ſtrong Caſtle and Town of *Berwick*, but alſo *Edward Baliol*, for whoſe Cauſe the War had continued ſo long between them. Notwithſtanding of this Offer, *David*, by no means, would forſake his Old Benefactor, King *Philip*, and his Ancient Ally the *French*; but, by a Proclamation, Order'd, That all the Fencible Men, in the Nation, ſhould come to *Perth* againſt ſuch a Day. Amongſt the reſt, *David*, Earl of *Roſs*, came with his Followers, where finding his old Enemy, *Reginald*, Lord of the Weſt-*Iſles*, he fell upon him in the Night-time, and Murder'd him with Seven of his Kinſmen. This Accident very much weakned the King's Army; for moſt of the Followers of both theſe Chiftains returned to their own Homes. Yet the King would not be diſſwaded from his Enterpriſe, tho' *William Douglaſs* of *Liddiſdale* earneſtly intreated, that he would deſiſt. So having got together a conſiderable Army, he marched ſtraight to the Borders; and before he would enter into *Engliſh* Ground, he

he made *William Douglaſs*, Son to *Archbald Douglaſs* that was ſlain at *Hallydown*-Hill, Earl of *Douglaſs*; and ſeveral Gentlemen, Knights: Then, about the Sixth Day of *October*, he entred, with his Army, into *Northumberland*. The Right Wing of the Army was Commanded by *Robert Stewart*, Prince of *Scotland*, and *Patrick* Earl of *March*; the Left Wing, by *John* Earl of *Murray*, and *William* Earl of *Douglaſs*; and the Body of the Army, by King *David*. With this Army, he laid waſte the whole Country, till he came to *Durhame*, where *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, encountred him, with a great Army; and after a long and bloody Fight, the *Scots* were put to the Flight, which was attributed to the Cowardice of the Earl of *March*, who fled in the very firſt Shoke of the Battel. But never Prince behaved with greater Valour than King *David* did; for he cut off one entire Brigade of the *Engliſh* Army; and, when he was charg'd afreſh by another, and deſired to provide for his own Safety by a timeous Flight, he rejected the Propoſal with Contempt, notwithſtanding that he was ſhot with an Arrow thro' the Arm, and with another thro' the Leg. At length, not being able, for Loſs of Blood, to weild his Armour, he was taken Priſoner, by one *John Copland*; but, in the taking of him, the King ſtruck out Two of his Teeth, with his Fiſt. In this Battel were kill'd, the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Strathern*, the Conſtable, the Mariſchal, the Chamberlain, and Chancellour of *Scotland*, with a great many other Noblemen and Gentlemen. There were taken Priſoners, the King, the Earl of *Douglaſs*, the Earl of *Fife*, the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Earl of *Wigtoun*, the Earl of *Monteith*, and the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s. A great Number of the Common Soldiers were kill'd and wounded. This Battel was fought, near to a Place call'd *Nevil's Croſs*, upon S. *Luke*'s-Day, in the Year 1346. After this Victory, the *Engliſh* took the Caſtles of *Roxburgh* and *Hermitage*; and, without any Reſiſtance, over-run *Annandale*, *Galloway*, *Mers*, *Teviotdale*, *Tweeddale* and *Etrick*-Forreſt: And the *Engliſh* Borders were enlarged to *Cockburn's-Path* and *Sowtry-Hedge*.

The next Year, *Edward Baliol*, with the Earl of *Northumberland*, made a Road into *Lothian* and *Clidſdale*; and brought away a great Booty into *Galloway*, in which Country, *Baliol* ſtaid for a good while after. In the mean time, *Robert Stewart*, Prince of *Scotland*, who had eſcaped out of the Battel, aſſumed the Government, during the King's Captivity. In the midſt of theſe Calamities, *William Douglaſs*, Son to Sir *James Douglaſs*, King *Robert Bruce*'s Faithful Friend, returned out of *France*; and he and the Prince raiſed an Army, with which they expell'd the *Engliſh* out of *Douglaſsdale*, *Teviotdale*, *Tweeddale* and *Etrick*-Forreſt. *John Copland*, Governour of *Roxburgh*, to oppoſe them, got together an Army out of the Northern Counties of *England*; but he and his Forces were put to the Flight. In all Probability, the Prince had recovered all the Lands, that the *Scots* had loſt in the former Wars, had it not been for the Plague, which aroſe about this time; in which, our Hiſtorians ſay, that the Third Part of the Nation dy'd, and never one of them had above Two Days Sickneſs.

In the Year 1355, *John*, King of *France*, who had ſucceeded to *Philip de Valois*, his Father, both in his Kingdom and in his Wars, ſent over to the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, *Eugenius Garanter*, with many Brave Gentlemen and Fourty Thouſand *French* Crowns. At the ſame time, the

Earls of *Douglaſs* and *March* had gathered together all the Men that they could raiſe; with whom, and the *French* before mentioned, they went to the Borders of *England*, and ſent *William Ramſay* of *Dalhouſie*, with a certain Number of Light Horſemen before them, into *Northumberland*, with Direction, that, if the *Engliſh* were too ſtrong for them, he ſhould retire to the main Body of the Army, which lay in Covert at *Nisbet-Moor*. *Ramſay*, according to Direction, laid waſte the whole Country before him; and in his Return, when they had raiſed their whole Power againſt him, he ſeemed to fly, with great Precipitation, till he brought them upon the *Scots* Army, before they were aware: Upon this, there fell out a Fierce Encounter between them, and the *Scots* obtained the Victory. In this Battel Sir *Thomas Grey*, with his Son, *John Daras*, and many other *Engliſh* Men of Note, were taken Priſoners. Upon the *Scots* ſide, beſides the Common Soldiers, were ſlain Sir *John Halyburton* and Sir *James Turnbul*.

After this Victory, the Earls of *Douglaſs* and *March* ſurprized the Town of *Berwick* in the Night-time, but not without the Loſs of diverſe Brave Gentlemen; amongſt whom were Sir *Thomas Vaus*, Sir *Andrew Scot* of *Balwirie*, Sir *John Gordon*, Sir *William Sinclare*, Sir *Thomas Preſton*, and Sir *Alexander Moubray*: And of the *Engliſh* were ſlain, the Governour *Alexander Ogil*, *Thomas Piercy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Edward Gray*, with ſome other Perſons of Note. The King of *England*, who was at this time in *France*, hearing of the taking of the City of *Berwick*, returned to *England*, and raiſed a great Army, with which he marched ſtraight towards *Berwick*. The *Scots*, finding that they were not able to give him Battel, Plundered the Town, and levelled its Walls to the Ground. King *Edward* Fortified the Town anew; then marched to *Hadingtoun*, laid waſte the whole Country thereabout, and thereafter returned Home. He was no ſooner gone, but *Douglaſs* drove the *Engliſh* out of *Galloway*; *Roger Kilpatrick* drove them out of *Nithſdale*; and *John Stewart*, Son to the Regent, drove them out of *Annandale*.

About this time, the Regent ſent over *William* Earl of *Douglaſs*, with Three Thouſand Men, to the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King, where the next Year, at the Battel of *Poictou*, they and the *French* were put to the Flight by *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and the *French* King taken Priſoner. In this Battel, were kill'd Sir *Andrew Stewart*, Sir *Robert Gordon*, Sir *Andrew Halyburton*, and Sir *Andrew Vaus*; the Earl of *Douglaſs* eſcaped with Life; *Archbald Douglaſs*, Son to Sir *James Douglaſs*, and *William Ramſay* were taken Priſoners. After this Victory, Prince *Edward*, commonly called the *Black Prince*, went over to *England* with great Pomp and Glory. Thus the King of *England*, at one time, had both the King of *Scotland* and the King of *France* his Priſoners. Then Sir *Henry Picard*, who was a Merchant-Vintner, and had been formerly Lord Mayor of *London*, had the Honour of entertaining at his Houſe, Four Kings, with a Sumptuous Feaſt, *viz.* *David* King of *Scotland*, *John* King of *France*, *Edward* King of *England*, and *Peter* King of *Cyprus*.

Not long after this, King *Edward*, being wearied with his conſtant Wars with *Scotland*, permitted King *David* to go to his own Kingdom, (*Baliol*, his Competitor, being now Dead) upon certain Conditions agreed to betwixt the Two Nations, in a Solemn Treaty, upon the 3d Day of *October* 1357. One of which was, *That he ſhould pay for his Ranſom*

ſom 100000 *Merks* Sterling. *David* being returned to *Scotland*, the Eleventh Year after he was taken Priſoner, the Firſt thing that he did, was to Puniſh thoſe, who had fled at the Battel of *Durham*; which he did by Forfaulting them of their Lands,and giving them to the He irs of thoſe, who had been kill'd in the Battel. Then he call'd a Parliament, and propos'd the ſettling of the Crown upon King *Edward*'s Son: But they all roſe up, and, with one Voice, told him, *That they would never condeſcend to that, as long as any of them were alive.* The King was over-joy'd with their Reſolution; for he had only propos'd it, to free himſelf of his Promiſe, that King *Edward* had extorted from him. As for the paying of his Ranſom, the Tenths of all the Benefices in the Nation, for Three Years, were Ordered by the Pope. The next Year his Queen died; and not long after he Married *Margaret Logy*, Daughter to Sir *John Logy*: But,taking ſome Diſguſt at her, he not only removed her from his Bed, but Baniſh'd her the Nation. Whereupon ſhe went to *Avignion*, and procured an Order from the Pope for his Adhering to her: But as this *Luſty Woman*, as *Bellenden* calls her, was returning Home, ſhe died. After this, he Reign'd in great Peace and Quietneſs for ſome Years; and, as he was preparing to go to *Jeruſalem*, to viſit our Saviour's Sepulchre, he died of a Fever in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, in the Year of our Lord 1370, in the 47 Year of his Age, and the 39th of his Reign.

This Prince was endow'd with many Rare and Excellent Virtues. He was a Father and Protector of all Perſons in Diſtreſs. No Man could have more Perſonal Valour than he had. He was Generous in conferring Favours upon Men of true Merit; Modeſt and Humble in Proſperity, and never Dejected in Adverſity. In his time lived *John Fordun*,the Hiſtorian; *John Baſſol*,of the Order of the *Minorites*; *Lewis Cerleon*; *Adam Blacater*; *Robert Keith*; *Hugh Scot* and *Richard Olyphant*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 233, 243, 420, 425.

King *David* dying without Iſſue; *ROBERT STEWART*, Son to *Walter* Great Stewart of *Scotland* and *Marjory Bruce* (King *David*'s Siſter) ſucceeded; of whoſe Actions I have given an Account, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of *Thomas Varoye* Provoſt of *Bothwel*, till the Year 1388, in which the Famous Battel of *Otterburn* was fought. After which, King *Robert* call'd a Parliament at *Perth*; where he made his Second Son, *Robert*, Earl of *Fife*, Governour of the Realm; he himſelf being Old and Infirm, and his Eldeſt Son, *John* Earl of *Carrick*, unfit for that Office, by reaſon of a Stroke that he had got upon his Leg from a Horſe at *Dalkeith*. The King of *England*, on the other Hand, made *Thomas Moubray* Earl Mariſchal, Warden of the Borders, in place of Lord *Henry Piercy*, who was not as yet Ranſomed. The Governour, to oppoſe him, raiſed a great Army, with which he entred into *Northumberland*. The Mariſchal, tho' he had blamed the *Engliſh* for their Cowardice, at the Battel of *Otterburn*; and told his Army of what Brave Things he would do, if the *Scots* dared but to enter *England*, whilſt he was Warden. Yet notwithſtanding of all this, he no ſooner ſaw the Governour's Army march towards him, with a Deſign to Fight, but he withdrew to a Place of great Strength, where he Intrenched his Army. The Governour being deſirous of a Battel, ſent a Trumpeter to him, with a Challenge; but by no means he would

Fight. Whereupon the Governour laid waſte the whole Country before him; and returned with a conſiderable Booty, without the leaſt Oppoſition.

About this time, a Peace was concluded betwixt the *French* and the *Engliſh*, in which the *Scots*, as their Allies, were included: By this means, an End was put to a Long and Bloody War. Shortly after, King *Robert* died, at the Caſtle of *Dundonald*, upon the 19th Day of *April*, in the Year 1390, in the 76 Year of his Age. *Buchanan* ſays, That this Prince *was a very Good Man; and in the Arts of Peace was comparable with the Beſt of Kings. He adminiſtrated Juſtice, Diligently and Impartially to All; and ſeverely puniſhed Robberies. In his Actions, he was Conſtant; in his Words, Faithful. He undertook the Government in Troubleſome Times; yet he ſettled Things at Home, appeaſed Diſcords, and Governed with great Equity and Juſtice: And he got ſuch Conqueſt over his Enemies, that he reduced all the Caſtles they had, except Three.* Yet the ſame *Buchanan*, and all our other Hiſtorians, have moſt Falſly affirmed, That he was Firſt Marry'd to *Euſam Roſs*, Daughter to the Earl of *Roſs*, with whom he had Two Sons and One Daughter: And that afterwards he Married *Elizabeth Mure*, his Concubine, and Legitimate the Baſtards he had with her, and Excluded the Children of *Euſam Roſs*. But this moſt Groſs and Scandalous Aſperſion, (not only Injurious to the whole Race of the *Stewarts*, but alſo to many other Foreign Princes, who have Intermarried with them) was firſt removed by the Earl of *Cromarty*, in his *Vindication of* Robert *the Third from the Imputation of Baſtardy* (z); and afterwards by Mr. *Innes* (a), Rector of the *Scots* College at *Paris*, as I have obſerved in the Life of King *James* the Firſt, in the Firſt Volume of this Work. From theſe Two and ſome other Authentick Documents, I ſhall make it appear, what an Abominable Aſperſion this is.

King *Robert*, when he was a Young Man, fell in Love with *Elizabeth Mure*, Daughter to the Laird of *Rowalland*; and having appointed a time for their Marriage, ſhe went privately to his Caſtle of *Dundonald*, where they were Married. Her Father, Sir *Adam Mure*, hearing that his Daughter was there, but thinking that ſhe had been ſtole away and detain'd by Violence, went to the Caſtle, and demanded her of the *Stewart*. He told him, That he had Married her, and would not part with his Wife; and at the ſame time produced the Prieſt that had Married them, and the Witneſſes that had been preſent at the Marriage. Whereupon Sir *Adam* took Inſtruments, in the Hands of one *Mac Adam* a Notar, and returned to his own Houſe, very well pleas'd with the Match. This Inſtrument is ſtill extant in *Rowalland*'s Charter Chiſt. Yet notwithſtanding of this, the Marriage was challeng'd, by the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, becauſe of their Conſanguinity, they being within the Prohibited Degrees of the Canon Law: So that they behoved to ſeek a Diſpenſation from the Pope; and, that the Biſhop might procure it, he Mortify'd to him and his Succeſſors in that See, Ten Merks yearly, payable out of the Lands of *Abbots-Carſe*, in the Sheriffdom of *Stirling*. Upon this, an Infeftment was taken, which is dated at *Perth* the 12th Day of *January* 1364, Six Years before his Acceſſion to the Throne. The Original Paper of the Mortification is amongſt the Evidences of the Biſhop-

(z) In 4to. at Edinburgh 1695. (a) In 4to. at Paris 1695.

ſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, in the *Scots* College at *Paris*, and from thence Printed by Mr. *Innes*. It is alſo very Obſervable, that this Mortification expreſly bears, That *Elizabeth Mure* was then dead: So that if he Married her after the Death of *Eufam Roſs*, who died in the Year 1387, as *Buchanan* ſays, it muſt have been 23 Years after ſhe was dead. And amongſt the Seals, appended to this Mortification, there is not only his own Seal, but likewiſe the Seal of *John Stewart* Lord of *Kyle*, where he is call'd his Eldeſt Son and Heir, in preſence of many Honourable Witneſſes. In a Charter (granted by *David* Earl of *Strathern*, Eldeſt Son of Queen *Eufam Roſs*) of the Lands of *Bardyrule*, to *John de Maxwel* Knight, *John* Earl of *Carrick* (Great Stewart of *Scotland*, Eldeſt Son to our Sovereign Lord the King) is a Witneſs to it, which is dated the 10th of *May*, in the Year 1372. This Charter was diſponed to Sir *Bernard Hadden*, Predeceſſor to the Laird of *Gleneagles*; and is ſtill in the Cuſtody of *John Hadden* of *Gleneagles*. There is another Charter, granted by King *David Bruce* to *Robert* Great Stewart of *Scotland*, of the Lands of *Kintyre*, with the Advocation of the Kirks thereof, in Liferent; and to *John Stewart*, his Eldeſt Son, in Fee, begotten betwixt him and *Elizabeth Mure*, Daughter to *Adam Mure*, Knight: And failing of *John*, to *Walter*, his Second Brother. And this *Walter*, in a Charter granted to the Monks of *Paſly*, (by *Robert* the Great Stewart, before he was Earl of *Strathern*) confirming to them all their Lands in *Kyle* and *Renfrew*, is deſigned, *Dominus de* Fyſe *& Filius noſter*. And in the ſame Charter, *John* is deſigned, *Dominus de* Kyle *Primogenitus noſter*. There are very many other Charters, eſpecially in the Weſt Parts of *Scotland*, where the Stewart's Lands lay; wherein *John* Lord of *Kyle*, as Witneſs, bears the Deſignation of the Great Stewart's Eldeſt Son and Heir. And by ſome of theſe Charters, it likewiſe appears, that *Buchanan* was groſly miſtaken, when he affirms, That King *Robert*'s Children owed their Dignities to their Father, after his Acceſſion to the Throne: For, in a Charter granted by King *David* the Second, at *Scone*, the 22d Day of *June*, the Thirty Fourth Year of his Reign, he, with the Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, gives to his Beloved Couſin *John Stewart*, Eldeſt Son to *Robert* Stewart of *Scotland*, his Nephew, the Earldom of *Carrick*, &c. And in another Charter, granted by the ſaid King at *Perth*, the 31 of *May*, the 27 of his Reign, the Earldom of *Athol* is given to the ſaid *John Stewart*, (deſigned as in the other) and *Annabel Drummond* his Spouſe, and the longeſt Liver of them Two. And *Alexander*, his Second Son, was made Earl of *Monteith* by the ſaid King *David*, as it appears from his ſitting as ſuch in a Parliament, in King *David*'s time. But beſides theſe Vouchers from Charters and ſeveral other Authentic Documents, mentioned in the above-cited Books, we have the Solemn Treaty of Peace, betwixt the Two Nations, for the Redemption of King *David*, Printed by Mr. *Rymer*, in his Letter to the Reverend and Learned Biſhop of *Carliſle*; wherein, *John*, Lord *Kyle*, is deſigned, Eldeſt Son and Heir to *Robert* the Great Stewart: And being one of the Hoſtages that were ſent into *England*, while Payment ſhould be made of King *David*'s Ranſom, he is ranked before all the Nobility; and 'tis ſpecially Cautioned, That he be ſet at Liberty upon Payment of the firſt Moiety. And in an Act of Parliament paſt in the Third Year of King *Robert* the Second's Reign, the Succeſſion to the Crown is firſt Entail'd on the Male Children of

Elizabeth Mure, his Firſt Wife; and then on the Children of *Euſam Roſs*. What theſe Children were, I ſhall here acquaint the Reader of.

With his Firſt Wife *Elizabeth Mure*, he had Three Sons; *John*, Earl of *Carrick*, High Stewart of *Scotland*, who ſucceeded him; *Robert*, Earl of *Fife* and *Monteith*; *Alexander*, Earl of *Buchan*: And Four Daughters; *Elizabeth*, who was Married to *David Hay*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, as appears by a Charter of the Conjunct Fee of *Elizabeth Stewart*, (Daughter to the Great Stewart of *Scotland*, Earl of *Strathern*) Spouſe to *David Hay* Great Conſtable, Son to *Thomas* Great Conſtable, by King *David*. A Second Daughter, *Joan*, Married to Sir *James Sandelands*, as appears from a Charter (of the Barony of *Dalzyelt*, *Motherwal*, *Wiſtoun* in *Lanrick*, the Lands of *Arthbiſſet*, *Ochterbarnet*, *Slainmanan-Moor* in *Stirling*, to the ſaid Sir *James Sandelands* and *Joan*, the King's Daughter) by King *Robert* the Second. He had alſo another Daughter Married to *John Lyon* of *Glames*, as appears by a Charter (to *John Lyon*, Son-in-law to the ſaid King,) of a Ten-pound-land in the Conſtabulary of *Hadingtoun*, upon Reſignation of *Margaret Eglesblench*, by King *Robert* the Second. And the Fourth was *Marjory*, who was Married to the Earl of *Murray*. With *Euſam Roſs*, Daughter to the Earl of *Roſs*, he had Two Sons; *David* Earl of *Strathern*, *Walter* Earl of *Athol*; and Two Daughters, *Regidio*, who was Married to *William Douglaſs* Earl of *Nithſdale*, as it appears from ſeveral Charters; and *Euſam*, who was Married to *James* Earl of *Douglaſs*.

In this King's Reign, lived *John Barbour*, Arch-Deacon of *Aberdeen*; *Thomas Varoye*, Provoſt of *Bothwel*; *Thomas Colyngham*; and *Radulph Strode*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Page 265, 297, 422, 426.

To *Robert* the Second, ſucceeded his Son *John*, Earl of *Carrick*, by the Name of King *ROBERT* III. which he aſſumed to himſelf, becauſe the Two Kings of this Name had been very ſucceſsful in their Wars againſt *England*: But, by reaſon of the Infirmity of his Leg, he continued his Brother Governour of the Kingdom under him. He was Crown'd at *Scone*, upon the 15th Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1390. In the Beginning of his Reign, he renewed the Peace, with the *Engliſh*, for Four Years.

About this time, *William Douglaſs*, Earl of *Nithſdale*, finding all things calmed at Home, and being a Man of a Martial Spirit, reſolved to go to the Holy War; and in order thereto, went over to *Pruſſia*, where he was made Admiral of a Fleet of 240 Sail, that was to go upon that Expedition. The Lord *Clifford*, an *Engliſh* Man, who expected that Honourable Poſt, and bore no good Will to him upon the Account of his Nation, pickt a Quarrel with him, and ſent him a Challenge to Fight him. *Douglaſs* embrac'd the Challenge; but, as he was going to the Place appointed, he was Aſſaſſinated by ſome Ruffians, whom *Clifford* imployed for that end, to the great Regrete of all thoſe who had any Eſteem for Valour or Merit, which were as conſpicuous in him as in any of his Predeceſſors.

Two Inteſtine Broils hapned likewiſe about the ſame time; the Firſt was by *Duncan Stewart*, Son to *Alexander* the King's Brother, under pretence of Revenging his Father's Death, whom the King his Father had put in Priſon, (in which he died) for Burning the Church of *Elgin*, to be Re-

Revenged of the Biſhop of *Murray*, with whom he was at Variance. This Man came down, with a Number of Out-laws, to *Angus*, laid waſte and plunder'd the whole Country before him, kill'd *Walter Ogilvy* with his Sons and Followers, who endeavour'd to put a Stop to his Outragious Courſes. Yet, at length, he was met by the Earl of *Crawfurd*, who took him and moſt of his Complices Priſoners, and brought them to the King, who puniſhed them according to their Deſervings. The Other was a Feud, that had riſen between the Clan *Kayis* and the Clan *Quhattans*, to whom the King ſent this Meſſage by *Thomas* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *James Lindſay* Earl of *Crawfurd*, *That ſince they were at conſtant Variance, if ſuch a Number of each of them would meet and Fight it fairly; he would appoint Judges, and the Place where they ſhould meet; and whoever got the Victory, ſhould ſtill after that have the Protection of the Government.* Both the Clans were extremely pleaſed with the Propoſal; and the *North Inch* of *Perth* was agreed on for the Place of Battel. The two Parties met upon the Day appointed; but as they were ready to engage, there was one of the Number of the Clan *Quhattans*, who had ſtole privately away for Fear. Upon this, ſo great a Debate aroſe, that they were juſt going away upon the Account of their Inequality, when a common Tradeſman in the Town, call'd *Henry Wind*, offered his Service to them, upon the Condition that he ſhould receive a Half-doller of Gold of *France*, and that they ſhould ſettle ſome Competency upon him, during his Life, if his Party ſhould gain the Field, and he come off with his Life. This being granted by the Judges, they immediately fell to Work, and fought with ſuch deſperate Fury and Rage, that all the Clan *Kayis* were ſlain, except one Man who threw himſelf into the River of *Tay*, and made his Eſcape by Swimming. There were only Eleven Perſons left alive of the Clan *Quhattans*, and moſt of thoſe were deadly Wounded; and they owed their Victory to the Valour of *Henry Wind*, who lived to receive his Reward. By this Stratagem, the Kingdom was freed of Two of the moſt Turbulent and Thieving Septs that were in the Nation at that time, and all things were ſettled in great Tranquillity and Peace. This Action hapned in the Year 1396.

About Two Years after, the King call'd a Parliament at *Perth*, wherein ſeveral Excellent Laws were made, for the Government of the Kingdom; and *David*, the King's Eldeſt Son, was made Duke of *Rothſay*; and his Brother, the Earl of *Fyfe*, Duke of *Albany*: And theſe were the Firſt, that had that Dignity conferr'd upon them, in *Scotland*. During the Peace between the Two Nations, there were diverſe Entertainments and Tournaments, that paſs'd betwixt the Noblemen of both Kingdoms; and amongſt the reſt, there was one betwixt the Lord *Wellis* and *David* Earl of *Crawfurd*, upon the Bridge of *London*, where, after they had broke Two or Three Spears, the Earl of *Crawfurd* ſat ſo firm in his Saddle, that the Spectators cry'd out aloud, *He was locked in his Saddle.* Immediately upon that, the Earl lighted from his Horſe, and mounting him again, at the next Bout he unhorſed the Lord *Wellis*. After this, he entertain'd the ſaid Lord with a Noble Treat, where, when they were ſpeaking of the Valour of the Two Nations, there was an *Engliſh* Nobleman, who ſaid, *That it was no Wonder that the* Scots *were a Valiant People; becauſe they were all Begot by the* Engliſh, *when they were in* Scotland. To which the Earl of *Crawfurd* made this handſome Repartee,

And 'tis no Wonder that you Engliſh *are ſo much Degenerate from what you were, and ſo much addicted to your Bellies; becauſe you were begot by your Cooks and your other Domeſtic Servants, when your Anceſtors were in* Scotland. This Earl of *Crawfurd*, after he returned Home, laid a Fund for Seven Prieſts to Sing for him, in the Virgin *Mary*'s Church at *Dundee*, to the Honour of S. *George*; becauſe upon his Day he had obtained his Victory over the Lord *Wellis*.

About this time, the *Engliſh* roſe in Rebellion againſt their Lawful King, *Richard* the Second; whom they Dethroned, and forced to Reſign his Crown to *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was Proclaim'd and Crown'd King, under the Name of King *Henry* the Fourth. The Rebels, having proceeded thus far, came next to conſider about his Perſon; and the Motion being made in Parliament, how he ſhould be Diſpoſed of, that he might not be a Trouble to the King and Nation, for the future, a hot Debate followed. Whereupon *John Mark*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, the only Honeſt Man in that Parliament, ſays Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who ſcorning his Life and Eſtate, in reſpect of his Sovereign's Right and his own Allegiance, is ſaid to have deliver'd his Mind thus. "That "the Reſolution of this Queſtion, being ſo neceſſary for the ſettling the "Peace of their own Conſciences, as well as the future Order and Quiet "of the Nation, they ought to conſider, before they came to any De- "termination, upon theſe Two Things. Firſt, Whether King *Richard* "be Sufficiently and Lawfully Depoſed? And Secondly, Whether "King *Henry* be Juſtly and Prudently Choſen in his Place? As for his "own Opinion upon them, he freely and boldly laid it down before "them, thus. That tho' in a Popular or Conſular State (ſuch as of "old the Common-wealth of the *Lacedemonians* and *Romans* at firſt were, "and ſuch as the Empire of *Germany*, Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Swed-* "*land*, and Dukedom of *Venice* at this Day are) it may be lawful for "the Subjects to reſtrain or remove their Princes from their Imperial "Power and Dignity, becauſe they have not Regal Rights; yet in ſuch "Governments, as the Sovereign Majeſty is abſolutely ſeated in the "Prince, (as it was in the Three firſt Empires, and in the Kingdoms "of *Iſrael* and *Judea* anciently, and is in the Nations of *England*, *Scot-* "*land*, *France*, *Spain*, and almoſt all the Kingdoms of *Aſia* and *Africa* at "preſent) it is not, nor can be Lawful for any, nor all their Subjects, "whether Nobles or Commons, to Injure or Hurt the Perſons, nor Li- "mit and Abrogate the Power of ſuch Kings, either by any judicial "Proceedings, or by Force, altho' they be become not only Unprofita- "ble and Hurtful, but Intolerable and Deſtructive to their Subjects; "and that becauſe neither one nor all Magiſtrates have any Authority "over their Prince, from whom all their Power is derived, and whoſe "Preſence doth immediately ſuſpend all their Rule and Juriſdiction: "And more eſpecially, becauſe no Subject, of what Degree or Condition "ſoever, can Imagine, Attempt, Counſel, Aſſiſt or Undertake any "thing prejudicial to the Perſon or Authority of ſuch Princes, but "they incur the great and hainous Crime of High Treaſon. Who were "more Cruel, Unjuſt and Impious Princes than *Nebuchadnezzar* and "*Saul*; and yet the Prophets, *Jeremiah* and *David*, Command Obe- "dience to, and Condemn all Rebellious Attempts againſt them? The "Law of God allows not the Child to lift up his Hand againſt his Pa-

rent,

"rent, be he a Robber, a Murderer, and a Perſon never ſo execrable for "Villanies, both to God and Man. And ſurely our Prince, who is *Pa-* "*ter Patriæ*, the Common Father of all his Subjects, and therefore "ought to be more Sacred and Dear to us than our Natural Parents, "may much leſs be Rebelled againſt or Depoſed, tho' never ſo Tyran- "nical or Impious. The Oracles of God tell us (*b*), That Kings have "Dominion over the Bodies and over their Subjects at their Pleaſure: "And the Church hath declared it an Hereſy, to hold, That a Prince "may be Slain, or Depoſed by his Subjects, for any Defects, either in "his Life or Government. And if it be really Unlawful to Depoſe "the worſt of Princes, how Unjuſt is it to Depoſe good King *Richard*, "who is really Guilty neither of any Cruelty nor Impiety? For if we "impartially examine the Accuſations brought againſt him, we ſhall find "nothing, either of Truth or Moment, Objected. Some Errors and "Overſights he may be guilty of, but ſuch as have proceeded from ſuch "Originals, *viz.* Want of Experience or Corrupt Counſels, as are very "pardonable; and, in their worſt Effects, have not ſavoured of Tyran- "ny or Cruelty. And, if theſe Failings may be allowed, as juſt Cau- "ſes of Depoſing Kings, the beſt of Princes will be daily in Danger; and "every Tax, Execution of Criminals, or diſapproved Action, ſhall "Arm their Subjects againſt them. But ſuppoſe, K. *Richard* muſt be De- "poſed, without Authority in us, or Deſert in him; yet what Right had the "Duke of *Lancaſter* to the Crown? Why did we give it him? Heir he "could not be to the Crown, not only becauſe King *Richard* is ſtill alive, "and the Living have no Heirs; but becauſe ſome of the Poſterity of *Lio-* "*nel*, Duke of *Clarence*, are yet ſurviving, whoſe Line, by the Judgment "of the Parliament holden 8. *Rich.* II. was declared Heirs to the Crown. "By Right of Conqueſt he could not have it: For, being a Subject, all "War, raiſed by him againſt his Sovereign, was Rebellion; and Victory, "Treaſon. As for King *Richard*'s Reſignation of the Crown to the Duke, "it gives him no Title: For, by the Laws of the Land, the King can't "Alienate ſo much as the Ancient Jewels and Ornaments belonging to "the Crown, much leſs the Crown it ſelf and Kingdom: Which if it "were in his Power, yet ſince it was exacted of the King, in his Impriſon- "ment and under Conſtraint, it can't, in Reaſon, be thought of any "Force to bind him: For no Act of a King can be Obligatory, that is "not Free; and none is Free, where Liberty is reſtrained and Fear juſt- "ly ſuſpected. We have no Cuſtom in *England*, that the People ſhould "Elect them a King at their Pleaſure: But they are always bound to "ſubmit to him, who, by Right of Blood, is the next Succeſſor. And "therefore the People's Election, as it can neither Create a Title to the "Crown, nor give any Regal Right; ſo neither can it make that Title "Good, which is before gotten by Violence, and uſurped. 'Twas no- "thing then, that rais'd *Henry* to the Crown, but Ambition in himſelf, "and a Seditious Diſpoſition in the People, who, tho' they have gotten "greater Wiſdom and Courage in their King, by the Change, yet will "find, if not greater Cruelty and Policy, ſhould the Right Heirs ever be "able to Vindicate their Title by Arms, that they have entail'd Miſery "and Bloodſhed upon themſelves and Poſterity. From theſe Premiſſes

(*b*) Vid. Neh. 9. 37. Alph. a Caſtro in lib. de Hæreſ. & Soto de Juſt. & Jur.

" he boldly Concluded, That they had neither Power nor Policy to De-
" poſe King *Richard*, nor Elect King *Henry* in his Room; That King
" *Richard* was ſtill their Lawful King, and that they ought not to paſs
" any Judgment concerning him; That the Duke of *Lancaſter* had offen-
" ded more againſt the King and Realm, by his Impious Arms, than
" King *Richard* hath againſt him or us. And if they thought not fit to
" take Notice of *Henry*'s Injuries, done to the Nation contrary to his
" Oath; yet their Private and Public Dangers ought to Deter them from
" any violent Proceedings againſt King *Richard*: It being Obſervable in
" all the Rebellions of Hereditary Monarchies, where the Lawful Heir
" of the Crown is excluded, that a laſting War is entail'd upon them,
" both in Human Policy and by the Juſt Vengeance of God, ay and till
" Juſtice were done to the Injured Princes. What this Learned and
Wiſe Prelate foretold thus publickly, ſo it hapned; for by King *Richard*'s
Impriſonment and Death, which followed upon this, a Larger Fountain
of Blood was open'd than ever was known in that Nation.

This Uſurper was no ſooner ſettled upon the Throne of *England*, than the War was renewed between the Two Nations, which was occaſioned by this Trifling Accident. *George Dunbar*, Earl of *March*, had promis'd King *Robert* a great Sum of Money, providing he would Marry his Son, the Duke of *Rothſay*, to his Daughter *Elizabeth*. The King gave his Conſent to the Marriage; but the Earl of *Douglaſs*, being informed of this, made an Offer of his Daughter, *Mary*, with a larger Dowry, and, by the Perſwaſion of the Governour, the King accepted of his Offer. The Earl of *March* was ſo incenſed with this Treatment, that he immediately went into *England*, with an Offer of his Service to King *Henry*, leaving his Siſter's Son, *Richard Maitland*, to Govern the Caſtle of *Dunbar* in his Abſence. The King, hearing of this, ſent the Earl of *Douglaſs* to Summon the Caſtle in his Name, which was Delivered up to him: Then he deprived him of all his Dignities and Poſſeſſions, and cauſed his Goods to be Confiſcate. Yet being afraid that he might create ſome Diſturbance upon the Borders, by reaſon of his great Intereſt there, he ſent a Herauld to King *Henry*, deſiring that he would deliver the Earl of *March* up to him. But King *Henry* told the Herauld, That he had promis'd him his Protection, and that he would not break his Royal Word. As if a Private Pact, with a Renagade, were more Religiouſly to be Obſerved, than that which had been publickly Confirmed by the Ambaſſadors of both Nations: For the Truce was not as yet expired. Upon the Return of the Herauld, War was immediately Denounced. In the mean time, the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *March*, having joined their Forces together, entred *Scotland*, and laid the whole Country waſte before them, till they came to *Linton*, where the Earl of *Douglaſs* came unexpectedly upon them, put them to the Flight, and recover'd a great Booty, which they were carrying along with them. After this, the Earl of *Douglaſs* returned to *Edinburgh*, where he fell into a high Fever, of which he died, leaving behind him a Honourable Memory, for his Brave Exploits in Defence of his Country; his Son *Archbald Douglaſs* ſucceeded him in the Earldom.

After this, King *Henry* entred *Scotland* with a great Army: When he came to *Hadingtoun*, he ſtaid there Three Days; then marched to *Leith*, where he ſtaid as long. Thereafter he laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*

burgh, which was Commanded by the Duke of *Rothſay* the King's Son, and the Earl of *Douglaſs*, with many other Brave Gentlemen. The Governour, who had got together a conſiderable Army, made very ſlow Marches; for, by this time, he had fixt his Thoughts upon the Throne: So that he was willing, that King *Henry* ſhould gain the Caſtle, in which the Prince was. But the King of *England*, finding the Winter approaching, returned, with his Army, without having done any conſiderable Dammage to the Country.

The next Year, which was that of our Lord 1401, died *Walter Trail*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, (whom *Buchanan* makes Arch-Biſhop, tho' S. *Andrew*'s was not Erected into an Arch-Biſhoprick, till the Year 1468.) a Man well ſeen in the Civil and Canon Law; and Queen *Annabel Drummond*, whoſe Death was much regreted. For, after her Deceaſe, her Son, the Duke of *Rothſay*, fell into thoſe Diſorders, which occaſioned his Death. The Particulars of which, I have related in the Life of King *James*, in the Firſt Volume of this Work.

About this time, the Earl of *March* made ſeveral Inroads into *Scotland*, but eſpecially upon the Lands belonging to the *Douglaſs*. Whereupon the Earl of *Douglaſs* appointed ſeveral Bodies of Men, under certain Commanders, to Infeſt the Northern Counties of *England* by Turns. Firſt, he himſelf Invaded *Northumberland* with good Succeſs; then Sir *Thomas Halyburton* of *Birlington* took a great Booty out of the Lands near to *Bamborough*, a Caſtle over againſt *Holy-Iſle*. But Sir *Patrick Hepburn*, whoſe Turn it fell next, had not the like Succeſs; for, in his Return, he met with the Earl of *Northumberland*, at a certain Town call'd *Nesbit*, where the *Engliſh* fiercely aſſaulted him and his Company, who for a long time maintain'd the Fight with equal Valour: But *George Dunbar*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *March*, coming in with freſh Aſſiſtance of a Hundred Spear-men, the Victory fell to the *Engliſh*. In this Skirmiſh were Slain, Sir *Patrick Hepburn* of *Hales*, who Commanded the Party, and a great Number of his Name: And there were taken Priſoners, Sir *John* and Sir *William Cockburn*, Sir *Robert Lauder* of the *Baſs*, Sir *John* and Sir *Thomas Halyburton*, and divers others. In Revenge of this, *Archbald* Earl of *Douglaſs*, by a Commiſſion from the King, raiſed an Army of Ten Thouſand Men: The Chief Commanders under him were *Murdo*, Son to the Duke of *Albany*; *Thomas*, Earl of *Murray*; and *George*, Earl of *Angus*. With this Army they entred into *Northumberland*, and laid the whole Country waſte before them, till they came the length of *Hamildon*, where they were met by the Lord *Henry Piercy*, *George Dunbar* Earl of *March*, moſt of the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, and about Eight Thouſand Horſe-men, beſides their Foot. Both Armies engaged with equal Fury; and the Victory, for a long time, continued dubious: But at length the *Engliſh* became Maſters of the Field. In this Action, which was fought upon the 14th of *September* 1402, being *Haly-rood*-Day, were ſlain many Perſons of Note and Quality; amongſt whom were Sir *Adam Gordon*, Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *John Livingſton* of *Calander*, Sir *Alexander Ramſay* of *Dalhouſie*, and ſeveral others. Amongſt thoſe that were taken Priſoners, were *Murdo Stewart* Eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Albany*, *Archbald* Earl of *Douglaſs*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, *Robert Erskine* of *Alloway*, the Lord *Salton*, *James Douglaſs* Maſter of *Dalkeith*, with his Two Brethren *John* and *William*, and a great many others. The Lord

Piercy and the Earl of *March*, having obtain'd this Victory over the Earl of *Douglaſs*, (who never yielded, tho' he was Five times Wounded, till he loſt an Eye) ſent their Priſoners to diverſe Caſtles, and reſolved to proceed in their Deſign of Conquering *Scotland*. For that end, they entred into *Teviotdale*, waſting and deſtroying the whole Country as they paſſed; and laying Siege to the Caſtle of *Cocklaw*, the Governour thereof, *John Grienlay*, after that he had held out for a long time, agreed, *That, unleſs the* Scots *relieved the Caſtle in Fourty Days, he would ſurrender it.* Whereupon *John Gladſtanes* went to the Governour of the Realm, and acquainted him of the Circumſtances they were in: But before he could come to their Aſſiſtance, or the time expired, *Piercy* and *March* were obliged to raiſe the Siege and return to *England*, upon the Account of an Inſurrection, which hapned thus.

King *Henry*, not willing to ſhare in the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Victories over the *Scots*, but likewiſe in the Advantages, demanded all the *Scots* Priſoners that had been taken; hoping thereby to make a good Sum of Money by their Ranſoms. The Earl, on the other hand, alledged the Cuſtom of the Kings of *England*, who always allow the Lords of the North, the Advantages of the *Scots* War, for their Encouragement to Defend their Dominions; and to make up the Loſſes, that they daily ſuſtained by the *Scots* Depredations. From theſe ſmall Beginnings, Diſcontents daily augmented between the King and *Northumberland*, who, as he had a great Hand in Eſtabliſhing King *Henry* upon his Throne, thought he was Powerful enough to pull him from it. So raiſing the Siege, they boldly came to the King at *Windſor*, and deſired that he might ſet at Liberty, either by Ranſom or other Means, their Couſin *Edmond Mortimer* Earl of *March*. This Earl of *March*, being the next lawful Heir of the Crown to King *Richard*, was then detain'd in Priſon; whoſe Freedom King *Henry* not only refuſed, as was demanded, but alſo by his Anſwer ſo kindled the fiery Spirit of *Henry Hotſpur*, that he cry'd out, *That the Heir of the Realm was Robbed of his Right; and that the Robber would not allow him Part of his own for his Ranſom.* Then, in a Fury, the *Piercies* departed from the Court, reſolving to ſet the Earl of *March* at Liberty, in ſpite of King *Henry*, which they effectually did. Here the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians make this ſtrange Obſervation, concerning the Earl of *March*, That, the Night he was Born, all the Horſes in his Father's Stable were found up to the Belly in Blood. A ſtrange Prodigy, which afterwards ſeem'd verify'd by more dreadful Events, when, upon Conteſt of *Mortimer*'s Title, by which the Houſe of *York* claimed the Crown, the War-horſes might rather be ſaid to ſwim than ſtand in Blood. Both Parties having Armed, the *Piercies*, to ſtrengthen their Party the more, ſet all the *Scots* Priſoners at Liberty, without any Ranſom, providing that they would aſſiſt them againſt King *Henry*; and the Earl of *Douglaſs* was to have the Town of *Berwick* deliver'd to him: Upon theſe Conditions, the *Scots* join'd them.

King *Henry*, being attended by the Earl of *Dunbar* and the young Prince of *Wales*, advanced with a Conſiderable Force, within ſight of *Shrewsbury*; when the Furious *Hotſpur* ſtood ready to Attack the Town, who no ſooner diſcovered the Royal Standard, but he abandoned that Enterprize, to draw up his Army in Battalia, which conſiſted of Fourteen Thouſand Strong and Hardy Men, eager to try the Fate of a Battel.

At

At length they join'd, and never was Battel fought, on both Sides, with more Martial Rage and Bravery; in which the Two Mighty Champions, *Hotſpur* and *Douglaſs*, inſtead of ſpending their Strength upon the Multitude, reſolved to encounter the King in Perſon, on whoſe Death they knew the Fate of the Battel would depend. Accordingly they ruſhed forwards, with a Fury ſcarce to be equall'd: But the Earl of *Dunbar*, diſcovering their Deſign, drew the King from the Ground he had choſen; by which he ſaved his Life: For the Royal Standard was overthrown, the Earl of *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Blount* and Ten Knights were ſlain by it. *Douglaſs* kill'd Three ſeveral Perſons in the King's Coat-Armour, and unhors'd the King himſelf; ſo that many of his Soldiers, believing that they had loſt him, quit the Field. But the King, whoſe Valour was equal to his Danger, performed Wonders. For, if we may believe the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, he kill'd no leſs than Thirty Six, with his own Hand. At laſt, after a dreadful Conflict of Three Hours, the Fall of the Great *Hotſpur* put an End to this Tragic Scene, who was ſlain by an unknown Hand, drawing a Ruin, after him, ſuitable to his Spirit and Bravery: For there fell, with him, moſt of the 'Squires and Gentlemen of *Cheſhire*, to the Number of Two Hundred, and above Five Thouſand Common Soldiers. This Victory was gain'd, with the loſs of Sixteen Hundred Men, on the King's ſide, upon the 21ſt Day of *July* 1403. The Valiant *Douglaſs*, together with the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Baron of *Kinderton* and Sir *Richard Vernon*, were taken Priſoners. *Douglaſs*, who was no Subject of *England*, and of unparallel'd Valour, King *Henry* ſet at Liberty; but the other Three were all Beheaded, two Days after the Battel. The Body of *Hotſpur*, tho' once permitted to be Buried, was afterwards Quarter'd, and ſent to ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. This was the Fate of *Hotſpur* and *Douglaſs*, two of the Braveſt Wariours of their Age, who only differ'd in this, that *Hotſpur*, almoſt to this time, had ever been Fortunate, Victorious and Triumphant; whereas the *Douglaſs*, tho' he had equal Courage and Valour, yet was always Unfortunate and Unſucceſsful, for which he was uſually call'd, by the Common People, *Archbald Tyn-man*. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was not preſent at this Battel, coming up with ſome Forces to the Aſſiſtance of his Son, having got Notice of the Overthrow at *Shrewsbury*, did, with his Grand-child, the Son of the Lord *Piercy* and ſome others of his Friends and Kinſmen, preſently flee into *Scotland*, where he was kindly received by *Henry Wardlaw*, Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s.

After this, a Truce being concluded betwixt the Two Nations, K. *Robert* ſent over his only Son, *James*, to *France*, who was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*, in his way thither, as we have ſhown in the Life of that Prince, in the Firſt Volume of this Work: For Grief whereof, his old Father died, in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord 1406. This Prince, ſays *Buchanan*, *For Talneſs of Stature, and for the Beauty and Compoſition of his whole Body, was Inferior to none of his Cotemporaries. His Life was very Harmleſs, and there was no Vertuous Accompliſhment, fit for a private Man, wanting in him. So that it may be truly ſaid of him, That he was a better Man than a King.* Yet in all Public Matters, he gave ſuch Wiſe Directions to thoſe, who Adminiſtrated Affairs under him, and which he was not able, by reaſon of his Infirmity, to go about himſelf,

that we may very juſtly reject that Clauſe of his Character, *of his not being ſo good a King as a private Man.*

The Captivity of the young Prince quickly put an End to the Truce betwixt the Two Nations. In the mean time, *Henry*, the King of *England*'s Son, made great Incurſions into *Scotland*, both by Land and Sea; but after he had returned Home with a great Booty, the Caſtle of *Jedburgh*, which the *Engliſh* had kept ſince the Battel of *Durham*, was taken by the Commons of *Teviotdale*, pillaged and thereafter demoliſhed by an Order from the Governour. *George*, Earl of *March*, finding that he was never like to be reſtored to his former Poſſeſſions by the Power of the *Engliſh*, made his Intereſt ſo with the Governour, that he obtain'd his Pardon, was reſtor'd to all his former Honours and Poſſeſſions, excepting his Lands and Caſtles in *Lochmahan* and *Annandale*, which were given to *Douglaſs* for the Loſſes he had ſuſtained: And all the remnant of his Life, he ſpent in great Concord with his Neighbours, and in a faithful Subjection to his Prince.

The next Year, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had gone over to *Flanders* and *France*, in expectation of Aid and Aſſiſtance againſt King *Henry*, returned to *Scotland*, where he was very kindly received and entertained by the Earl of *March* his old Friend, and the Lord *Fleeming*. King *Henry* conſidering, that he could never hope for any Security, as long as the Earl of *Northumberland* was alive, dealt privately with ſeverals of the *Scots* Nobility to deliver him up, for which they ſhould be Nobly Rewarded. A Number of them embrac'd the Propoſal; but the Generous Lord *Fleeming*, having heard of their Deſign, and not being able to Protect him, Advertis'd him of his Danger: Whereupon he fled privately to *Wales*. The Lords, who expected conſiderable Rewards for the delivering up of *Northumberland*'s Perſon, were ſo incenſed at his Eſcape, that they went to Challenge the Lord *Fleeming*: And tho' he Vindicate himſelf by the Laws of Hoſpitality, Generoſity, and whatever might prevail with a Noble Spirit; yet they put him to diſpute the Quarrel with his Perſonal Valour; and being Overmatch'd, he fell a Sacrifice to their Wrath. Upon this, ſeveral Feuds aroſe betwixt the Families that were concerned in the different Parties, to the great Dammage of the Country: But this was backt by a greater Calamity, which happened thus.

William Earl of *Roſs*, Son to *Hugh* Earl of *Roſs*, who was ſlain at *Halydown*-Hill, had Two Daughters: The Eldeſt of which was given in Marriage to *Walter Leſly*, with the Earldom of *Roſs*; with whom he had a Son, call'd *Alexander*, and a Daughter, who was Married to *Donald* of the *Iſles*. This *Alexander* ſucceeded to the Earldom of *Roſs*, upon the Death of his Father *Walter*; and he having Married *Euſam*, Daughter to the Duke of *Albany*, he had with her one only Daughter and Deform'd, who enter'd her ſelf a Religious in *North-Berwick*. The Governour procured from her, being his Grand-child, in her Minority, a Reſignation of the Earldom of *Roſs*, in favours of *John* Earl of *Buchan* his Second Son, who left behind him but one Daughter, and ſhe was Married to Sir *William Seton*, and for this Reaſon the *Setons* lay claim to the Lordſhip of *Buchan*. *Donald* of the *Iſles* hearing that his Wife's Aunt was dead, came to the Governour, and laid claim to the Earldom of *Roſs*, as neareſt Heir. But the Governour told him, that the

the Reſignation mas made not only in favours of his Second Son, but failing Heirs Male of him, to his Brother *Robert*; and failing Heirs Male of him, that it ſhould fall to the Crown. *Donald*, finding this, reſolved to aſſert his Right by Arms: So returning Home, he raiſed all his Iſlanders, overrun the Countries of *Roſs* and *Murray*; and came the length of the *Garioch*, with a Deſign to Burn the Town of *Aberdeen*. In the mean time, *Alexander Stewart*, Earl of *Mar*, having got together a conſiderable Army, was ſent by the Governour in Queſt of *Donald*; and having met him in his return at a ſmall Village in *Murray*, call'd *Harlaw*, they had a Bloody Engagement; in which *Donald* and his Followers were overthrown: And on his ſide were kill'd, the Lairds of *Maclane* and *Macintoſh*, with about 900 Highlanders. Upon the Earl of *Mar*'s ſide were ſlain about as many common Soldiers; and of Perſons of Note, Sir *Alexander Ogilvy* Sheriff of *Angus*, Sir *James Scrimgeour* Conſtable of *Dundee*, Sir *Alexander Irvine* of *Drum*, Sir *Robert Maul* of *Panmure*, Sir *Thomas Murray*, Sir *William Abernethy* of *Saltoun*, Sir *Alexander Straiton* of *Louriſtoun* and Sir *Robert Davidſon* Provoſt of *Aberdeen*. At this Battel, Night having parted them, *Donald* was ſo hotly purſu'd the next Day, that he ſubmitted to the Governour, and ſwore, That for the future he ſhould not diſturb the Government. This Action was in the Year of our Lord 1411, upon the Eve of S. *James*.

Not long after this Battel, *Patrick Dunbar*, Second Son to the Earl of *March*, took the Caſtle of *Faſt-Caſtle*, ſtanding upon a Rock near to S. *Ebb's-Head* in the *Mers*; and likewiſe *Thomas Halden*, who kept it, and had infeſted all the Neighbourhood with continual Thievry. The Town of *Roxburgh* was Burnt, and the Bridge broke down, by *William Douglaſs* of *Drumlanrick*. Several other light Skirmiſhes alſo hapned between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, not worth the mentioning. An open War being declared betwixt King *Henry* V. of *England* and King *Charles* VI. of *France*, the *French* King ſent over the Earl of *Vendoſme* and the Chancellor of *France* to *Scotland*, to require the Governour's Aid and Aſſiſtance, and to Renew the Ancient League between *Scotland* and *France*, which was accordingly done; and the Particulars of that Expedition you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of S. *Fiacre*, Page 363. In the mean time *Robert Stewart*, the Governour, died in the Year 1419, on the Third Day of *December*; *A Prince*, ſays *Buchanan*, *worthy of that Office and Dignity, if, out of a blind Ambition to Rule, he had not uſed unjuſt Courſes to haſten to the Throne: For he was Valiant in War, Prudent in Counſel, Juſt in Judgment, Liberal to the Nobility, and Tender in levying Taxes upon the Commons.*

To the Governour ſucceeded his Son, *Murdo*. This Change of Domeſtic Affairs, cauſed the Earls of *Buchan* and *Wigton*, and many others, return from *France*. But Matters being ſoon ſettled at Home, the Dauphine of *France* re-call'd the Earl of *Buchan*, who, with *Archbald* Earl of *Douglaſs*, *James* his Son, and diverſe others of Note, and 5000 common Soldiers, took the Seas, and, with a proſperous Wind arrived at *Rochel*, and from thence went to *Poictu*, where they were received with great Joy by the Dauphine; and the Earl of *Douglaſs*, for his Encouragement, was made Duke of *Turraine*. But the moſt of theſe Brave Gentlemen had the Misfortune of being Overcome and Slain at the Battel of *Verenevil*; where amongſt the reſt that were Kill'd, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians

mention theſe, The Lord *Cardroſs* Nephew to the Conſtable, the Lord of S. *Johnſtoun*, Sir *John Balglavy*, Sir *John Turnbull*, Sir *John Halyburton*, Sir *Robert Liſle*, Sir *William Cuninghame*, Sir *William Douglaſs*, Sir *Alexander Hume*, Sir *William Liſle*, Sir *John Rutherfoord*, Sir *William Crawfurd*, Sir *Thomas Seton*, Sir *William Hamilton* and his Son *David*, and *John Pillot*: *John Stewart* Earl of *Buchan* and Conſtable of *France*, after the Loſs of an Eye, was taken Priſoner, but, within a ſhort time after, Redeem'd; Sir *Alexander Meldrum* and diverſe others, were likewiſe taken, who, tho' they had the Misfortune of being foil'd in this Action, yet even in the Judgment of their Enemies, each of them deſerved to have been Crown'd with a Laurel, for their ſingular Merit and Valour. During theſe Proceedings in *France*, King *JAMES* was Ranſomed by his Subjects, whoſe Life and Actions you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work.

In this King's Reign, the following Perſons were Knighted at his Coronation, *Archbald* III. Earl of *Douglaſs*, *William Douglaſs* Earl of *Angus*, *George Dunbar* Earl of *March*, *Adam Hepburn* of *Hailis*, *Thomas Hay* of *Yeſter*, *Walter Ogilvy*, *Walter Halyburton*, *David Stewart* of *Rothſay*, *Alexander Seton* of *Gordon*, *Patrick Ogilvy* of *Auchterhouſe*, *John Reid* Stewart of *Dondanald*, *David Mackay* of *Gaſlz*, *John Stewart* of *Carden*, *William Hay* of *Errol* High Conſtable of *Scotland*, *John Scrimgeour* Conſtable of *Dundee*, *Alexander Irvine* of *Drum*, *Herbert Maxwel* of *Carlaverock*, *Herbert Herris* of *Terreglis*, *Andrew Gray* of *Foulis*, *Robert Cuninghame* of *Kilmaures*, *Alexander Ramſay* of *Dalhouſie*, and *William Crichtoun* of *Crichtoun*. In this King's Reign likewiſe lived *Thomas Abbot* of *Dundranan*, *Henry Wardlaw* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Richard Colvil* Arch-Deacon of *Lothian*, and *Henry Lichton* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pag. 319, 429, 437, 440.

To *James* the Firſt ſucceeded his Son *JAMES* II. a Child of Six Years of Age, who was Crowned at *Holy-rood-houſe*, in the Year 1436. The Government of the Kingdom was intruſted to Sir *Alexander Livingſton* of *Callender*; and the Cuſtody of the King's Perſon, with the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, was given to the Chancellor, Sir *William Crichton*. Theſe Men had given ſuch Teſtimonies of their Fidelity and Loyalty to the Father, that there was no reaſon to ſuſpect their being Loyal and Faithful to the Son. But *Archbald* Earl of *Douglaſs*, taking this as an Affront put upon him, (conſidering that he, who was the moſt Powerful, and moſt Ancient Nobleman of the Nation, and whoſe Predeceſſors had done ſuch great Services for the Crown and Country, ſhould be ſlighted, and theſe Gentlemen preferred before him) commanded all his Vaſſals and Followers to obey no Orders, either from the Governour or Chancellor. And to augment the Public Calamity the more, the Chancellor and Governour fall at Variance between themſelves. In the mean time the Queen, who ſtaid with the Governour at *Stirling*, gave out, that ſhe was going in Pilgrimage to the *White Kirk*, ſituate below *Lintoun* Bridge, on the *Tyne*, in East *Lothian*, to perform a Vow which ſhe had made for the Safety of her Son, and for Quieting the Factions and Diviſions in the Nation. Then coming to *Edinburgh*, ſhe ſtaid for ſome time; and having got frequent Acceſs to her Son, ſhe perſwaded him to make his Eſcape, with her, to the Governour, who would not detain him a Priſoner as the Chancellor did, but give him his full Liberty.

This

This charming Word, Liberty, was ſuch a Bait to a young Prince, who was already begun to graſp at it, that there was no reſiſting of it. So the Queen, having got all things in Readineſs, came, the Night before, to the Chancellor, and told him, That the next Morning ſhe was to proceed in her Pilgrimage; and, with Tears in her Eyes, recommended the Care of her Son to him. The Chancellor, nowiſe ſuſpecting her, wiſht her a good Journey; and promiſed to take all the Care imaginable about the young Prince. The King, as it was agreed, being put into a Cheſt, wherein ſhe us'd to put her Furniture, was convoyed to *Leith*, where a Ship was ready waiting for them; and by a favourable Gale, they arrived at *Stirling* almoſt before the Contrivance was diſcovered.

Not long after this, *Archbald*, Earl of *Douglaſs* died at *Reſtalrigge*, in the Year of our Lord 1439. leaving behind him a Son, by a Daughter of the Earl of *Crawfurd*, call'd *William*, who ſucceeded to his Father's Honours and Ambition. *Malcolm Fleeming* of *Cumbernald* and *Allan Lauder* Adminiſtrate the Oath of Allegiance to this young Earl, at the Deſire of the King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Turrain*; which, with his other Poſſeſſions and Honours at Home, raiſed his Temper to ſuch a Highth of Inſolence, that his Attendance was rather ſuperior than equal to the King's. About the ſame time, likewiſe *James Stewart*, Son to the Lord *Lorn*, commonly call'd, *The Black Knight of* Lorn, was Married to the Queen Dowager, hoping thereby to get the Government of the Realm and the Poſſeſſion of the King's Perſon. The Governour, foreſeeing this, committed both him and his Brother, *William*, to Cuſtody, in the Caſtle of *Stirling*, upon an Alledgance of a Deſign againſt the King's Perſon. The Chancellor, who was overjoy'd at this Action, which put ſuch an Affront upon the Queen, dealt under hand with *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*, the Governour's great Confident, by whoſe Means they were both ſet at Liberty. This did ſo ingratiate the Chancellor with the Queen, that they perſwaded the young King, one Morning as he was at the Hunting in the Park of *Stirling*, whither the Chancellor came unexpectedly, to return again to *Edinburgh* with him. The Governour, who at that time was at *Perth* adminiſtrating Juſtice, finding how much he was outwitted by the Chancellor, came ſtraight to *Edinburgh*, where, by a Mediation of Friends, they both met in S. *Giles* Church; and by the Biſhop of *Murray*, and the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*'s Diligence, an Agreement was concluded between them, *viz.* the Chancellor was to have the Cuſtody of the King's Perſon, and the Governour to enjoy his Charge as formerly. After this they united both their Forces againſt the Earl of *Douglaſs*, upon which a Bloody Civil War enſued, the Particulars of which, you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of *James Kennedy*, Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, Pag. 441. till the Death of King *James* II. which hapned in the Year 1460. in the 30. Year of his Age, and 24. Year of his Reign, which was occaſioned thus. *Richard Plantaginet*, Duke of *York*, having laid Claim to the Crown of *England*, as Lineally Deſcended from *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, both King *Henry* and the Duke begg'd King *James*'s Aſſiſtance; who raiſed an Army, with which, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, he was deſign'd to aſſiſt King *Henry*; and the *Scots*, the Duke of *York*: But none knows which of them he inclin'd to; for in his

way to *England*, having laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Roxburgh*, he was accidentally Kill'd by the Splinter of a Cannon.

This Prince had all the Accompliſhments both of Body and Mind, that are deſirable in a Monarch. He had a Lively and Blooming Aſpect, a ſtrong and vigorous Body much given to all Manly Exerciſes. He had a broad red Spot upon one of his Cheeks; from which, by his Country-Men, he was Named, *James with the Fiery Face*. He was Temperate, Stayed and of a Sedate Humour. He was Upright, Sincere, Affable, Courteous and Loving towards his Domeſticks, Human towards his Enemies, a great Lover of Juſtice, Liberal without Oppreſſing of his Subjects, Wiſe in Adverſity, and a great Maſter of the Intrigues of State; and with him our Author Concludes his Hiſtory. In this King's Reign, lived *Berenguiddus*, *William Baillie* Doctor of Medicine, and *James Kennedy* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*; whoſe Lives you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work, Pag. 432. 441.

Thus having given, as I promiſed, an Abridgment of the Hiſtory of our Nation to our Author's Time, I proceed where I left off.

He is ſent for to Court.

Whilſt then our Author was imploying his Time, as is ſaid, for the advancing of Piety and Learning, the News was brought to him of the King's being Kill'd at the Battel of *Flowden*, and of the Neceſſity of his coming to *Stirling*; where a Parliament was call'd to ſettle the Affairs of the Nation, which at that time, were in great Confuſion. For, when King *James* the Fourth was Kill'd, he left his Queen, *Margaret*, and Two Sons behind him; the Eldeſt of which was not yet full two Years Old. Thoſe of the Nobility, who for Wiſdom and Prudence, bore any Thing of Authority, were moſtly ſlain; the Major Part of thoſe who remain'd, were by reaſon of their Youthful Age, and want of Experience, unfit to meddle with Matters of State, eſpecially in ſo Troubleſome a Time; and they, who were left alive of the States-Men, were all of them for continuing the War againſt *England*. Our Prelate, finding in what a Miſerable Condition the Nation was in, by this Fatal Accident, reſolv'd, notwithſtanding of his great Age, to aſſiſt them with his beſt Advice and Counſel: But he Sickned in his Journey towards *Edinburgh*, and, the ſixth Day after his coming thither, Died moſt Chriſtianly in the 83. Year of his Age, in the Year 1514.

But Sickens in his Journey, and Dies at *Edinburgh*.

His Character.

Of all our *Scots* Biſhops, there is none, whom our Hiſtorians have ſo much commended as our Author. For they ſay, That he was a great States-Man, a Learn'd and Pious Church-Man, and one who was Beloved and Reverenc'd by all. None has deſerv'd better of his Nation than he, having left behind him ſo many Noble Inſtances of his Piety and Love to his Country. For it is Obſerved of him, that, notwithſtanding of the great Expenſes he was at, in Founding the Univerſity, in Providing the Materials for Building the Bridge upon the River of *Dee*, the Large Alms that he gave Daily to the Poor and Religious of all ſorts, the Help and Relief that he made to thoſe of his Kindred, (all which was done upon the Rents of his own Biſhoprick, having no Benefice in *Commendam*, as the Cuſtom then was,) he left behind him Ten Thouſand Pounds in Gold and Silver; which he bequeathed to the College, and the Finiſhing of the Bridge of *Dee*. As he was thus eminently conſpi-

cuous

cuous for his Piety and Charity, ſo he was no leſs for his Learning; for, the Time that he could ſpare from the Public, he ſpent in compoſing of ſeveral Learn'd and Elaborate Treatiſes, that were deſtroy'd at the Reformation. Never was there a Man known to be of greater Integrity of Life and Manners; it being Obſerved of him, that, after he entred into Holy Orders, he was never known to ſay or do an unſeemly Thing. And as he was a Faithful and Dutiful Servant of God, ſo he was a Loyal and Faithful Servant to his Vicegerent and Maſter the King; having endeavoured all that was in his Power, to reclaim the Factious and Rebellious Nobility in King *James* the Third's Time; and after that he heard of the Misfortunate Death of his Son, King *James* the Fourth, he was never perceiv'd to Smile, tho' he was Naturally of a Sweet, Gay and Agreeable Converſation. The Conſtitution of his Body was Healthful and Strong; Old Age, which to others of it ſelf is a great Diſeaſe, wrought in him no Alteration; for, when he was in the 83. Year of his Age, his Judgment, in the Weightieſt Matters of State, was obſerv'd to be as Good, and his Memory as Freſh, as when he was in the Flower of his Youth; the Reſpect and Veneration that he was in, may appear from what's Related to have hapned at the Time of his Burial, by the Hiſtorians who liv'd near his Time: For they write, That, the Day his Corps was brought forth to be interred, the Paſtoral Staff, which was all of Silver, and carried by *Alexander Lauder* a Juriſt, broke in two Pieces, one Part thereof falling into the Grave where the Corps was to be laid; and that a Voice was heard to Cry, *Tecum*, GULIELME, *Mitra ſepelienda*; *With Thee the Mitre and Glory thereof is Buried.*

Yet, notwithſtanding of this Large Encomium, given to our Author, by all our Hiſtorians, *Buchanan* ſays "That *King James* the Fourth, "having exhauſted his Treaſure by his Public Works, was forc'd to "contrive ſome New Ways to get Money; amongſt the reſt, he "pitch'd upon one, by the Perſwaſion, as it was thought, of *William* "*Elphinſton* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, which was very diſpleaſing to all the "Nobility. Amongſt the Tenours of Land in *Scotland*, this is one Kind, by which the Owner holds what he buys, or elſe is given him, on theſe Terms, That, if he die and leave his Son and Heir under Age or Minor, his Tutelage belongeth to the King, and the Profit of the Lands, until the Minor be of the Age of One and Twenty Years: This is of thoſe Lands, which are term'd *Wards*; the King cauſeth bring up his Wards, but beſtoweth no more of their Rents upon them, than is uſeful to ſuch of that Age. By another Law, which they call *Recognition*, If the Evidences of any Poſſeſſor of Ward Lands be not, in all Points, Formal and above Exceptions of Law; the Lands muſt return to the Lord Superior, and the Poſſeſſors be put from them: As alſo, If a Poſſeſſor of Ward Lands, without the Conſent of the Superior, ſell and put away the Half, or above the Half, of his Land and Farm; the whole Land and Farm returneth to the Superior. There are Lands held likewiſe with Clauſes, which they call *Irritant*; That, if Two Terms of a Feu-Duty run unpaid into the Third, the Land falleth to the Superior. When thoſe Laws, which were long out of Uſe, were put in Execution; many of the Subjects, by theſe Inquiries, were obnoxious to the King; but moſtly thoſe of the beſt Repute, who were obliged

either to buy their own Lands and Inheritance from the Exchequer, or quit and freely give ſome Portion of them to the King's Toll-Maſters. All this was done, ſays *Buchanan*, by the Advice, as it was thought, of Biſhop *Elphinſton*: But he is the only Hiſtorian, that has accuſed him of this; and it is nowiſe agreeable to that Impartiality, that every Hiſtorian ought to obſerve, to ſtain the Reputations of ſuch Illuſtrious Perſons, who have been the Ornaments of their Age, upon the *Rumors* and *Hearſays* of the Vulgar.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. SCotorum *Chronicon ext. Ms. in Bib.* Bodliana, *vid. Cat. Mss.* Oxon. *Tom.* 1. *Par.* 1. *Num.* 3888.

II. *Conciliorum Statuta*; and many others, ſays *Dempſter*, that were loſt at the Reformation.

THE LIFE of *NICOLAUS HEPBURN*, of the Order of S. *Francis*.

THE *Hepburns* had their Firſt Riſe, in the Reign of King *David Bruce*, from an *Engliſh* Man of that Name, who, being then Priſoner in *Scotland*, ſaved the Earl of *March*'s Life, by catching hold of the Bridle of an Unruly Horſe on which he Rode, and was like to have brained him. For which good Service the Earl of *March* gave him ſeveral Lands in *Lothian*; and of him were Deſcended the *Hepburns* of *Hales*, whom we have ſo often mentioned for their brave Actions in Defence of their King and Country; and about the Year of our Lord 1488. in which this Author was Born (*a*), they were Created Earls of *Bothwel* by King *James* the IV.

His Birth & Education.

What our Author's Parentage was, we know not; but he, having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies in Grammar and Philoſophy at home, went over to *Germany*, where he ſtudied Theology, for ſome Years, in one of the *Scots* Monaſteries there. Then having entred into the Order of St. *Francis*, he was Ordained Presbyter about the Year 1526, and became afterwards Abbot of a Monaſtery near unto *Cologne*, where he ſpent the remnant of his Days in great Piety and Devotion, and in compoſing

He goes over to *Germany*, where he enters into Holy Orders, and is made Abbot

(*a*) Vid. Balant. Hiſt. fol. 235. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. gent. Scot. lib. 8. pag. 344. Franc. Gonzaga Par. 1. de Orig. Seraph: Relig. Franciſ. fol: Rom 1587. pag: 88. Hen: Willot: Athen: Orthodox. Sodal: Franciſ: Leodii. in 8vo. pag. 277. Hen: Sedul: Hiſt. Seraph: Antuerpiæ in fol: 1613, &c.

posing many Learned and Elaborate Treatises, which we have still extant. Amongst these there is a large Apology for the Council of *Constance*'s Procedures against *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*. And seing this gave the First Rise to the Reformation, I shall give, in as few Words as I can, the History of this Council, in so far as it relates to this Affair (b), from our Author.

of a Monastery near unto *Cologn*.

He writes an Apology for the Procedures of the Council of *Constance* against *John Hus*.

An Account of this and his other Writings.

The Tenets of *Wickliffe* (of whom I have given an Account, in the First Volume of this Work) having been brought in to *Bohemia*, by one of his Disciples, an *English* Man; in a small time they were found in the Hands of the most of the Masters and Scholars of the University of *Prague*. *Sbynko*, Arch-Bishop of that City, being informed of this, and afraid of the Fatal Consequences they might cause, issued out two Edicts in the Year 1408. The one was addressed to all the Members of the University of *Prague*, Ordering them to deliver to him such of *Wickliffe*'s Books, as were in their Custody, that these, wherein Heretical Doctrines were maintain'd, might be burnt. The other was addressed to all the Curates and Preachers, Ordaining them to teach to the People, That after the pronouncing of the Words of Consecration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there remained nothing, but the Body of Jesus Christ under the Species of Bread; and the Blood of Jesus Christ, in the Cup or Chalice.

At this time there was, at the University of *Prague*, a Master of Arts and Batchelor of Theology, called *John Hus* from the Place of his Birth. He had for sometime taught Grammar and Philosophy; and having apply'd himself to Theology, he became a famous Preacher and Chaplain to the Church of *Bethlem* at *Prague*. This Man was a great Favourer of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrines, and the most respected Person about the University; because he had obtained from King *Wenceslaus* the Revocation of the Privileges of the other Nations, in Favour of the *Bohemians*. For the University of *Prague*, being founded by *Charles* IV. in Imitation of that of *Paris*, was composed of Four Nations, *viz.* the *Bohemians*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons* and *Polanders*. These Three last, being most of them *Germans*, had Three Votes for one; and by this means they became Masters of all the Professors Chairs, and of the whole Offices and Affairs about the University, and of the Chief Benefices of the City, till this *John Hus* prevailed with King *Wenceslaus*, to grant a Revocation of the Privileges of these Three Nations; and thereafter the *Bohemians* were settled in the Principal Places about the University and City. By this means, as I have said, he had acquired a great deal of Credit and Repute in the University; so he easily perswaded them not to obey the Arch-Bishop's Edicts. For the First, he said, was a downright Incroachment upon their Privileges, they having a Liberty to keep and read, whatsoever Books they pleased. That the Second advanced an intolerable Error, in regard that it imply'd, That there was no more but the Body and Blood of Christ, under the Species of the Bread and Wine.

Upon this the University appealing to Pope *Gregory* XII. their Appeal was sustained, and the Arch-Bishop cited to *Rome*. But he, having informed Pope *Alexander* V. That the Errors of *Wickliffe* were spreading thorow *Bohemia*, by the Preachings of severals that had read his Books, obtained a Bull, by which the Pope gave him full Power to suppress

(b) Vid: M: du Pin: Bib: Eccles. Tom. 12. pag: 132, &c.

theſe Errors in his Dioceſs. By Vertue of this Bull, the Arch-Biſhop condemned, by a Definitive Sentence, all the Writings of *John Wickliffe*, and raiſed a Proceſs againſt Four Doctors, that had not delivered to him their Copies of *Wickliffe*'s Writings: By another Sentence, he diſcharged them from Preaching any more, upon their higheſt Peril. *John Hus*, and ſome other Members of the Univerſity of *Prague*, and the Patron of the Chapel of *Bethlem*, Proteſted againſt the Procedure of the Arch-Biſhop; and upon the 25. *June*, in the Year 1410. they appealed anew to Pope *John* XXIII. who, after having heard the Affair Debate before him, Ordered *John Hus* to compear in Perſon at *Rome*, and gave a Commiſſion to Cardinal *Colonna* to cite him. But *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, the Queen, Univerſity, and moſt of the Barons of *Bohemia*, ſent Deputies to the Pope, Demanding, That he would diſpence with the Perſonal Appearance of *John Hus*; That he would not ſuffer the Kingdom of *Bohemia* to be ſtained by accuſing them of Hereſy; That he ſhould grant them a free Liberty of Preaching the Word of God, in all their Churches and Chapels; And that, if there were any Abuſes committed amongſt them, he ſhould ſend his Legates to theſe Places to rectify the ſame, and they ſhould be maintain'd at the Expenſes of the *Bohemians*.

In the mean time *John Hus* ſent Three Procurators to Anſwer for him before Cardinal *Colonna*; and they, having accordingly appeared, gave their Reaſons why he could not come himſelf, and that they were willing to Anſwer for him. But the Cardinal having no regard to their Excuſes, Declared him Contumacious; and as ſuch, paſt the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him. Upon this his Procurators appealed to the Pope, who appointed for his Commiſſaries, to examine this Affair, the Cardinal *de Aquilea*, the Cardinal *de Brancas*, the Cardinal *de Veniſe*, and the Cardinal *de Zabarella*. Theſe Commiſſaries having met, not only confirmed the Sentence, paſt againſt him by Cardinal *Colonna*; but extended the Excommunication to all his Friends and Diſciples, Declaring him and them Hereſiarchs; and then pronounced an Interdiction againſt him. Upon which he appealed to the General Council, which was then call'd to ſit at *Conſtance*: In the mean time, tho he was expell'd from the Church of *Bethlem*, he continued to Preach; and, having retired to the Place of his Nativity, he wrote ſeveral Letters and Books, in Vindication of *Wickliffe* and his Doctrines, in which he maintain'd how Lawful it was to read the Books of Hereticks: In what Senſe Jeſus Chriſt might be called Bread: That the Relicts of the Blood of Chriſt, ſaid to be preſerved in ſeveral Places, was nothing but a Cheat, Jeſus Chriſt having taken every Drop of his Blood alongſt with him to Heaven: That the Clergy were generally ignorant and ſcandalous in their Lives and Converſations, and that it was the Duty of every good Man to expoſe them in their Sermons: But he ſtill adhered to the Belief of the Real Preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.

About this time, one *Peter Dreſden*, who had been expelled from his Country, came to *Prague*, and perſwaded *Jacobella de Miſnia*, Prieſt to the Chapel of S. *Michael*, to Preach the Neceſſity of Communicating in Both Kinds. This was no ſooner propoſed, than *John Hus* and all his Followers embraced it; and, in all their Sermons, told, How neceſſary it was to have the Cup reſtored to the Laics, that they might Communicate

nicate under Both Kinds, according to our Saviour's Firſt Inſtitution. *Sbynko*, the Arch-Biſhop, being afraid that they would not ſtop here, implored the Aid and Aſſiſtance of King *Wenceſlaus*: But, that Prince being a Favourer of the *Huſſites*, he got no Aſſiſtance from him. Whereupon he made his next Application to *Sigiſmund*, King of *Hungary*; who promiſed to March immediately with a Powerful Army into *Bohemia*, and to ſettle the Affairs of their Church: But before he was in readineſs to perform this, *Sbynko* Died in *Hungary*; and King *Wenceſlaus* put, in his Place, an Ignorant, Avaricious and Negligent Man, call'd *Albicus*, who intirely neglected the Affairs of the Church, which did not a little contribute to the Strengthning of the Party of the *Huſſites*.

In the mean time, Pope *John* XXIII. cauſed his Bulls to be Publiſhed at *Prague*, in the Year 1412. againſt *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Naples*; by which, the Pope ordained a Croiſade for making a War againſt that Prince, granting plenary Indulgences to all thoſe, who would engage in that War. Upon this, *John Hus*, (who, by this time, was returned to *Prague*) took the Occaſion of Preaching againſt Indulgences and Croiſades; and his Sermons had ſuch Influence upon the Vulgar, that ſeverals of them declared openly, That the Pope was Anti-Chriſt. Whereupon the Magiſtrates thought it their Duty to ſeiſe upon, and Impriſon ſuch of them, as were moſt Seditious. The Mob, being incenſed by this, roſe immediately in Arms, in order to deliver them out of their Impriſonment: And the Magiſtrates, with all their Rhetoric, could hardly diſſwade them from committing open Acts of Hoſtility. Yet at length they appeaſed them, by Promiſing, upon their laying down their Arms, to ſet their Fellow-Citizens at Liberty. But ſo ſoon as they had quelled the Mob, they brought the Priſoners to the *Prætorium*, where they were all put to Death. Their Blood, running thorow the Channels of the Street, gave immediate Notice, to the Mob, of what had been done. So, taking up their Arms again, they forced the Gates of the *Prætorium*, took away the Corps of their Maſſacred Brethren, Interred them Honourably in the Church of *Bethlem*, and Declared them Martyrs for the Cauſe of G O D.

The Magiſtrates, to vindicate themſelves, cauſed a great Number of Doctors of Theology to meet at *Prague*, to give their Sentiments concerning theſe Procedures. Theſe Doctors having met, condemn'd 45 Propoſitions in *Wickliffe*'s Writings, and publiſhed a Preface before their Cenſure, wherein they highly extolled the Authority of the Pope, Cardinals and Church of *Rome*; and repreſented the *Huſſites* as a Rebellious and Diſobedient People. On the other Hand, *John Hus* compoſed a great many Sermons and Books againſt theſe Doctors, whom he calls the *Prætorians*: Wherein he Defended ſeverals of theſe Articles, they had condemned; ſuch as the Liberty of Preaching, the Power of Secular Princes over the Goods of Eccleſiaſtics, the Voluntary Payment of Tithes; and how that every Lord, whether Spiritual or Temporal, loſes his Power by being in a Mortal Sin. But the moſt conſiderable of all theſe Writings was, his *Treatiſe of the Church*, in which he maintains, That the Church is only compoſed of the Predeſtinate; That Jeſus Chriſt is the Head and Foundation of it, and the Pope and Cardinals are no greater Members of it than the other Prelates, who are the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles as well as they; That none of them

are to be obeyed, but in things Lawful, and that, if their Excommunication be without Ground, it is not to be valued.

He likewiſe cauſed fix a Paper upon the Church Doors of *Bethlem*, wherein he accuſed the Clergy of theſe Six Errors. I. In believing, that the Prieſt, by ſaying of the Maſs, becomes the Creator of his Creator. II. In making the Bleſſed Virgin, Pope and Saints the Objects of their Faith. III. In believing, that Prieſts can and may, when they pleaſe, Remit and Abſolve us of our Sins. IV. In believing, that we are bound to obey our Superiors in every thing, they Command, be it juſt or unjuſt. V. In believing, that every Excommunication, whether juſt or unjuſt, was binding. And Laſtly, That they made no Conſcience in Practiſing of Simony. About the ſame time he compoſed ſeveral other Treatiſes, Two of which were againſt the Second of theſe Errors, wherein he acknowledges, That we are to believe the Church, but not with ſuch a Belief as we believe in GOD; That Confeſſion to a Prieſt is nowiſe neceſſary; And that tho' we are to Addreſs our ſelves to the Saints, yet not after the ſame manner, as we do to GOD. At this time he compos'd likewiſe Three great Treatiſes againſt the Clergy, the Firſt he Intitled, *The Anatomy of the Members of Anti-Chriſt*; The Second, *The Reign of the People, and of the Life and Manners of Anti-Chriſt*; And the Third, of *the Abominations of the Prieſts and Carnal Monks in the Church of Chriſt*; As alſo ſeveral other ſmall Treatiſes *againſt Tradition*, upon *the Unity of the Church*, upon *Evangelical Perfection*, upon *the Miniſtery of Iniquity*, and *the Diſcovery of Anti-Chriſt*. In all which Books, as we have ſaid, he abuſes and contemns the Clergy.

The Council of *Conſtance* having met, the Pope ſummon'd *John Hus* to appear before them, that he might give an Account of his Doctrines: And that he might be under no Suſpicion of Danger, the Emperor gave him a ſafe Conduct; by which he granted him the Liberty of going to the Council, and of returning Home, whenever he pleaſed. Upon this, he cauſed fix Placads upon all the Churches of *Prague*, by which he Declared, That he was going to the Council, to Anſwer to all the Accuſations that had been formed againſt him; and that he was ready to appear at the Court of *Conrad*, Arch-Biſhop of *Prague*, to hear all thoſe who had any thing to Object againſt him there, and to vindicate his Innocency. He likewiſe inquired at the Biſhop of *Nazareth*, General of the Inquiſition, if he had any thing to ſay; and received a very favourable Teſtimony from him. But when he came to appear before an Aſſembly, that the Arch-Biſhop had call'd, he was denied Acceſs. Whereupon he immediately ſet out for *Prague*, accompanied by ſeveral Noblemen and others: And, in every City, that he came to, he publicly Declared, that he was going to the Council to juſtify himſelf, and to anſwer to all the Accuſations that could be laid to his Charge; and exhorted all thoſe, who had any thing to ſay againſt him, to come and preſent themſelves before the Council with him.

At length he arrived at *Conſtance*, upon the Third of *November*, in the Year 1414. And ſome time after, one of his great Adverſaries, *Stephen Paletz*, came, who, having join'd himſelf with *Michael de Cauſis*, Curate of *Prague*, formed an Accuſation againſt him, wherein they accuſed him of maintaining ſeveral Heretical Doctrines. This being preſented to the Pope and Council, *John Hus* was cited to compear before them, which he

he accordingly did, and Declared, That he was willing to ſubmit to their Correction, in caſe he ſhould be found Guilty of broaching of New Doctrines. Whereupon the Cardinals retired, to deliberate upon what they ſhould do with him, leaving him under a ſtrong Guard. The Reſult of which Conſultation was, That he ſhould be kept ſecure for ſome time, in the Houſe of the Chanter of the Church of *Conſtance*, where he ſtaid for Eight Days; from thence he was carried to the Priſon of the Convent of the *Dominicans*. In the mean time, his Enemies preſented a Petition to the Pope, containing the chief things they had to lay to his Charge; and deſiring that Commiſſaries might be Named for inſtructing the Proceſs, which was accordingly granted; and the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and Two other Biſhops, were Named for that End.

Whilſt the Council was thus buſied in proſecuting *John Hus*, an *Italian* Biſhop gave in a Memorial againſt Pope *John* XXIII. accuſing him of many Enormous Crimes. There was at this time, ſo great a Schiſm in the Church, that there were no leſs than Three Popes, *viz. Benedict* the XIII. *Gregory* XII. and *John* XXIII. But the Council only acknowledg'd Pope *John*, who had call'd them together: And therefore the *Germans*, *Scots*, *Engliſh* and *Polanders* were of the Opinion, that this Memorial againſt the Pope ſhould be ſuppreſſed, in regard that it was Diſhonourable to the Holy See, and a Scandal to the Church; and might raiſe great Troubles and Commotions, by making ſome Men doubt of the Validity of the Promotions ſhe had made. But others were of the Opinion, that it was abſolutely Neceſſary to take Notice of it, in regard that it was eaſy to prove all that was laid to his Charge, the moſt of them being notoriouſly known; and that it might be a mean to take away the Schiſm in the Church. Pope *John*, being informed of all this, was extremely perplex'd, not knowing what Method to take: For at Firſt he reſolved to appear before the Council, and acknowledge the Crimes that were laid to his Charge; and to plead, That the Pope could not be Depoſed but for the Crime of Hereſy. But his Friends diſſwaded him from this; and the Council reſolved not to examine whether he was guilty or not, but to ſee, if they could prevail with him to Demit the Pontificate, in caſe the other Two ſhould Demit likewiſe. When this was intimated to him, he came before them; and with great Gravity and Compoſedneſs of Mind, and with a ſeeming Joy in his Face, told them, That he was very willing to Demit: And cauſed the Cardinal of *Florence* immediately to read a Paper, wherein he told them, That tho' he was not obliged by any Vow, Promiſe or Oath to Demit; yet he declared, that, for the Peace of Chriſtendom, he was willing to do it, providing that *Peter de Luna* and *Angelo de Corario*, the Two other Competitors for the Popedom, and who had been already Depoſed from the Pontificate, by the Council of *Piſa*, for Hereſy and Schiſm, ſhould Demit alſo; and that this ſhould be done, at the Time, and after the Manner, and Circumſtances, that he or his Deputies ſhould condeſcend upon, with the Deputies of the Council.

It is not to be imagined, how much the Fathers of this Council were overjoy'd with theſe Offers of the Pope. But when they came to conſider the Matter more narrowly, they found, that they were not ſufficient; becauſe they were made under a Condition, that depended upon the

Will of the Two other Competitors; ſo that, if any one of them refuſed to Demit, all that they had done, would prove ineffectual. Therefore they intreated the Pope to give a more clear and diſtinct Account, of what he was deſigned to do. In Anſwer to which, he told them, That he adhered to what he had promiſed, and that he was willing to publiſh a Bull for that end; but deſired, that they might aggravate and renew the Proceſs, intented by the Council of *Piſa*, againſt his Two Competitors, *Peter de Luna* and *Angelo de Corario*; yet he was willing, that nothing ſhould be done in it, till ſuch time as the King of the *Romans*, the Princes that were preſent at the Council, the Ambaſſadors of the abſent Kings, and the Fathers of the Council, ſhould agree to conſtrain his Competitors to ſubmit to them, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to do it. The Council found, that this ſecond Declaration was not ſo ſatisfactory as the Firſt, in regard that he did not offer to Demit, but in caſe that the other two Competitors Demitted likewiſe; and that he urged them to renew the Proceſs againſt the other Two. Wherefore the Prelates of the Four Nations, having examined theſe Two Declarations, and finding them both inſufficient, earneſtly intreated the Pope to give a more ample and preciſe one. But he delay'd them from Day to Day, and in the mean time, wrought under hand with ſeveral Prelates to gain them to his Faction, ſcolding and abuſing thoſe who refuſed to comply with him.

At length a Declaration was drawn up, which was approved of by the Prelates of the Four Nations, and preſented to him by the Emperor *Sigiſmund*; which after he had read, he told them, he was willing to accept of. Whereupon the Emperor and the Prelates of the Four Nations came to his Palace, upon the Firſt Day of *March*, in the Year 1415, and the Patriarch of *Antioch* preſented him the Declaration, in Name of the Council, and earneſtly preſs'd him to accept of it. Upon which he told them, that his Intention had alwiſe been to preſerve Peace and Unity in the Church, and for that end he had come to *Conſtance*, that he had alwiſe freely and voluntarily offered to Demit. After which he pronounced the following Declaration.

" I Pope *John* XXIII. Acknowledge, Promiſe, Vow, and Swear to " GOD, to his Church, and to this Holy Council, to Demit (for " Peace to the Church) the Pontificate, freely and voluntarily; and " this I ſhall do effectively, according to the Determination of this " Council, when *Peter de Luna*, called *Benedict* XIII. and *Angelo de Co-* " *rario* call'd *Gregory* XII. in Obedience to this Council, ſhall either, by " themſelves or their Deputies, renounce all Pretenſions they have to " the Pontificate. And this I do, for procuring the Union of the " Church and the Extirpation of Schiſm. After this, the Emperor returned him Thanks, in Name of the Council: And the next Day he repeated the ſame Declaration before the whole Council.

The next thing, the Fathers of the Council went about, was to fall upon Ways and Means to bring the Two other Competitors to a Submiſſion. About this time *Frederic*, Duke of *Auſtria*, came to *Conſtance*, giving it out, that he deſigned to Travel further; but his true Deſign was to ſerve Pope *John*, with whom he had kept a private Correſpondence for a long Time. Upon his Arrival, the Pope told the Emperor, that the Air of the City of *Conſtance* did not agree with him: And there-

therefore he intreated, that he would allow him to retire, for ſome time, to the Country for his Health. To this the Emperor anſwer'd, That he ſhould have his Choice of any of the Country-Houſes about the City, and that he himſelf would wait upon him wherever he went: But he hoped, that he would not make any ill Uſe of this, by leaving the Council, till they had once put an End to all their Affairs. The Pope faithfully promiſed, that he would not forſake the Council. But he was not ſo good as his Word; for, upon the 21ſt of *March*, he made his Eſcape in Diſguiſe, out of *Conſtance*, to the Caſtle of *Shafhouſe*, belonging to the Duke of *Auſtria*, his Protector. His Officers, who had the Care of *John Hus*, followed him, leaving the Keys of the Priſon in the Hands of the Emperor and Cardinals: Whereupon they tranſported him from that Priſon to a Caſtle, on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, near to *Conſtance*.

At the ſame time the Council, in the Fifth Seſſion, upon the 6th. Day of *April*, in the Year 1415, Named the Cardinals of *Cambray* and S. *Marc*, the Biſhop of *Dol*, and the Abbot of the *Ciſtercians*, for putting an End to the depending Proceſs againſt *John Hus*, and to renew the Condemnations paſt againſt the Doctrines of *Wickliffe*, eſpecially thoſe of the XLV. Articles Cenſured by the Univerſities of *Paris* and *Prague*. In the following Seſſion of the 17th of the ſame Month, there was joined to theſe Commiſſaries, a Biſhop for each Nation, and a Commiſſion to cite, before them, *Jerome* of *Prague*, *John Hus*'s faithful Comrade and Companion.

This *Jerome* of *Prague* had travelled thro' a great many Parts of *Europe*; and was received Maſter of Arts, not only in the Univerſity of *Prague*, but likewiſe in the Univerſities of *Paris*, *Cologn* and *Heidelberg*. Whilſt he was in *England*, he had Copied over all the Works of *John Wickliffe*; and, being extremely taken with them, upon his Arrival at *Prague*, he joined himſelf to *John Hus*, and became a very zealous Propagator of *Wickliffiſm*. This *Jerome* of *Prague*, being cited, as I have ſaid, to appear before the Council, came to *Conſtance*, upon the 4th of the Month of *April*. But being informed, how they treated *John Hus*, he retired the next Day to *Iberlingen*, an Imperial City near to *Conſtance*; from whence he wrote a Letter to the Emperor and Council, deſiring a Safe Conduct: And one being offered him, only for coming to the Council, but not for returning, he thereupon cauſed a Proteſtation to be affixed on the Church Doors of that City, wherein he Declared, That he was willing to appear before the Council, and to Anſwer to what they had to lay to his Charge, if they had granted him a Safe Conduct. Thereafter he begun his Journey for *Bohemia*, but he was apprehended at *Hirſlaw*, by *John* Son to Prince *Clement*, Count *Palatine*, who ſent him to *Sultzbach*; and from thence he was brought to *Conſtance*, by *Lewis*, Son to the ſaid Prince *Palatine*.

In the Eighth Seſſion, held upon the 4th of *May*, the Council, before they would proceed againſt the Perſons of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, condemned the following XLVIII. Articles, taken out of the Writings of *Wickliffe*. I. That the Material Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remains in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration. II. That the Accidents in this Sacrament, do not ſubſiſt without the Subſtance. III. That the Body of Jeſus Chriſt is not there indentically,

truly, really, and according to his Corporeal Preſence. IV. That a Biſhop or Prieſt, that is in a Mortal Sin, his Ordinations, Conſecrations and Baptiſms are Invalid. V. When a Man is truly Contrite and Penitent, Auricular Confeſſion is needleſs. VI. That there is no Ground in the Goſpels, for Jeſus Chriſt's eſtabliſhing of the Maſs. VII. That GOD is ſometimes obliged to obey the Devil. VIII. If the Pope be a Reprobate and a wicked Man, and conſequently a Member of the Devil, he has no Power over the Faithful, unleſs the Emperor give him it. IX. That none of the Popes ſhould be acknowledged, that have lived ſince Pope *Urban* the Sixth's Time; and that every Church, after the Manner of the *Grecians*, ſhould be Regulated by their own Laws. X. That it is againſt the Holy Scriptures, that Eccleſiaſtics ſhould have Temporal Dominions. XI. That no Prelate ought to Excommunicate any, unleſs he know Firſt, that GOD has Excommunicated them. XII. That all thoſe, who Excommunicate otherwiſe, ought to be looked upon as Heretics and Excommunicated Perſons themſelves. XIII. That a Prelate, who Excommunicates a Clergy-Man that appeals to the King and his Council, is a Traitor to the King and Kingdom. XIV. That all thoſe, who abſtain from Preaching or Hearing the Word of GOD becauſe of the Excommunication of Men, are Excommunicated of GOD, and will be treated as Traitors by Him, in the Day of Judgment. XV. That a Prieſt or a Deacon has ſufficient Authority to Preach the Word of GOD, without the Permiſſion of the Holy See, yea or of any Biſhop. XVI. That thoſe, who are in Mortal Sin, have no Power of Dominion, either Spiritual, if they be Biſhops or Prieſts; or Temporal, if they be Laics. XVII. That Temporal Lords have a Power of taking from Eccleſiaſtics their Temporal Poſſeſſions, if they be found to be Habitual Sinners; and that Private Perſons may Correct their Superiors, when they find them Sinning. XVIII. That the Tithes being nothing but meer Alms, the Pariſhioners may detain them in their own Hands, when they find their Paſtors leading a ſinful Courſe of Life. XIX. That General Prayers are as effectual for a private Perſon, as the private Prayers of any Eccleſiaſtic or Religious. XX. That thoſe, who enter into any Religious Order, do thereby render themſelves more incapable to Obſerve the Commandments of GOD. XXI. That all thoſe Saints, who founded the Religious Orders, were guilty of Sin, in ſo doing. XXII. That the Religious, that live in particular Houſes and Cloiſters, are not Chriſtians. XXIII. That the Religious are bound to work for their Suſtenance, and not to gain it by Begging. XXIV. That thoſe, who give Alms to ſuch Religious as preach'd the Word of GOD, ſhould be Excommunicated. XXV. That all thoſe, who oblige themſelves to Pray for thoſe, who have ſuccour'd them, in their Temporal Neceſſities, are guilty of Simony. XXVI. That the Prayers of the Reprobate are of no Effect. XXVII. That all Things that come to paſs, is by an abſolute Neceſſity. XXVIII. That Confirmation, Ordination, and Conſecration of Churches, were only reſerved to the Pope and Biſhops, from a Motive of Avarice and Ambition. XXIX. That Univerſities, Human Literature, Colleges and Degrees, were only introduced by a vain Superſtition; and that they do as much Evil to the Church of GOD, as the Devil does. XXX. That the Pope's Excommunication is not to be valued, it being no-

nothing elſe but the Cenſure of Anti-Chriſt. XXXI. That all thoſe, that Found Cloiſters, ſin in ſo doing; and that thoſe, who go into them, are Diabolical Perſons. XXXII. That the Enriching of the Church is againſt the Law of the Goſpel. XXXIII. That S. *Sylveſter*, and the Emperor *Conſtantine*, were much to be blamed for the Donations, they left to the Church. *XXXIV.* That all the Mendicant or Begging Orders are Hereticks; and thoſe, who give them Alms, are Excommunicated. *XXXV.* That all thoſe, who enter into any Religious Order, do thereby make themſelves incapable of being ſaved; and can never be ſaved, unleſs they break their Vows. *XXXVI.* That the Pope and all the Clergy, that have Temporal Poſſeſſions, are Heretics; and all thoſe, that approve of their having them. *XXXVII.* That the Church of *Rome* is the Synagogue of Satan; and that the Pope is not the immediate Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt or his Apoſtles. *XXXVIII.* That the Decretal Epiſtles are Apocryphal, that they are againſt the Faith in Chriſt Jeſus; and that thoſe, who read them, are Fools. *XXXIX.* That the Emperor and Secular Princes were ſeduced by the Devil, when they Doted any Lands to the Church. *XL.* That the Election of the Pope, by Cardinals, was introduced by the Devil. *XLI.* That it is nowiſe neceſſary to Salvation, to Believe, That the Church of *Rome* has the Supremacy of all other Churches. Which Article is thus explained, It is an Error to Believe, That the Univerſal or Catholic Church is the Church of *Rome* or a General Council: In ſo much, that the Sovereignty of the Pope over other Particular Churches is abſolutely denied. *XLII.* That it is a Folly to give any Faith to the Indulgences of any Popes or Biſhops. *XLIII.* That the Oaths, that are made in Civil Contracts and Bargains, and for the mutual Aſſurances of Parties in Commerce, are unlawful. *XLIV.* That S. *Auguſtine*, S. *Benedict*, and S. *Bernard* are Damn'd, if they did not repent, for their having Temporal Poſſeſſions, and Founding of Religious Orders; and that, in the Church of *Rome*, from the Pope to the meaneſt Monk, they were all Heretics. *XLV.* That it was the Devil, that introduc'd all theſe different Religious Orders. With theſe Fourty Five Propoſitions, the Council Condemned all *Wickliffe*'s Books, Diſcharged any from Reading of them, Declared him a Notorious Heretic, Obſtinate, Dead in Hereſy; Anathematized and Condemned his Memory; and Ordered his Bones to be taken up, if they could be gotten, and thrown out of Conſecrated Ground.

Upon the 14th of the ſame Month, the Lords of *Bohemia* and *Poland* preſented a Requeſt to the Emperor and Council, wherein they requir'd, that *John Hus* might be deliver'd out of Priſon; ſince he was Incarcerate contrary to the Safe Conduct, granted by his Imperial Majeſty to him: And that it ſhould be Examined, who the Author was of a Report that was ſpread abroad, *viz.* That, in *Bohemia*, the Blood of Chriſt was given in Unconſecrated Veſſels; and the *Savetiers* heard Confeſſions, and Adminiſtrated the Sacrament of the Euchariſt. The Biſhop of *Litomiſſel*, finding that this Accuſation was levelled againſt him, deſired Liberty of the Council to give an Anſwer to it: But this was delay'd till the 17th of *May*, upon which Day a Biſhop anſwered in the Name of the Council, That *John Hus* had no Safe Conduct, when he was Arreſted; and that it was after he had been Cited to *Rome* and Excommuni-

A People in *Bohemia*.

municated by *Alexander* V. That he was an Hereſiarch, and that he had Preach'd up to the People his Peſtilentious Doctrines, ſince he came to *Conſtance*: So that they had very good Reaſon to Impriſon him. Then the Biſhop of *Litomiſſel*, for juſtifying himſelf, told them, That it was certain, that theſe New Sectarians, in *Bohemia*, gave the Communion in Both Kinds to the Laics; and told them, That is was neceſſary, that they ſhould communicate ſo; and that, if the Clergy oppoſed it, they were to look upon it as a Sacrilegious Act: That he likewiſe knew, that the Blood of Chriſt was carried to Sick and Dying Perſons in Unconſecrated Veſſels; and that he was very well informed by Perſons of good Credit, That a Woman of this New Sect had taken the Sacrament to her ſelf, and ſaid, That the Abſolution of a Good Laic was better than that of an Evil Prieſt: That he had never ſaid, That the *Savetiers* Confeſſed and Adminiſtrated the Sacraments; but that it was to be fear'd, that they might come to do it, if the Council did not take effectual Means to prevent it.

Two Days after, the Lords of *Bohemia* preſented a Memorial to the Council, being a Reply to the Anſwer that was given them by the Council: In which they told them, That *John Hus* had his Safe Conduct from the Emperor, upon the 15th *July*, in the preceeding Year: That it was not his Fault, that he did not Compear at *Rome*, when cited; but becauſe he could not go without manifeſtly endangering his Life; And that it was not true, that he had Preached at *Conſtance*, they being ready to Prove, that he had not been one Moment out of his Lodgings. At the ſame time, they produced a Declaration, that *John Hus* had made upon the Firſt of *September*, in the Year 1411. In which he Proteſted, That they had very unjuſtly Accuſed him of teaching, That the Subſtance of the Material Bread remains in the Euchariſt: That the Body of Jeſus Chriſt is in the Sacrament, at the Elevation; but not afterwards: That a Prieſt, in a Mortal Sin, has no Power of Conſecrating: That the Temporal Poſſeſſions of the Church might be taken from them, and the Tithes deny'd them: That Indulgences were of no Uſe: That Clergy Men might be killed. And a great many other Errors.

The Council returning no Anſwer to the *Bohemians*, upon the laſt Day of *May*, they preſented another Requeſt to them, wherein they told them, *John Hus* never maintain'd the Doctrines that were laid to his Charge: That he had often Proteſted, That he would be Governed and Directed by the Church: That the Propoſitions, which were Drawn out of his Works by his Enemies, were either half Sentences or Falſify'd, on purpoſe to Deſtroy him. Therefore they earneſtly intreated, that he might be ſet at Liberty, in order to juſtify himſelf; and that they would be Cautioners for him. To this Requeſt they annexed the Certificate of the Biſhop of *Nazareth*. The Patriarch of *Antioch* anſwered in the Name of the Council; That they could not ſet him at Liberty: But that, upon the 5th of *June*, they ſhould bring him to *Conſtance*, where he ſhould not only get Liberty to ſpeak before them; but likewiſe, that all the Favour ſhould be ſhown him, that his Caſe could admit of. The *Bohemians*, finding that they could not prevail with the Council to ſet him at Liberty, made their Application to the Emperor, but with the ſame Succeſs.

In

In the Seſſion, which was held upon the 5th of *June*, it was Propoſed, that before they heard *John Hus*, they ſhould Examine the Articles taken out of his Writings, and then Condemn them. But the Emperor, at the Solicitation of the *Bohemians*, prevailed with them to Hear him, before they Condemn'd him. Whereupon he was brought before them, and, having acknowledg'd what Books he had written, they read the Firſt Article laid to his Charge; but had no Time to hear him upon it, that Day.

Upon the 7th of *June*, he was brought again before them, and Accuſed of having taught, That the Subſtance of the Material Bread remain'd in the Sacrament, after the Conſecration; and in a Word, to have taught all the Errors of *Wickliffe* above cited. To which he anſwered, That he never had taught any Error, and far leſs that about the Sacrament: That it was very true, that he did oppoſe the Arch-Biſhop of *Prague*'s Condemnation of the Writings of *Wickliffe*; becauſe he thought, he had Condemn'd ſome Articles, that were not Erroneous, ſuch as, That Pope *Sylveſter* and the Emperor *Conſtantine*, were to be blamed for their Donations to the Church. As for that Article, *viz.* That a Prieſt, in a Mortal Sin, can neither Conſecrate nor Baptize: He had only ſaid, That a Prieſt, in a Mortal Sin, Conſecrates and Baptizes Unworthily; becauſe he is Unworthy of Adminiſtrating the Sacraments of Jeſus Chriſt. He acknowledg'd, That the Tithes were Alms, but ſuch Alms as the People were oblig'd to give: That he never maintain'd obſtinately any of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrines; but he could not approve of Condemning them, unleſs there were good Reaſons brought againſt them, from the Sacred Scriptures. Thereafter he told them of the Controverſy, that had hapned betwixt him and the Arch-Biſhop; and how that having appeal'd to *Rome*, where he got no Juſtice done him, he had at length appeal'd to Jeſus Chriſt. He acknowledg'd, that he had ſaid, That he doubted not, but that *John Wickliffe* was ſaved; and that he had often wiſht, That his own Soul were in the ſame Place with his. But he abſolutely deny'd, that he had any Hand in exciting the People to Rebellion; or that he was any way acceſſory to the Troubles, that were raiſed in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. After this, the Emperor and the Cardinal *de Cambray* exhorted him, to ſubmit his Judgment, in theſe Affairs, to that of the Council. He Anſwered, He took GOD to Witneſs, he came to *Conſtance*, with a Deſign of changing his Mind, if any one could Convince him of his being in an Error.

The next Day, he was again call'd before them, and Thirty Nine Articles read to him, that were taken out of his Books, which he was deſired to Renounce and Condemn. He Anſwer'd, That there were many of theſe Propoſitions, that were none of his: And as for the reſt, he was willing to let the Council know his Mind about them. Upon which, there aroſe ſeveral Debates and Altercations among them: All which ended in this, That he ſhould be ſent back to the Priſon, and that he ſhould be Burnt alive, if he did not Submit to the Council.

Upon the 7th of *July*, *John Hus* was again brought before the Council; where, after the Biſhop of *Lodi* had made a Diſcourſe upon the Ways, that had been made uſe of, in the Church of GOD, for Extirpating of Hereſies, the Promotor to the Council required, that an End ſhould be put to the Proceſs againſt *John Hus*. Then *Wickliffe*'s Propoſi-

poſitions, that were Condemned by the Council, were read. As alſo Thirty Propoſitions, taken out of *Hus*'s Works: All which may be reduced to the following Heads, That the Church is only compoſed of the Predeſtinate; That the Pope was not the Head of the *Romiſh* Church; That the Prieſts or Miniſters, who were not Juſt and Predeſtinate, were not true Miniſters; That Heretics ſhould not be Puniſhed by the Secular Power; That Eccleſiaſtic Obedience was only the Invention of Men; That all Prieſts have a Power to Preach, when they pleaſe, and that Excommunication cannot ſtop or hinder them. Some of theſe Propoſitions he Explain'd, and others he Defended. After this, he was Accuſed of ſeveral other things, and Witneſſes brought againſt him. Then, at the Deſire of the Promotor, the Council Condemn'd his Books: And Declared him an Open and Avowed Heretic, and one who had been Convicted of Teaching many Hereſies and Pernicious Errors; That he had contemn'd the Church Cenſures and the Power of the Keys; That he had Seduced and Scandalized many of the Faithful, by his Obſtinacy; That he had raſhly appeal'd to the Tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt: And, finding that he was Obſtinate and Incorrigible, they Ordered, that he ſhould be Degraded, Depoſed and Delivered over to the Secular Power; which was immediately done. For the Biſhops, Named by the Council for Degrading him, having Diveſted him of his Sacerdotal Habite, put, upon his Head, a Mitre of Paper, on which the Devils were Painted, and this Inſcription, *Hereſiarch*: Then they Delivered him over to the Emperor, who put him in the Hands of the Duke of *Bavaria*. All his Books were Burnt at the Porch of the Church, and he was conducted by the Executioner, to the Fauxbourg of the City, where he was Burnt alive; and his Aſhes taken up, and thrown into the *Rhine*. Thus Died *John Hus*, whom all the Proteſtant Hiſtorians make the Firſt Martyr for the Reformed Religion. For tho' he alwiſe acknowledged the Real and Corporeal Preſence of our Lord, in the Euchariſt, with this Reſtriction, That in no Caſe the Prieſt could be called the Creator of his Creator; yet all the other Articles, in which the Reformed Churches Differ from the *Romiſh* Church, are to be found moſtly in his Works, Printed at *Nuremberg*, in the Year 1558, in Two Volumes, *in Folio*.

After *John Hus* was Executed, they dealt with *Jerome* of *Prague*, who was ſtill in Priſon, to Abjure *Hus*'s Errors, which he promiſed to do. So, being brought before the Council, the Nineteenth Seſſion, upon the 23d of *September*, he read his Retractation, by which he Anathematized all the Errors of *Wickliffe* and *John Hus*; and Proteſted, That, in all things, he agreed with the Church of *Rome*, the Holy See, and Council; and particularly in the Doctrines concerning the Power of the Keys, the Sacraments, Orders, Offices and Cenſures of the Church, Indulgences, Reliques of Saints, Eccleſiaſtical Liberties, Ceremonies, and all that concerned the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt: And in a Word, that he approved of the Condemning of the Articles by the Council, and acknowledged, that they were Faithfully taken out of the Writings of *John Hus*. He likewiſe Explained his own Sentiments, concerning the Faith of the Bleſſed: And then Swore, upon the Holy Goſpels, That he ſhould never ſeparate from the Faith of the Church; That he ſhould alwiſe Anathematize thoſe, who Diſſented from her: And that, if ever he

he did otherwiſe, he was not only willing to undergo all the Puniſhments, inflicted in ſuch Caſes by the Eccleſiaſtical Canons; but likewiſe acknowledged, That he deſerved Eternal Damnation.

Yet notwithſtanding of this Retractation, he was ſent back to the Priſon, and Accuſed anew of not having made his Recantation Sincerely: And many new Articles were laid to his Charge. So ſoon as he perceived this, he begun to Repent Heartily of what he had done: And, having demanded Audience of the Council, he was heard Twice in the General Congregations, call'd in the Month of *May*, in the Year 1416. In his Firſt Audience, an Hundred and Seven Articles were laid to his Charge; and he gave in his Anſwers to each of them. But, finding the Council nowiſe ſatisfy'd with them, he, in his Second Audience, made a Diſcourſe to them, wherein he Declared, That he was Heartily Sorry for the Retractation he had made, and for the Approving of the Condemnation of *John Hus* and *Wickliffe*.

The Fathers of the Council, being thus aſcertained, from his own Mouth, about his real Sentiments, as to theſe Articles, call'd him before them, upon the 30th of *May*, in the Twenty Firſt Seſſion: And he, having adhered to his laſt Retractation, was Condemned to be Burnt alive; and being led to the Stake, he ſuffered the Sentence to be put in Execution againſt him, with great Stedfaſtneſs and Firmneſs of Mind.

The News of the Death of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, was no ſooner Publiſhed at *Prague*, but the *Huſſites* immediately roſe in Arms, Plunder'd and Deſtroy'd the Arch-Biſhop's Palace, the Houſes of many of the Clergy, and Maſſacred Perſons of all Ranks and Degrees, whom they ſuſpected to have been Enemies to them. Moreover, the Nobility of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* were ſo incenſed againſt the Procedures of the Council, that they unanimouſly Reſolved not to own their Authority; and, in their Letters to the Council, told them as much; and that they look'd upon *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, as Martyrs for the Chriſtian Religion. On the other Hand, the Council endeavoured to Vindicate their Proceedings, and iſſued out Excommunications againſt all thoſe, who Adhered to the *Huſſites*. But they, by this time, were become ſo Numerous, that they Declared open War againſt King *Wenceſlaus*, the Emperor, and all their Adherents. And tho' they were divided into Two Factions or Sects; the One being called the *Calixtins* or *Subutraquiſts*, becauſe the Principal thing, in which they differ'd from the Church of *Rome*, was, That they would have the Communion given in Both Kinds; and the Other were call'd the *Thaborites*, from a ſtrong Fort, Built by their Famous Captain *Ziſca*, which he called *Thabor*. Yet, I ſay, tho' they were thus divided in theſe Two Sects, the *Calixtins* acknowledging the Real Preſence in the Sacrament, and the *Thaborites* denying it, both of them joined cordially againſt their Common Enemy: And having got together an Army of Thirty Thouſand Men, under the Command of one, *Ziſca*, a Man of great Valour and Conduct, they laid the whole Country waſte; and demoliſhed all the Churches and Religious Houſes, wherever they went. At length they laid Siege to, and took the City of *Prague*, putting all to the Sword, who oppoſed them: In which Maſſacre, the greater Part of the Magiſtrates of the City were Kill'd.

In the mean time, King *Wenceſlaus* Died, in the Year 1418, and the Emperor *Sigiſmund* Succeeded, by Right, to that Kingdom: But the *Huſſites* would not ſubmit themſelves to him, or acknowledge his Authority. Hereupon a Bloody War enſued betwixt them and the Emperor; in which, by the extraordinary Valour and Conduct of their Famous Captain *Ziſca*, the Emperor was ſeveral times Defeat; and at length the whole Kingdom of *Bohemia* brought under their Subjection. *Ziſca* Dying in the Year 1424, the Emperor had ſome Hopes of reducing them: But he was diſappointed, for his Forces were Twice beat, under the Conduct of Cardinal *Julian*.

The Pope and the Emperor, finding that it was not Practicable to reduce them by Arms, reſolved to ſee, if they could make them return to the Church, and acknowledge their Duty to the Emperor, by inviting them to the Council of *Baſle*. For this End, the Emperor wrote very obliging Letters to them; and the Council ſent Deputies, inviting them to come, and promiſing them all the Security, that they could require, for their Liberty and Safety. The *Bohemian* Clergy and the Mob were not for truſting the Council, ſince the Council of *Conſtance* had made ſuch an open Violation of their Faith to *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*. But the Nobility were for ſending of Deputies to the Council, to ſee, if it were poſſible, by their Means, to reeſtabliſh Peace in *Bohemia*; they being, by this time, made ſenſible of the Great Calamities that had followed, and were like to follow upon the Continuation of the War. Wherefore it was Reſolved, that Deputies ſhould be ſent to the Council: And the Council having granted them as ample a Safe Conduct, as they could Deſire, there was a Solemn Deputation made of Three Hundred Perſons, Headed by their Famous Captain *Procopius*, *John de Rockſan* a Prieſt, *Nicolaus Galecus* a *Thaborite*, and *Peter Payne* an *Engliſh* Man.

When theſe Deputies arrived, they preſented a Requeſt to the Council, conſiſting of Four Heads: The Firſt was, That the Euchariſt ſhould be Adminiſtrated to the Laics in Both Kinds. The Second, That the Word of GOD ſhould be Preached freely by all Prieſts. The Third, That Church-Men ſhould not have Temporal Dominions and Poſſeſſions. And the Laſt, That Public Crimes ſhould be Puniſhed by the Magiſtrate. With this Requeſt, they preſented likewiſe to the Council a Public Letter, wherein they Declared, That they were willing to Unite with them, providing, theſe Four Articles were granted them, but not otherwiſe. Upon which, Cardinal *Julian* made a long Speech to them, upon the great Advantages that accrue to Mankind by living Peaceably, and very Pathetically Exhorted them to Submit to the Judgment of the Church. Their Anſwer was, That they wiſh'd for nothing ſo much as Peace; That they had never contemned the Church nor her General Councils, but that they had been Condemned unjuſtly, and without being heard, by the Council of *Conſtance*; That they maintain'd nothing, but what was founded upon the Goſpel; That they were come to give the Reaſons of their Belief; That they deſired to be heard publicly; And that the Laics might be allowed to Speak as well as the Eccleſiaſtics.

All which being granted to them, the Four Articles were Read, and Eight Perſons choſen to Diſcourſe upon them: Four by the Council, and

and Four by the *Bohemians*. *John de Rockſane* ſpoke upon the Firſt Article of the Communion, under Both Kinds: And was Anſwered by *John de Raguſe*, a *Dominican*, (choſen by the Council) in a Diſcourſe which laſted for Eight Days. *Nicolaus Galecus*, one of the *Thaborites*, made a Diſcourſe upon the Puniſhing of Public Crimes: In which he maintain'd, That the Crimes of Clergy-Men, and the Abuſes committed in Religion, ought to be Puniſhed by the Civil Magiſtrate: And he was Anſwered by *Gilles Charlier*, Dean of *Cambray*, in a Diſcourſe which laſted Four Days. *Ulric*, a Prieſt, ſuſtained the Article about the Liberty of Preaching: And was Anſwered by *Henry Kaltiſen*, a *Dominican* of *Cologne*, in a Diſcourſe, in which he inlarged upon the Hierarchy. *Peter Payne*, the *Engliſh* Man, undertook to Prove, That it was unlawful for the Clergy, to have Temporal Dominions or Poſſeſſions: And was Anſwered by *John de Polemar*, Arch-Deacon of *Bayeux*. The Diſcourſes of the Four Doctors of the Council, are inſerted in the 12th Tome of the Councils: But thoſe of the *Bohemians*, are only to be found in MS. Theſe Diſputes begun in the Month of *January*, in the Year 1433, and laſted for Fifty Days, without any Succeſs: For the *Bohemian* Deputies perſiſted in their Opinions, and returned Home.

The Council, finding that this Project had no Succeſs, ſent Deputies to *Bohemia*, with other Propoſals; but to deal under Hand with the Nobility, who begun to ſuſpect, that *Procopius*, their Famous Captain, had a Deſign of making himſelf their King. The ſecret Correſpondence, that was obſerved betwixt the Deputies of the Council and the Nobility, immediately raiſed a Jealouſy in the *Thaborites* and *Orphelins*, who were another Sect of the *Huſſites*, and only differ'd from the *Thaborites* in ſome Points of Diſcipline. The Nobility, on the other Hand, reſolved to be no more ſubject to *Procopius*'s Commands. So a War was immediately Declared betwixt them and the *Thaborites*: And they choſe for their General, one, *Alſcion de Riſembourg*; who, by his great Conduct and Valour, at length obtained a Signal Victory over the *Thaborites* and *Orphelins*. In this Battel, their Famous General *Procopius* was kill'd: Which ſo weaken'd their Party, that they could never make any Figure after it. So that the Emperor, *Sigiſmund*, was Declar'd and Acknowledg'd King of *Bohemia* not long after: And the Deputies of the Council, Propoſed a Treaty with the *Bohemians*. The Articles of which were, That the *Bohemians* and *Moravians* ſhould re-unite themſelves to the Church, conforming themſelves to all its Rites and Ceremonies, ſaving only the Communion under Both Kinds; which thoſe, who were accuſtomed to Communicate that way, might continue to do. That the Council ſhould Decide, if that ſhould be done in Conſequence of a Divine Precept; and that they ſhould Regulate by a General Law, what they thought moſt fitting for the Good and Benefit of the Faithful: And that, if afterwards the *Bohemians* continued to Communicate in Both Kinds, they ſhould advertiſe the Council of it by an Ambaſſador. That the Prieſts of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* had free Liberty to ſuffer ſuch, to Communicate under Both Kinds, as were come to the Years of Diſcretion; only they Recommended to them, that they would Advertiſe the People, from their Pulpits, That the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt was not alone, under the Species of the Bread; nor the

Blood, under the Species of the Wine: But that Jeſus Chriſt is intire under Each of them.

The Emperor likewiſe condeſcended, that thoſe, who were in Poſſeſſion of Church-Lands, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs them, till ſuch time as they could be Redeem'd for a certain Price. The Religious and others, who were Exiled, were permitted to Return: But upon this Condition, That the *Bohemians* ſhould not be obliged to Re-build ſuch of their Monaſteries, as had been Deſtroy'd in the Civil War. The Arch-Biſhopric of *Prague* was promiſed to *Rockſane*. That the Diſpoſing of the Churches of *Bohemia* ſhould be left to the Pope. That Six Years ſhould be granted to the *Orphelins* and *Thaborites*, to Deliberate whether they ſhould accept of this Treaty or not, which was confirmed at *Ratiſbonne*, and intirely concluded at *Iglaw*. There *Rockſane*, with other Four Prieſts, promiſed, in the Name of their Clergy, to obey the Pope; and received Abſolution from the Legates of the Council. Yet on the ſame Day, he gave the Communion in Both Kinds to a Laic; which was looked upon as a Breach of the Treaty, becauſe it was done in a Foreign Church: But for fear of a Rupture, no further Notice was taken of it. After this, the Emperor *Sigiſmund* made his Entry to *Prague*, in the Month of *September*, in the Year 1436: And *Philbert*, Biſhop of *Conſtance*, with ſome other Prelates ſent from the Council, Re-eſtabliſhed the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, in all the Churches of that City. Howbeit *Rockſane*, being diſappointed of the Arch-Biſhopric of *Prague*, which was promiſed to him, immediately roſe in Rebellion: But finding, that the Emperor was much ſtronger than his Party, he was obliged to make his Eſcape out of the Kingdom. Thereafter his Followers being diſperſed, ſeverals of them were apprehended, and put to Death. The Emperor *Sigiſmund* Dying in the Year 1437, *Albert* of *Auſtria*, who had Married his Daughter, was Declared King of *Bohemia*, notwithſtanding of all the Intrigues of the Empreſs Dowager, and ſeveral of the *Bohemian* Lords againſt him.

During the Time of theſe Tranſactions in *Bohemia*, the Council of *Baſle*, in the Thirtieth Seſſion, held upon the 22d of *December*, in the Year 1437, made a Decree concerning the Communion in Both Kinds. In which they Declare, That the Laics or Clergy, that Communicate, and do not Conſecrate, are not obliged, by a Divine Precept, to receive the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, under Both Kinds: That it belonged to the Church, (who is Govern'd by the Holy Ghoſt, and with whom Jeſus Chriſt does remain to the Conſummation of all Things) to Regulate, after what manner it was to be received by thoſe, who did not Conſecrate it, as ſhe ſhall think moſt proper, in regard to the Reſpect that is due to that Sacrifice, and the Salvation of the Faithful: Or, whether it ſhould be taken under One Kind or Both: And that ſince it is not to be doubted, but that Chriſt Jeſus is intire under Each Kind, the Cuſtom of Communicating under One Kind, introduced by the Church, ought to be look'd upon as a Law, that is not to be call'd in Queſtion by any Perſon; or to be Changed or Altered, without the ſpecial Authority of the Church.

Albert Duke of *Auſtria*, ſurviving only Two Years after his Election, left his Queen Big with Child; who was Delivered ſhortly after of a Son, Named *Ladiſlaus*. The *Bohemians* refuſed to acknowledge this Young

Young Prince for their Soverign, and made Choice of *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*. But that Prince very Generouſly told them, That he would not Accept of a Crown, which did not belong to him of Right; and exhorted them to be Faithful to their Lawful and Native Prince, *Ladiſlaus*. Upon this, they made their Application to the Emperor *Frederic*, offering him the Government of the Kingdom, either in his own Name, or as Tutor to the Young Prince *Ladiſlaus*. But the Emperor would Accept of neither; only Adviſed them, to chooſe Two of their own Country-Men to Govern, till the Young Prince ſhould be of Age. Thereafter they pitched upon two Principal Men amongſt them, *Taſcon* and *Mainard*: *Taſcon* was one of *Rockſane*'s Faction; and *Mainard* was a Zealous Catholic. During the time that they Governed conjunctly, Things were kept in an equal Ballance. But *Taſcon* no ſooner Died, than *Rockſane* and his Party, being afraid they would be Oppreſſed by *Mainard*, made Choice of one *George Pogebrac*, to Head them. Then riſing up in Arms, he laid Siege to the City of *Prague*, which he took, ſeiſing upon *Mainard*, whom he Impriſoned in the Citadel, where he Died. At length he became ſole Governour of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and Succeeded King *Ladiſlaus*, who Died in the Year 1458, in the Nineteenth Year of his Age. After this he ruined the Sect of the *Thaborites*, to which he and *Rockſane* were no leſs Enemies than the Catholics themſelves: But they re-eſtabliſhed the Cuſtom of Communicating in Both Kinds, without obliging the Prieſts to Advertiſe the People, That there was no abſolute Neceſſity for doing it.

The Cardinals, *Carvajal* and *Æneas Sylvius*, then Legates in *Bohemia*, endeavoured, all they could, to diſſwade *Pogebrac* and *Rockſane*, from allowing the Communion to be given in Both Kinds, till ſuch time as the Church ſhould allow of it: But, finding that all was in vain, they acquainted Pope *Paul* II. of it, who Declared *Pogebrac* an Heretic, and gave his Kingdom to *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*. Upon this a War aroſe betwixt him and *Pogebrac*, which ended to *Pogebrac*'s Satisfaction; he being acknowledged King of *Bohemia*, and left in Peaceable Poſſeſſion thereof, in ſpight of all the Efforts both of the Emperor and the Pope. Mean while, tho' *Pogebrac* and *Rockſane* had ruined the Sect of the *Thaborites*; yet there were ſeveral Perſons, who Eſpouſed ſome of their Doctrines, and who ſeparated themſelves from the *Calixtins*; and formed a New Sect, called the *Brethren of Bohemia*: Of whom I ſhall give an Account in the following Life.

Our Author, in his Vindication of theſe Procedures of the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, inſiſts mainly upon the Authority of the Church, which can be only Repreſented by a General Council: And that, when any Man oppoſes his Private Opinion to that of the Church, he cannot be too ſeverely Puniſhed; in Regard that ſhe being Aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt to the End of the World, her Paſtors, Aſſembled in a General Council, have Reaſon to ſay, in all Doubts and Controverſies, after the Apoſtles (*c*), *It has ſeem'd Good unto the Holy Ghoſt and to us*. And he, who ſubmits not to this, commits the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which can neither be Pardoned in this Life, nor in that which is to come. Moreover, that innumerable Calamities, and great Bloodſhed ariſes from ſuch Pra-

(*c*) Acts 15. 28.

ctices; as was too evidently ſeen, in the Hiſtory of theſe Tranſactions.

Beſides this Apology, which was Printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1553, and which *Dempſter* calls *Optima Apologia*, our Author has Publiſhed a Treatiſe upon *the Right Method of Preaching*, ſeveral Sermons, Theological Paradoxes, a Treatiſe of the Three Monaſtic Vows, *viz.* Poverty, Chaſtity and Obedience, ſeveral Epiſtles, and other ſmall Treatiſes mentioned by *Dempſter*.

His Death and Character.

He Died about the Year 1560, in a very Honourable Station. For *Francis de Gonzaga* and *Willot* ſay, That he was *Guardianum Conventus* Brulenſis *Provinciæ* Coloniæ, & *Generalem Commiſſarium Ciſmontanum*; that is to ſay, *Guardian of the Convent of* Brule *in the Biſhopric of* Cologne, *and Commiſſary General for this Order in theſe Parts.* 'Tis ſaid, That this Author was one of the beſt Preachers of his Age; and that, in the Pulpit, he had a Modeſt and Majeſtic Air, a Clear and Sound Voice, a Noble and Regular Geſture; and ſuch a Clearneſs in his Diſcourſe, which notwithſtanding of the Force of his Expreſſions, and the Sublimeneſs of the Subjects he alwiſe Preached upon, that the Meaneſt Capacities and Greateſt Genius's were equally enlightned by him. And it was in this Particular he moſtly excelled, tho' all his Writings be admirable in their Kind.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *ENarrationes Evangeliorum Quadrageſimalium*, Pariſ. 1543, *in* 8*vo.* & Colon. 1540, *in* 4*to.*

II. *Enarratio Lamentatoria in Pſalmum LXXVIII. Vide* Franciſ. Gonzaga, *Par.* 1. *de Origine Relig. Seraph. Pag.* 88.

III. *Conciones in Evangelia Quadrageſimalia, aliud a præcedenti opus*, Colon. 1529, & Pariſ. 1534, *in* 8*vo.*

IV. *Apologia pro Concil.* Conſtant. Colon. 1530, *in* 4*to.*

V. *Enchiridion Locorum Communium.*

VI. *De tribus Votis & Obedientiâ Religioſorum.*

VII. *Monas Sacro-Sanctæ Evangelicæ Doctrinæ contra* Franciſcum Lambertum Avenionenſem *Apoſtatam; ſive Unitas Evangelicæ Doctrinæ, quæ a Patribus in hæc uſque ſecula veluti per manus tradita.* Colon. 1529, *in* 8*vo.*

VIII. *Methodus Concionandi.*

IX. *Epiſtolæ ad* Minoritas.

X. *Monoteſſeron Paſſionis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.* Pariſ. 1529, *in* 8*vo.*

XI. *Comm. in Pſal. LXXIX.* Colon. 1592.

XII. *Veteris Vitæ Emendatio.*

THE

THE LIFE of Mr. *PATRICK HAMILTON*, Abbot of *Ferm.*

ALL our Hiſtorians ſay, That the *Hamiltons* had their Firſt Riſe near the latter End of the Reign of King *Robert Bruce*, about the Year 1327, from an *Engliſh* Gentleman, call'd *Hampton*, who killed one *Spencer*, for ſpeaking unworthily of that Brave and Excellent Prince; which obliged him to retire into *Scotland*, where he was kindly Received, and Rewarded by that Monarch with the Lands of *Cadzow*. But this is a great Miſtake, it being evident, that the *Hamiltons* were long before this time, in *Scotland*; for in the *Ragman Roll*, Printed by Mr. *Prin* in his Hiſtory of *England*, Sir *Walter Hamilton*, in the Year 1296, Subſcribes himſelf *Walter Fitz Gilbert de Hamilton*: And the ſame Sir *Walter* is a Witneſs to the Confirmation of a Grant of the Privileges of Fiſhing Herring, Howing Stone, and Slime to the Monaſtery of *Paiſly*, by *James* Great Stewart of *Scotland*, in the Year 1294. Likewiſe in a Mortification, granted by *Herbert Maxwel* Knight, to the ſame Monaſtery, about the latter End of *Alexander* the Third's Reign, the ſame Sir *Walter* is found a Witneſs. Now King *Alexander* Died in the Year 1285.

His Birth, Parentage and Education.

All our Hiſtorians ſpeak of our Author, as a Perſon of Quality, nearly Related to King *James* the V. both by his Father and Mother. (*a*) But, in this, they are greatly miſtaken: For his Father was only a Baſtard Brother of the Earl of *Arran*; and his Mother, a Baſtard Siſter of the Duke of *Albany*. He was Born in the Year 1503, and, having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies at the Univerſity of S. *Andrew*'s, he went to *Germany*; where, if we may believe *Dempſter*, he was made a Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Marpurg*. But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, that after his Arrival in that Country, upon his hearing of the Diſputes then in Agitation concerning Religion, he joined with *the Brethren of* Bohemia. For, at that time, as we have obſerved in the preceeding Life, the Countries of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* were Haraſſed and Diſturbed by Three Societies of Chriſtians (*b*). The Firſt were the *Catholics*, who ſubmitted themſelves to the Pope, the Doctrine and Rites of the Church of *Rome*. The Second were the *Calixtins*, who Adminiſtrated the Euchariſt under Both Kinds; and Read the Epiſtles and Goſpels, at the Maſs, in the Vulgar Language: But, in all things elſe, ſubmitted themſelves to the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*. The Third were *the Brethren of* Bohemia, who ſaid, That they were the Ancient *Valdenſes*. But, in all Probability, they were Formed out of the Sect of the *Thaborites*: For tho' *Pogebrac* and *Rockſane*, had ruined the *Thaborites*; yet ſtill there remained ſome, who

He goes to *Germany*, where he joins with the *Brethren of* Bohemia.

What the Brethren of *Bohemia* were.

(*a*) Vid. Spotſ. Church Hiſt. Book 2. page 62. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 8. pag. 351. Leſly de Geſt. Scot. lib. 9. pag. 389. Knox Hiſt. of the Reform. Calderwood's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scot. &c. (*b*) Vid. Mr. Du Pin Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccleſ. Tom. XIII. pag. 179.

eſpouſed a few of their Principles, and Formed a New Sect; taking for their Head a Cordiner, called *Peter Keleſiski*, who drew up a Confeſſion of their Faith, which was called *the Forms of* Keleſiski. Afterwards they made Choice of a Prieſt, called *Matthias Convalde*. At length, in the Year 1467, they made an open Separation from the *Calixtins*, made Choice of a New Set of Miniſters, and called themſelves *the Brethren of* Bohemia.

This Sect, in a ſhort time, became very Numerous. They look'd upon the Pope, Cardinals and Biſhops, as Anti-Chriſts. They ſaid, That the Church of *Rome* was the Whore ſpoken of in the *Revelation*. Their Miniſters were all of them Laics. They held the Sacred Scriptures to be the ſole Rule of their Faith. They aboliſhed all the Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Church: And only made uſe of our LORD's Prayer at the Conſecration of the Sacrament, which they gave in Leavened Bread. Their Miniſters were not diſtinguiſhed by their Habits. They rejected the Adoration of our Saviour, in the Euchariſt. They Rebaptized all thoſe who join'd them, tho they had been Baptized in the Church of *Rome*. They Diſcharged the Praying to Saints, and the ſhowing of any Reſpect to Images; as likewiſe Praying for the Dead, the Celibacy of the Clergy, the Vows and Faſts of the *Romiſh* Church. And they kept only the Feaſts of *Chriſt-Maſs*, *Eaſter* and *Whit-Sunday*.

The *Calixtins* and *Catholics*, finding that they were Daily Increaſing, gave in a Petition to King *Ladiſlaus* for ſuppreſſing of them. Upon this they drew up a Confeſſion of their Faith, which they preſented him with, in the Year 1504. In this Confeſſion, they Acknowledged the Apoſtolic, *Athanaſian* and *Nicen* Creeds: And that there are Two different Churches. The Firſt is the Congregation of all the Elected, from the Beginning to the End of the World. The Second is that, of the Miniſters that have received their Miſſion from GOD, and of the People that are Subject to them. This Church, they Acknowledged, to conſiſt of Good and Wicked Perſons: That theſe laſt were Unworthy of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities; and that, when they attained to them, they owed them no Submiſſion, they being Enemies to GOD and the Truth; and that this was the Reaſon, why they were Perſecuted. They placed the Miniſtery of the Church in the Goſpel, and Preaching of Sound Doctrine. The Seven Sacraments, they ſay, are Uſeful to Chriſt's Church: Becauſe they make known to the Faithful, that the Promiſes of GOD are accompliſhed; and that they ſerve to maintain Union and Concord, amongſt the Members of the Church. They Define Baptiſm, to be *the Sign of the Interior Purity of the Soul acquired by Faith*. They own, that both Children and all Perſons, who have not been Baptized, ought to be Baptized. They approve of the Confirming of thoſe, that are Regenerated by Baptiſm, in the Faith, by the Prayers and Impoſition of the Hands of the Biſhop or Paſtor. As for the Euchariſt, they ſay, That, when a Good Prieſt Pronounces, in the Aſſembly of the Faithful, theſe Words, *This is my Body*, *This is my Blood*, the Bread becomes the Body; and the Wine, the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt: And that nothing is to be Added to the Words of Chriſt; for which Reaſon they had rejected all other Prayers and Ceremonies, Believing and Doing only that, which our LORD commanded us to Believe and Do. Upon the Sacrament of Holy Orders, they ſay, That the Ordi-

Ordination of Prieſts deſcends from Jeſus Chriſt, who is the Sovereign Biſhop: And that they are his Miniſters, Teaching of the Goſpel, Judging in his Place, Offering the Sacrifice of Prayer, for Teaching and Perſwading us of the Accompliſhment of the Promiſes of GOD, and for Excommunicating the Wicked. That thoſe, who are Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, ought to imitate him, to acquit themſelves ſo of their Functions, that there might be no Ground for Reproaching of them: That they ought to be free of Avarice and Simony, and to lead more Vertuous Lives than others. That there are Three Things neceſſarily required to the Ordination of a Prieſt. Firſt, The Proof of his Faith and Good Life. Secondly, Prayers joined with Faſting. Thirdly, The Collation of the Power by the Impoſition of Hands. They make the Sacrament of Marriage, to conſiſt in the Indiſſoluble Union betwixt the Husband and Wife; which is the Type of the Union, that is betwixt Jeſus Chriſt and His Church. They own, that a Sinner, who Repents of his Iniquities, ought to diſcover his Sins to a Prieſt, endowed with Diſcretion and Holineſs; who, performing the Office of a Judge, in the Name of GOD and of His Church, ſhould make the Penitent ſenſible of the Hainouſneſs of his Sins, and Aſſiſt him by Godly Advice: And that the Penitent ſhould, with all Humility, ſubmit to his Correction, he having the Power of the Keys of the Church. They Approve of the Cuſtom of Praying over and Anointing Sick Perſons, or Extreme Unction: And acknowledge it to be a Sacrament; in ſo far, that it Signifies GOD's Pardoning the Sins of Dying Perſons. They own, that there is a Twofold Communion of Saints: The One Uſeful and Saving amongſt the Living Members of the Church; and the Other, Damnable; *to wit*, That of the Wicked, who, in the Adminiſtration of the Ordinances and Sacraments, give only an External Compliance, without having their Hearts fixed upon theſe Spiritual Gifts and Graces. And Laſtly, They Acknowledge, that thoſe who Communicate with Jeſus Chriſt, by a Lively Faith, do thereby receive in Him the Remiſſion of their Sins; and that thoſe, who Partake of the Sacraments of the Church, obtain likewiſe, by the ſame Faith, the Remiſſion of their Sins: And, if this Faith remains in them to the End of their Lives, they will receive Eternal Glory, at the Day of Judgment, by an Happy Reſurrection. After they have Declared this to be their Confeſſion of Faith, Founded upon the Sacred Scriptures, they ſay, That they had compoſed another Writing, wherein they gave their Reaſons, why they ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*: Which they were obliged to leave, not only upon the Account of the many Errors and Superſtitions of that Church; but likewiſe, that they might have the Liberty of Partaking freely of the Sacraments, appointed by Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore they intreat King *Ladiſlaus*, That he would Graciouſly receive this their Confeſſion of Faith; Aſſuring him, That if it can be proven from the Sacred Scriptures, that their Doctrines are Erroneous, they are very willing to Renounce them, and to Embrace the Truth. For which Reaſon, they humbly conceive, that they ſhould not be looked upon as Heretics; ſince they were not Obſtinate in their Opinions. That they continually labour'd to Reform themſelves more and more. That they neither Aſpired after Honours nor Riches. That they

were ſo far from Thirſting after the Blood of others, that they Pray'd for their Perſecutors, and thoſe who Revil'd, and Deſpightfully us'd them. That they lived Peaceably and Quietly with all due Submiſſion to their Superior Powers; and were ready rather to quit with their Lives, Goods, and all that they had in the World, than forſake the Truth. Then they Conclude, by Conjuring his Majeſty, That he would ſuffer them to live Quietly and Peaceably in his Dominions: And that, if he would not grant them that Favour, he would be pleaſed to ſet at Liberty ſuch of their Brethren, as were Incarcerated, and grant them the Liberty of Retiring to ſome other Country. But King *Ladiſlaus*, without having any Regard to theſe Remonſtrances, cauſed Publiſh an Edict againſt them, by which he Diſcharged all their Public and Private Meetings; and that they ſhould not Vent their Opinions, either by Word or Writ: But that they ſhould appear before the Eccleſiaſtical Judges at *Prague*, upon the Feaſt of S. *John*, the Evangeliſt, in order to Abjure their Opinions, and to Re-unite themſelves either with the *Catholics* or *Calixtins*.

This Edict being Publiſhed, they preſented another Remonſtrance to the King: Wherein they tell him, That they had ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, becauſe of the Wickedneſs of her Prelates; who, being deſtitute of all Sort of Piety and Humanity, had thereby los'd the Power of the Keys, abandoned the Truth, the Worſhip of GOD, and the Orthodox Faith; and had treated them as Heretics, Schiſmatics, Sacrilegious Perſons, and Enemies to the Peace. Whereas they took GOD to Witneſs, That they never maintain'd any Heretical Doctrines, againſt the Orthodox Faith, the Preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, the Bleſſed Virgin or the Saints; much leſs did they ever Vent any Blaſphemies againſt GOD: But that they had alwiſe continued in the Orthodox Faith, as it appeared from the Confeſſion, which they had already preſented his Majeſty with. Then they Declare, as to the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, they Believe, That when a Prieſt is Lawfully Ordained, and Pronounces the Words of Conſecration, the Bread becomes the True Natural Body of Jeſus Chriſt, which was Born of the Virgin, and Delivered up for us: And that the Wine becomes the Natural Blood of his Body, which was ſhed for us; but Sacramentally: So that the Bread is likewiſe a Spiritual Body; and the Wine, a Spiritual Blood. That they Acknowledge, That this Sacrament, according to the Inſtitution and Command of Jeſus Chriſt, and Example of the Primitive Church, ought to be Diſtributed and Received under Both Kinds. That Jeſus Chriſt not having Commanded the Sacramental Adoration of Him in the Euchariſt, but only at the Right Hand of His Father, they obey'd his Command, in not Adoring Him in the Euchariſt. That the Bleſſed Virgin was full of Grace: That ſhe was always a Virgin without any Stain, either in her Body or Mind; Sanctify'd and made Worthy of the WORD's taking upon Him, in her Womb, our Human Nature: But that they could not approve of the Superſtitious Opinions and Practices concerning her, which the Church of *Rome* had impoſed upon the World, and which were not Founded upon the Sacred Scriptures. As to the Saints, they ſay, That they own none, but ſuch as had received Grace by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, and had Perſevered to the End, in Faith, Hope and

and Charity. That they doubted not of the Salvation of thoſe mentioned in the Scriptures: But, that they had only Hopes and uncertain Opinion as to all others. After which, they earneſtly requeſt the King, That he would not ſuffer their Enemies to Perſecute them: Since Jeſus Chriſt does not require, that any Man ſhould be conſtrained to Chriſtianity. And, if he would not recal his Edicts, they had nothing left them, but to have Recourſe to the Throne of Grace, and to Poſſeſs their Souls in Patience.

Ladiſlaus returned an Anſwer to this Remonſtrance, in a Letter to *Martha Bozckovits*, a Lady of Quality, who had embraced their Opinions; and, at the ſame time, he ſent her an Anſwer to both their Remonſtrances, written by one *Auguſtine*, a Doctor of Divinity. Which being Publiſhed, was Anſwered by the *Bohemians*, in the Year 1508. At length in the Year 1523, finding that *Martin Luther*, who had Declared himſelf likewiſe an Enemy to the Church of *Rome*, was gaining many Proſelytes, they ſent a New Confeſſion of their Faith to him; which he approved of, in every Article, ſaving that about the Euchariſt. Upon which, he Deſired them to Explain themſelves, which they accordingly did, in the Year 1532: And in the Year 1535, *Luther* not only approv'd of it, but cauſed Publiſh it with a Preface of his own, wherein he Declared himſelf Reconciled to them: For, at their Firſt Appearance, he was one of their greateſt Enemies.

Our Author, as I have ſaid, Travelling thro' *Bohemia*, whilſt theſe Diſputes, concerning Religion, were in Agitation, joined with *the Brethren of* Bohemia; and, being fully Inſtructed in their Principles, returned to *Scotland*, with a Deſign of Reforming our Church according to their Model. The Clergy noways ſuſpecting, that he had alter'd his Religion, look'd upon him as a Perſon, who, for his extraordinary Parts, deſerved the moſt Eminent Place in the Church; and in order thereto, he was, ſhortly after his Arrival, made Abbot of *Ferm*, in the Shire or Country of *Roſs*. But thereafter he having Preach'd ſeveral Sermons, wherein he Declaimed againſt the Superſtitions that had crept into the Church: The Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, as Primate of *Scotland*, being afraid that he might raiſe a Schiſm, invited him to S. *Andrew*'s. And having Conferr'd with him upon theſe Heads, he immediately found, that he was deeply Tinctured with the Northern Hereſy, as it was then call'd: But, being unwilling to uſe Violent Methods with him at Firſt, he Appointed one Friar *Campbel*, who was eſteem'd one of the beſt Scholars about the Univerſity, to Diſpute with him Privately, thinking that he might reclaim him. But the Friar, inſtead of Reclaiming him, after ſeveral Diſputes, begun to incline to his Opinions. The Clergy, ſo ſoon as they perceived this, ſeiſed upon our Author, one Night, in his Bed, and carried him Priſoner to the Caſtle; and, the next Day, brought him before the Arch-Biſhop: Where he was Accuſed for maintaining the following Articles. I. That the Corruption of Sin remains in Children, after their Baptiſm. II. That no Man, by the Power of his Free Will, can do any Good. III. That no Man is without Sin; ſo long as he liveth. IV. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in the State of Grace. V. That a Man is not Juſtify'd, by Works, but by Faith only. VI. That Good Works, make not a Good Man: But that a Good Man doth Good Works; and

He returns to *Scotland*, and is made Abbot of *Ferm*.

He comes to S. *Andrew*'s, where he is Impriſon'd and Accus'd of Hereſy.

The Articles laid to his Charge.

that an Evil Man doth Evil Works, yet the ſame Evil Works, truly Repented of, make not an Evil Man. VII. That Faith, Hope and Charity, are ſo linked together, that he, who has one of them, has all of them; and he that lacketh one, lacketh all. VIII. That GOD is the Cauſe of Sin, in this Senſe, that He withdraweth His Grace from Man; and Grace being withdrawn, he cannot but Sin. IX. That it is a Deviliſh Doctrine to Teach, That, by any Actual Penance, Remiſſion of Sin is Purchaſed. X. That Auricular Confeſſion is not Neceſſary to Salvation. XI. That there is no Purgatory. XII. That the Holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Chriſt's Paſſion. XIII. That the Pope is Anti-Chriſt; and that every Prieſt hath as much Power as the Pope.

His Anſwer to them.

Being Deſired to give his Opinion of theſe Articles, he ſaid, That he held the Firſt Seven to be undoubtedly True; and offered to ſet his Hand to them: That the reſt were Diſputable Points, which he could not Condemn, unleſs he ſaw better Reaſons, than as yet he had heard. After which, they Diſputed, for ſome time, upon each Article; and remitted their Orthodoxy to be Try'd and Examined by the following Perſons, Mr. *Hugh Spence* Provoſt of S. *Salvator*'s College, Mr. *James Waddel* Parſon of *Fliſk* and Rector of the Univerſity, Mr. *James Simpſon* Official of S. *Andrew*'s, Mr. *Thomas Ramſay* Profeſſor of the Holy Scriptures, Mr. *John Gryſon* Theologue and Provincial of the *Black Friars*, *John Tillidaffe* Warden of the *Gray Friars*, Mr. *Martin Balfour* and Mr. *John Spence* Lawyers, Sir *Alexander Young* Batchelor of Divinity, Sir *John Annand* Chanon of S. *Andrew*'s, Friar *Alexander Campbel* Prior of the *Black-Friars*, and Mr. *Robert Bannerman* Regent of the Pedagogy. Theſe Men, a Day or Two after, gave their Cenſure, under their Hands, of the Articles, Condemning them all as Heretical and Contrary to the Faith of the Church. This being delivered to the Biſhop, in a Solemn Meeting, in the Cathedral Church, upon the Firſt of *March*, in the Year 1527, Sentence was Pronounced againſt him, Declaring him a Heretic; and giving him over to the Secular Power, to ſuffer the Puniſhment due to Heretics, which is Burning Alive.

He is Condemned to be Burnt Alive.

His Death.

Whereupon, the ſame Day, he was Condemned by the Secular Judge; and, in the Afternoon, was led to the Place of Execution, which was appointed to be at the Gate of S. *Salvator*'s College. Being come to the Place of Execution, he put off his Gown, and gave it, with his Bonnet, Coat and other Apparel, to his Servant, telling him, That was all that he had to give him, but the Example of his Death, which he Pray'd him to mind; for, tho' it ſeemed Bitter, it was an Entrance to Everlaſting Reſt, which none could obtain, that Denied Chriſt before Men. Thereafter he was ty'd to the Stake, about which was a great Quantity of Coal and other Combuſtible Matter. Then fixing his Eyes towards Heaven, the Executioner Firing the Powder that was to Kindle the Wood, his Left Hand and the Side of his Face was a little ſcorched therewith: But, it not having the Deſigned Effect, they ſent to the Caſtle for more Powder. During which time, he was frequently interrupted, in his Devotions, by the Spectators; who were always calling to him, to Convert, and to ſay, The *Salve Regina*: Yet amongſt them, none was ſo troubleſome as Friar *Alexander Campbel*, whom he often intreated to ceaſe from moleſting him. But, when he found he could not pre-

prevail, he ſaid to him, " Wicked Man, thou knows that I am not an " Heretic, and that it is the Truth of GOD for which I Suffer. So " much thou did Confeſs to me in Private, and thereupon I appeal " thee to Anſwer before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt. By this time, the Powder was brought, and the Fire Kindled. After which, with a loud Voice, he was heard to ſay, *How long, O Lord, ſhall Darkneſs oppreſs this Realm! How long wilt Thou ſuffer this Tyranny of Men!* And then cloſed his Speech with theſe Words, *Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit.*

His Character.

Thus Died this Young Gentleman, but a little paſt the XXIII. Year of his Age; who was much Regreted, upon the Account of his being of an Affable Temper, a Youth of great Candour, Ingenuity and Learning; and taken away in the Prime of his Age, by a moſt Cruel Death, with ſuch Aggravating Circumſtances, that ſeveral of the Spectators ſaid, That they doubted not, but he Died a Martyr. In this the Vulgar were not a little Confirmed, by the Death of Friar *Campbel*; who, about an Year after, fell into a Phrenſy, of which he Died.

All our Proteſtant Hiſtorians ſay, that his Execution was haſtned, when King *James* was in a Pilgrimage to S. *Duthake*, in *Roſs*; the Clergy being afraid, that he might have put a Stop to the Sentence, (if they had Delay'd it, till his Return) both upon the Account of his Relation to him, and for the Perſonal Love, that he bore him. But Biſhop *Leſly* ſays, That having maintain'd the *Lutheran* Opinions, concerning Juſtification, Predeſtination, Free Will, &c. when he could not be Convinced, either by Reaſon, Scripture, or the Authority of the Church; the King himſelf, being his Relation, dealt with him, but to no purpoſe. Whereupon he was Burnt, as an Obſtinate Heretic.

This Gentleman wrote a ſmall Treatiſe in *Latin*, being the Principal Things that are to be Believed in the Chriſtian Religion: Which was Tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *John Firth*, under the Title of *Patrick*'s *Places*; and Publiſhed in the Second Volume of *Fox*'s *Acts and Monuments of the Church*. There the Reader will likewiſe find the Articles that I have mentioned; the Sentence that was paſt againſt him; and a Letter of Thanks, from the Univerſity of *Lovain*, to the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, for having put him to Death. *Dempſter* ſays, That he is highly Commended, by *Franciſcus Lambertus*, in the Preface to his Book upon the *Apocalypſe*; and that he wrote the following Books.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. DE *Lege & Evangelio, Lib.* 1.

II. *De Fide & Operibus, Lib.* 1.

III. *Loc. Commun.*

But, if I be not miſtaken, it will be found, that theſe Three Books are only that ſmall Tractate, call'd, *Patrick*'s *Places*; and Publiſhed, as I have ſaid, in the Second Volume of *Fox*'s *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, Pag. 229. *Lond. in Folio*, 1632.

THE

LIFE of *ALEXANDER ALESSE*, Profeſſor of Theology at *Lipſic*.

His Birth, Parentage, and miraculous Preſervation.

ALEXANDER ALESSE or *Aleſius (a)*, as he calls himſelf, was Born at *Edinburgh*, in the Year of our Lord 1500, upon the 23d of *April*. His Parents were Honeſt and Subſtantial Burgeſſes of that City: And Providence ſeems to have had a ſpecial Care of him from his Infancy. For he tells us *(b)*, That, when he was a Child, diverting himſelf with other Children, upon the Top of an high Rock, as they were Rolling themſelves on the Plain, he inadvertently run himſelf to the very Brink of the Precipice; where he was ſnatcht up by an Inviſible Hand, and carried to a Place of Safety. "Some, ſays he, attributed this to ſeveral Portions of Scripture, hung "about my Neck: It being then a Cuſtom to hang ſome Paſſages of "Scripture about Children's Necks. Others thought, it was done by "my Guardian Angel. But I am of the Opinion, that it proceeded "from the Faith of my Parents. He had his Education in the Uni-

His Education.

verſity of S. *Andrew*'s. Where having Finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies in Grammar and Philoſophy, he apply'd himſelf to Theology, and having entred into Holy Orders, was ſhortly after made a Chanon in that City.

He applies himſelf to Theology, and enters into Holy Orders.

Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, Abbot of *Ferm*, coming to S. *Andrew*'s, to Satisfy the Biſhop about the Orthodoxy of his Opinions, as we have obſerved in his Life, our Author had ſeveral Conferences with him: And, by his Reaſonings, he was at length brought, from his being a Violent Oppoſer of the Doctrines of the Reformers, to a Conviction of the Lawfulneſs and Reaſonableneſs of their Opinions. But he, being a Man of a Timorous Temper, and ſeeing how they had put *Hamilton* to Death for them, reſolved to make no further Noiſe or Buſsle about them, at that time; but to wait till he found a fitter Opportunity. Yet, in the mean time, he thought, he might with Safety, Reprove the Clergy for their Vicious Lives. Thereafter being appointed to Preach before the Synod of S. *Andrew*'s, in the Year 1529, he took the Occaſion, in his Sermon, to Repreſent to them, what the Lives of the Primitive Fathers were; and the great Difference that was to be found between the Lives of theſe Primitive Saints and theirs. And inſiſted particularly upon their Chaſtity, in ſuch Lively Repreſentations, that ſeverals of them thought, that he pointed at them. But none was ſo much incenſed as the Provoſt, who was a Perſon ſo notoriouſly Lewd and Debauch'd, that his Whoredoms were known to the whole Nation. Therefore, in Revenge, he Influences ſome of the Clergy to join with him in an Accuſation of Hereſy againſt our Author. This being Re-

He becomes acquainted with the Abbot of *Ferm*, and is Proſelyted by him.

He Preaches before the Synod of S. *Andrew*'s againſt the Corrupt Lives of the Clergy.

He is Accuſed of Hereſy and Impriſoned.

pre-

(*a*) Vid. Elog. des Hommes Scavans par. M. Teiſſier par. 2. a Utrich. 1696, in 8vo. Dict. Critic. & Hiſt. par. Mr. Bayle. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. Lib. 1. pag. 60. (*b*) Epiſt. Ded. in Com. Sup. Joa.

preſented to the King, he Order'd the Chapter to meet, and ſee if he was Guilty of what was laid to his Charge.

Upon this, *Aleſſe* Repreſented his Caſe ſo effectually to the Members of the Chapter, that moſt of them reſolved to eſpouſe his Quarrel, as their own. This coming to the Provoſt's Knowledge, he brought alongſt with him, upon the Day of their Meeting, a Company of Arm'd Men, reſolving either to Perſwade them to Condemn him, or to Force them to it. *Aleſſe*, as I have ſaid, being a Man of a Timorous Temper, no ſooner ſaw the Armed Men, than he begun to think, that they deſigned to Murder him. Wherefore Addreſſing himſelf to the Provoſt, he earneſtly intreated, that he would be pleas'd to moderate his Paſſion; and to hear what he had to ſay for himſelf, before he offer'd any Violence to him. But the Provoſt was ſo far from liſt'ning to his Requeſt, that drawing out his Sword, he threatned immediately to kill him, if he did not Confeſs what was laid to his Charge. Upon this, our Author fell down upon his Knees, and begg'd his Life of him. But, in Anſwer to his Demand, he received a Stroke upon the Breaſt; and noways doubting, but that the Next might Deprive him of his Life, he fell into a Fainting Fit; and was carried, in that Condition, to the Priſon, with ſeverals of the Chanons that adher'd to him. The King, being informed of all that had paſt at the Meeting, cauſed the Chanons to be ſet at Liberty; but our Author was kept in a Dungeon for Twenty Days. After which, by the Interceſſion of his Fellow Chanons, he was ſet at Liberty likewiſe.

He is ſet at Liberty.

The Provoſt, finding that he had fail'd in this Attempt againſt our Author, endeavour'd to Ruin him another way: Which was, by Repreſenting to the Arch-Biſhop, how that he would Undo the Church, by ſuffering ſuch a Perſon as *Aleſſe* to live, who was a known Heretic: And that he did not Act conſiſtently with himſelf, in ſuffering him to Preach up his Heretical Doctrines to the People, and in cauſing the Abbot of *Ferm* to be Burnt Alive for the ſame Crime. Hereby he ſo Incenſed the Biſhop againſt our Author, that he cauſed ſeiſe and Impriſon him for a Second Time: But, (the Arch-Biſhop and Provoſt being call'd to Court,) the Chanons, in their Abſence, ſet him at Liberty. The Provoſt, upon his Return, went ſtraight to the Church; where, to his great Surprize, he found our Author ſaying Maſs, at the High Altar: But, immediately after Divine Service was over, he cauſed ſeiſe and Impriſon him for a Third Time. Then the Arch-Biſhop and he were reſolved, the next Day, to have him Try'd and Condemn'd: But, by the Aſſiſtance of his Good old Friends the Chanons, he made his Eſcape that Night; and was ſo much afraid of falling into their Hands, that he never ſtopt, till he came to *London* in the Year 1532.

He is Impriſon'd for a Second Time, and ſet at Liberty by the Chanons.

He is Impriſon'd for a Third Time: But makes his Eſcape, and flies to *London*,

About this time, King *Henry* VIII. (upon the Death of *William Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) had Advanced *Thomas Cranmer* to that Dignity. This Prelate, tho' he durſt not make an open Profeſſion of *Lutheraniſm*; yet he ſecretly Favour'd and Protected all thoſe, who were ſuſpected of it: By which Means, our Author came to his Acquaintance, and was highly Regarded by him.

where he becomes acquainted with Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*.

There was then, in *England*, a Religieuſe of *Kent*, call'd *Elizabeth Barton*; who, by her imprudent Behaviour, was not only the Cauſe of her own Death, but of the Deaths of ſeveral others. This Maid,

who was commonly call'd *The Holy Maid of* Kent, was ſubject to frequent Extaſies, accompanied with Convulſions and extraordinary Motions; during which time, ſhe pretended to be Inſpir'd, and Pronounced her Revelations. She lived a very Auſtere Life, Faſted frequently, and for ſeveral Days. And, tho' her Conduct was extraordinary; yet there was nothing Cenſurable in her Life and Converſation: So that in a little time, ſhe acquired a great deal of Reputation; ſeverals reſorting to her, ſome out of Devotion, and others out of Curioſity. And not only the Vulgar believed her to be Inſpired; but likewiſe Perſons of Good Learning were deceived by her. *Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, believed her to be truly Inſpir'd, and noways doubted of her Revelations. But Sir *Thomas More*, the Chancellor, had not that Opinion of her: Not that he ſuſpected her of being an Impoſtor; but he look'd upon her as a Deluded Girle; and, as he ſays himſelf in one of his Letters, a Fooliſh Nun. And 'tis highly probable, that this Great Man's Opinion was true, and that ſhe was neither a Cheat nor Hypocrite, as her Enemies repreſented her; nor a Propheteſs that had true Revelations, as her Followers aſſerted: But a ſimple Maid, who took Hyſteric Motions to be Miraculous, and the Viſions of a Wounded Imagination, as the Revelations of the Spirit of GOD.

But be that as it will, this Religieuſe, either by her ſelf, or at the Solicitation of the Servants of Queen *Catharine*, (whom King *Henry* the VIII. was then going to Divorce) Propheſy'd againſt King *Henry*, That, if he went on in his Divorce againſt the Queen, he ſhould not Reign a Month; GOD ſhould abandon him, and he ſhould make a Tragical End. For this ſhe was apprehended, in the Month of *November* 1533, and all thoſe who were her Followers, *viz. Richard Maſters*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold* a Prieſt, *Hugh Rich* a Cordelier, *Richard Risbey*, *Thomas Gold*, *Edward Twaits*, *John Adeſſon* the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Chaplain, *Thomas Lawrence*, and *Thomas Abel*, were Accuſed and Condemn'd. She, *Bocking*, *Maſter*, *Deering*, *Riſbey* and *Gold*, were Hanged, and their Heads ſet over the Gates of the City; *Rich* was either Pardon'd or Died in Priſon: And the reſt were Condemn'd to a Perpetual Impriſonment, and their Goods Confiſcate. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and *Thomas More* were likewiſe Accuſed. But *More* made it appear, that he never gave any Faith to what ſhe ſaid; and *Rocheſter* excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, That he never thought, that it was Criminal to be ſilent about a thing, that was Publicly ſaid. However, this was the Firſt Riſe of their Diſgrace with the King, who put them both ſhortly after to Death, for not Acknowledging him Head of the Church of *England*.

Upon *More*'s Death, the King Preferr'd *Thomas Cromwel* to be his Vicar-General. This *Cromwel* was a Smith's Son; but having no Genius for his Father's Employment, he was ſet to a Barber: That likewiſe not agreeing with his Genius, he turned a Soldier, and was at the taking of the City of *Rome*. Thereafter returning to *England*, he entred into the Service of Cardinal *Wolſey*: And being a Perſon of Dexterous Wit, he became his Maſter's Favourite, and had a Hand in moſt of the Public Tranſactions of the Nation. After his Maſter's Death, he continued in the King's Favour, and had many Dignities conferred upon him; being Firſt made Maſter of the Rolls, and Principal Secretary of State.

State. Then, Sir *Thomas Bolen* Earl of *Wiltshire* resigning, he was made Lord Privy Seal; and after that, Dignify'd with the unheard of Title of the King's Vicar-General in Affairs Ecclesiastical. About which time, Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* introduc'd our Author to him, who Entertain'd him, very Nobly, in his Family; and the next Year brought him to the Convocation of the Clergy, where he was desired to give his Opinion concerning the Number of the Sacraments. Which he did in a long Speech (*c*), wherein he endeavour'd to convince them, That the LORD's Supper and Baptism were the only Two Sacraments, that were instituted by Jesus Christ. He was Answered by *Stockly* Bishop of *London*, to whom *Cranmer* made a Reply. After this, he was introduced by *Cromwel* to the King, who was so well pleased with him, that he was commonly call'd the King's Scholar. The Authority of the Pope being Abrogated, and the King having established his Supremacy, much Business Daily hapned, which could not be dispatched, without the King's Consent. The King, being unwilling to undertake the Fatigue of this upon himself, conferr'd this Authority, granted him by Act of Parliament, upon *Cromwel*; being of the Opinion, that a Lay-Man was more proper for his Designs against the Clergy, than any of themselves. So he was appointed President of a Synod of the Clergy, in the Year 1536, wherein some Regulations, concerning Religion, were made. And the Parliament, which sat down upon the Fourth of *January*, granted to the King the Disposal of all Monasteries whose Revenues exceeded not Two Hundred Pounds a Year. Then the King, causing them to be suppressed (to the Number of 376) entred upon their Lands amounting to Thirty Two Thousand Pounds a Year, and selling their Goods at very low Rates, raised above an Hundred Thousand Pounds. After this, the King put a great many to Death, upon diverse Pretences: Amongst the rest *Cromwel* was Beheaded, upon the 28th of the Month of *July* 1540, for having Advised him to Marry Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; and for which, Three Months before, he had been Created Earl of *Essex*. *Alesse* upon this, immediately went over to *Germany*.

By whom he is introduc'd to the Lord *Cromwel*, and by him to the King.

He goes over from *England* to *Germany*.

At this Time, the Reformers in *Germany* were strangely Divided in their Opinions: Some following *Luther*; others, *Munster*; others, *Zuinglius*, &c. Which made our Author, for some time, suspend his Judgment: But at length he turned *Lutheran*. And since all his Works, which are not a few, are wrote in Defence of *Luther* and *Lutheranism*; it will be necessary, for the Understanding of them, that I give the Reader an Impartial Account of this Monk and his Opinions.

He turns *Lutheran*.

This *Martin Luther* was Born, at *Islebe* a City in *Saxony*, upon the 10th Day of *November*, in the Year 1483 (*d*). His Father, (*John Luther* or *Luder*,) was one of the Magistrates of the City of *Mansfield*; where he, the Son, was Taught the First Elements of Grammar: From thence he was sent to *Magdeburg*, where he staid only a Year. Thereafter he went to *Eysenac*, a City in *Thuringia*, where he Studied for Four Years. Then, having finished the Course of his Grammar, he went to *Erford*, where he Studied his Philosophy, and was made Master of Arts, in the 20th Year of his Age. After this he apply'd himself to the Law: But, as he was walking one Day in the Fields with a Comrade, he was struck to the Ground by a Clap of Thunder; and his Comrade was kill'd.

An Account of *Luther* and his Opinions.

(*c*) Vide Bishop Burn. Hist. of the Refor. of the Ch. of Engl. (*d*) Vide M. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Eccles. Tom. 13.

This had ſuch an Impreſſion upon his Mind, that he immediately renounced the World, and turned a Religious, entering into the Order of the Hermites of S. *Auguſtine*, in one of their Monaſteries at *Erford*: And applying himſelf to Theology, he thereafter entred into Holy Orders, and ſaid his Firſt Maſs in the Year 1507. In the Year 1508, he was ſent from his Convent, at *Erford*, to *Wittemberg*, where he Taught Philoſophy for Three Years. After this, Seven Convents of his Order falling at Variance with their Vicar-General, *Luther* was choſen by them to Negotiate their Affair at *Rome*; which he did to their Satisfaction. Upon his Return to *Wittemberg*, he was made Doctor of Divinity, and Profeſſor of Theology.

About this time, Pope *Leo* X. who was of a Rich and Powerful Family, naturally Proud and Magnificent, reſolved to finiſh the Sumptuous Edifice of S. *Peter's-Church*, begun by Pope *Julius* the Second. But the Treaſury of the Apoſtolic Chamber being exhauſted, and he not in a Condition to do it of himſelf, by reaſon of the Great Debts he had contracted, before he was raiſed to the Popedom; in the Year 1517, he cauſed General Indulgences, to be Publiſhed to all ſuch, as would contribute to this Work, and appointed his Legate for raiſing of them, in every Country. *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, Arch-Biſhop of *Maience* and *Magdeburg*, was appointed for *Germany*: And, if we may believe *Luther*, this Arch-Biſhop, was to have the Half of the Sum that was to be raiſed. But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, that great Abuſes were committed in the Raiſing of this Money; and that *Albert*, inſtead of impowering the Hermites of S. *Auguſtine*, (who were uſually imploy'd, and were as Zealous in Propagating of this Doctrine of Indulgences, by their Preachings and Writings, as any other Order) gave this Commiſſion to *John Tetzel* a *Dominican*, and to the Religious of his Order; becauſe he had newly Collected Great Sums of Money for the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, who were at War againſt the *Muſcovites*, by Preaching up the like Indulgences, which the Pope had granted to theſe Knights. This Preference gall'd the *Auguſtines* very much, either becauſe they look'd upon it as a Piece of Contempt, put upon their Order; or that they found, that, by this means, they were deprived of the great Sums of Money, they uſed to collect upon ſuch Occaſions. At this time, they had for their Vicar-General, one, *John Staupitz*, a Man of Quality, Ally'd to the Houſe of *Saxony*, fit for managing Public Affairs, being a Perſon of indefatigable Labour, and a great deal of Credit, but eſpecially at the Court of the Elector of *Saxony*, (who was then one of the moſt Powerful and Rich Princes of *Germany*) and withal Liberal and Magnificent; as it appear'd from his Founding the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, and beſtowing large Penſions upon the Learn'd Men, whom he eſtabliſh'd Profeſſors there. *Staupitz*, who had the Ear of this Prince, eaſily perſwaded him of the many Abuſes, that were committed by thoſe imploy'd in Collecting that Money; and likewiſe of the Erroneous Doctrine, that they Taught, *viz.* That the Pope gave a full Remiſſion of their Sins to ſuch, as by their Money ſhould procure his Indulgences: And, that, by this Means, they ſhould be infallibly enabled to deliver ſo many Souls out of Purgatory.

Luther, prompted by the Vicar-General and the Intereſt of his Order, begun not only to Declaim againſt the Abuſe of Indulgences; but likewiſe

wiſe to ſuſtain Doctrinal Theſes, about them, contrary to the common received Sentiments of the Theologues at that time. His Firſt Theſes, upon this Subject, at *Wittemberg* 1517, contained Ninety Five Propoſitions: In which he clearly Declared, what he thought of Indulgences. In this Theſes, he does not directly impugn Indulgences in themſelves, nor the Power of the Church: But he maintains, That the Pope could only remit the Penances that he could impoſe. So that Indulgences were nothing elſe, but a Relaxation of Canonic Penances, which could only have a Regard to the Living, and not to the Dead, who were not ſubject to them, and could reap no Advantage by them. That the Pope gives not Indulgences to the Souls of the Dead, by vertue of the Power of the Keys; but by way of Suffrage. That thoſe, who Believed that they could be ſaved ſolely by Indulgences, would be Damned with thoſe that taught them ſo. That Contrition could remit the Fault and the Penance, without Indulgences; but not Indulgences, without Contrition. That we are not to Deſpiſe the Pope's Indulgences, becauſe they Declare the Pardon of our Sins, that we obtain from GOD: But that they ought to be Preach'd up to the People, with great Warineſs, for fear they ſhould prefer them to Good Works; and that they ought to be told, That this Redemption of Pardon, is nothing in Reſpect of Works of Mercy; and that it were better to give Indulgences to the Poor, than to buy them. In one Word, That Indulgences cannot ſo much as Remit the Fault of a Venial Sin, unleſs it be accompanied with Contrition.

Then he expoſes the Abuſes, that had crept in amongſt the People, about Indulgences, *viz.* That no ſooner a Penny is thrown into the Cheſt, appointed for the Collecting of that Money, but immediately the Soul of him, who is deſired to be Relieved out of Purgatory, flies into Heaven. That Indulgences are the ineſtimable Gift, by which Man is Reconciled to GOD. That Divine Service ſhould not be performed in ſo many adjacent Churches, that the greater Concourſe of People might be in the Church, where theſe Indulgences were Preached. That the Pope's Indulgences had ſo much Vertue, that they could Abſolve a Man, that had Committed, if it were poſſible, a Rape upon the Mother of GOD. That a Croſs, with the Arms of the Pope upon it, is equal to the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt. That the Licentious Manner of Preaching up Indulgences, gave Occaſion to the Laics to move many Scandalous Queſtions; ſuch as, Why does not the Pope deliver the Souls out of Purgatory, out of a Motive of Charity; ſince he delivers ſo many for Sums of Money, given for Building a Church? Why the Pope, being ſo Rich himſelf, does not Build the Church of S. *Peter*, upon his own Expenſes, but upon the Expenſes of the Poor, *&c.*?

This Theſes of *Luther* was no ſooner Publiſhed, than *John Tetzel*, a *Dominican*, Inquiſitor in *Germany*, and principal Commiſſary for the Indulgences, ſuſtained and publiſhed, in Defence of them, a Theſes, at *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*, containing Propoſitions directly contrary to thoſe of *Luther*. In the Beginning of the Year 1518, *Luther* made a Reply in other Theſes; in which, he maintained, That the Remiſſion of our Sins was neither Founded upon the Contrition of the Penitent, nor on the Power of the Prieſt; but upon our Faith in theſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *Whomſoever you unbind on Earth, ſhall be unbound in Heaven.*

Theſe New Propoſitions raiſed up freſh Enemies to him, who Repreſented him to the Pope, as an Heretic. Upon which, *Luther* wrote a very Submiſſive Letter to the Pope, in his own Vindication. The Emperor *Maximilian*, upon the 5th Day of *Auguſt*, the ſame Year, in a Letter to Pope *Leo* X. told him, That *Luther* was advancing ſeveral New Doctrines, and had a great many Followers. So exhorted him, for the Good of Chriſtendom, to make Uſe of his Authority, in putting a Stop to theſe Uſeleſs, Raſh and Dangerous Diſputes; withal promiſing, he would endeavour to put in Execution, whatever he Commanded.

Upon this, the Pope Ordered the Biſhop of *Aſcoli*, Auditor to the Apoſtolic Chamber, to Cite *Luther* to appear at *Rome*, within Sixty Days, to give an Account of his Doctrines to the Maſter of the Sacred Palace and the Auditor whom he had appointed to Examine him. At the ſame time, the Pope ſent a Letter to the Elector of *Saxony*, requiring of him, that he ſhould not Protect *Luther*; and a Brief to Cardinal *Cajetan*, his Legate in *Germany*, to Cite *Luther* before him. But the Univerſity of *Wittemberg* wrote in *Luther*'s Favours to the Pope, hoping that his Holineſs would excuſe him, for not coming to *Rome*; becauſe his Health would not permit him to make that Journey: And they aſſure him, that he had Taught nothing contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, having only advanced ſome Propoſitions too freely, without having any Deſign in the leaſt of Diſturbing its Peace. The Elector of *Saxony* likewiſe entreated, that his Holineſs would not require his Perſonal Appearance at *Rome*; in regard that the Eccleſiaſtic Perſons, in *Germany*, were always Judged in their own Country. Upon theſe Remonſtrances, the Pope condeſcended, that he ſhould be Tried before his Legate, to whom he had given a full Power to that Effect: And tho' this was not very Favourable for *Luther*, in Regard that the Cardinal Legate was of the Order of S. *Dominic*; yet, that he might not appear to be any way Refractory, he reſolved to Compear before him. So having got Letters of Recommendation from the Elector of *Saxony*, his Protector, he came to *Augsburg*, in the Month of *October*, in the Year 1518, where he was very kindly received by the Legate. But, after they had Conferred together to no Purpoſe, the Legate urging him to Retract his Opinions, and *Luther*, inſiſting upon their Orthodoxy, being afraid of Impriſonment, obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperor, and retired from *Augsburg*, upon the 16th of *October* 1518, having Firſt fixed, upon the moſt eminent Places of *Augsburg*, a Placad; wherein he appeal'd to the Pope, and ſubmitted his Writings to be try'd by the Church of *Rome* and the Univerſities of *Europe*. Upon this, the Legate wrote a Letter to the Elector of *Saxony*, Complaining of his going away without ſeeing him; and his refuſing to Retract his Opinions, after he had urged him over and over again to it, eſpecially ſince theſe Opinions, as he aſſures him, are Damnable and Heretical: And therefore earneſtly deſires, that he ſhould either ſend him to *Rome*, or Baniſh him his Dominions. But the Elector of *Saxony*, in his Anſwer to this Letter, told him, That he would do neither of them; being convinced that he was no Heretic.

During theſe Tranſactions in *Germany*, Pope *Leo* X. thinking to put a Stop to all theſe Diſputes, Publiſhed a Brief concerning Indulgences, where-

wherein *Luther* plainly ſaw his Doctrines Condemned. So, to prevent the Pope's proceeding further againſt him, upon the 28th of *November*, he Emitted an Appeal to the General Council, that was call'd to Sit at *Trent*. The Pope, foreſeeing that he could never be Maſter of *Luther*, as long as the Elector of *Saxony* Protected him; in the Beginning of *January* 1519, ſent to the Elector, as a Token of his ſpecial Friendſhip, a Golden Roſe, which he had Bleſſed; and wrote to *Degenhard Preffinger*, one of the Elector's Councellors of State, that in Imitation of the Piety and Religion of his Anceſtors, he would interceed with his Maſter, to put a Stop to the Progreſs of *Luther*'s Errors. At the ſame time, he wrote likewiſe a Letter to *George Spalatin*, his Secretary of State, to the ſame Effect. *Militiz*, one of the Pope's Bed-Chamber, who was employ'd in this Negotiation, was received very coldly by the Elector, and he ſo much deſpiſed the Compliment of the Roſe, that he would neither receive it Perſonally, nor with the ordinary Ceremonies, that were uſed upon ſuch Occaſions. And tho' *Militiz* had ſpecial Orders, from his Maſter, to cauſe *Luther* Retract his Opinions; yet finding that it was not in his Power to do it by his Authority, he endeavour'd to gain him by a Meek and Peaceable Deportment: And managed his Affairs ſo well in a Conference, he had with him, (wherein he extol'd his Extraordinary Parts and Endowments, and blamed the Procedures of his Adverſaries) that he ſo ſoften'd *Luther*, that he wrote a moſt Submiſſive Letter to the Pope. But *Militiz*, being afraid, that this General Letter of *Luther* would not ſatisfy the Court of *Rome*, propoſed a Reference of the whole Matter to ſome indifferent Perſon; which *Luther* condeſcended to. Upon this the Elector of *Treves* was choſen for Arbitrator; and *Coblentz* appointed for the Place, where the Conference ſhould be held. But this Project proved abortive; becauſe *Luther*, on the one Hand, gave in a Number of Reaſons, for not having it at that Place; and the Pope, on the other, would not condeſcend, that the Elector of *Treves* ſhould be the Man.

In the mean time, *Luther* gain'd a Number of Proſelytes: And a ſolemn Diſpute was appointed betwixt *Luther* and his Followers on the one ſide, and Doctor *Eckius* on the other. This Doctor was one of the Firſt who compoſed Notes againſt *Luther*'s Firſt Theſes; to which *Luther* gave a Reply; and *Caroloſtad*, another: And *Eckius* Publiſhed an Apology againſt them both. The Diſpute being thus Tabled, a Conference at *Lipſic* was propoſed; which was accepted by both Parties, by the Conſent of Prince *George* of *Saxony*, Uncle to the Elector *Frederic*, (upon whom the City of *Lipſic* depended) againſt the Advice of the Biſhop of *Mersburg* (in whoſe Dioceſs *Lipſic* is) and the Theologues of that City, who were afraid of the Conſequences of ſuch a Conference. Towards the end of the Month of *June*, *Luther* came to *Lipſic*, with *Caroloſtad* and *Melanchton*; and *Eckius*, to *Ingolſtadt*: And both of them were kindly received by the Senate, Univerſity and Prince. The great Hall, in the Citadel, was choſen for the Place, where the Conference was to be held. The Prince Named the Judges for Regulating the Form of the Diſpute, which Commenced upon the 27th of *June* 1519, and continued till the 15th of *July*, with the ſame Succeſs that all Perſonal Debates commonly have, *viz.* That each Party thought, that they were Victors.

Upon the 30th of *Auguſt*, the Faculty of Theology at *Cologne* Cenſured *Luther*'s Doctrines; and, upon the 7th of *November*, the Faculty of Theology at *Lovain* did the ſame: And in the Month of *January* 1520, the Biſhop of *Miſnie* Cenſured a Treatiſe of *Luther*; wherein *Luther* ſaid, He wiſh'd, That the Communion under Both Kinds were Re-eſtabliſhed. *Luther* wrote Anſwers to all theſe; and in that to the Biſhop of *Miſnie*, he ſays, That he is not againſt the ſubmitting to the Decree of the Council of *Lateran*, commanding the Communion to be given to the Laics, only under One Kind; on the contrary, he exhorts every one to ſubmit to the Decree of that Council: But that he only wiſh'd, That another General Council would Re-eſtabliſh the Cuſtom of giving it under Both Kinds, as Pope *Pius* II. had formerly wiſh'd, That a General Council would give a Liberty to Prieſts to Marry. At length *Luther*, finding ſo many Powerful Enemies againſt him, wrote a Letter, in his own Defence, to the Emperor *Charles* V. Another, to the Elector of *Maience*: And in Both of them, he offers to hold his Peace, and never to Diſpute any more, but to ſubmit to the Deciſions of the Church; providing that Silence was likewiſe impoſed upon his Enemies.

During the time, that *Luther* was endeavouring to Diſculpate himſelf to the Emperor and Biſhops of *Germany*, his Writings were Examined by the Theologues at *Rome*: And the Matter being brought, according to the Cuſtom of that Court, before a Congregation of Cardinals, it was agreed, That the New Doctrines of *Luther* ſhould be Condemned: But there aroſe ſome Difficulties about the Method, that ſhould be taken in doing it. For the Theologues were of the Opinion, That he might be Condemn'd without Citing him anew: And the Canoniſts, upon the contrary, were of the Opinion, That it was neceſſary to Cite him, for a ſecond Time. The Medium, that was fallen upon to Reconcile them, was, that Three Things were to be conſidered in *Luther*'s Cauſe, *viz.* his Doctrines, his Writings, and his Perſon. His Doctrines being Public, and known by his Writings, it was eaſy to know whether they ſhould be Condemned or not, without hearing him upon them. So it was Reſolved, without any further Delay, to Condemn One and Fourty Propoſitions taken out of his Works. As to his Perſon, they did not think it fit to Condemn him Definitively; but to order him to Compear in a competent time. Then contending for ſome time, what they ſhould do with his Writings; at length it was Reſolved, That all of them ſhould be Burnt.

Theſe things being thus agreed to, the Bull was Drawn up by the Cardinal *de Ancona*, and Read in the Congregation: But Cardinal *Laurentius Pucci*, thinking that it belonged to him to draw up the Bull, preſented another Project to them. Upon this, ſo hot a Debate aroſe between theſe Two, that the Pope was obliged to interpoſe his Authority, to appeaſe them. Then, he caus'd Examine the Project of the Bull, drawn up by Cardinal *de Ancona*: And, after ſome Amendments, it was read in the Congregation, unanimouſly Approven of and Publiſh'd upon the 15th of *June* 1520. After this, *Luther* kept no more Meaſures with the Church of *Rome*; but Declared openly in a Book, which he immediately Publiſhed, and Intitled *The Captivity of* Babylon, That he, being now fully Convinced of the Superſtitions of the *Romiſh* Church, and that it was

was the Kingdom of *Babylon*, did acknowledge, That, what he had wrote about Indulgences, he now Repented of; being perswaded, that they were nothing else, but the Cheats of the Court of *Rome*, to gain Money, and to destroy the Faith. That, whereas he had only said, That the Papacy was not of Divine Right, he now acknowledg'd it to be the Whore of *Babylon*. That he looked upon the Practice of Communicating under Both Kinds, as absolutely necessary to Salvation. That in place of Seven Sacraments, he only acknowledg'd Three, *viz.* The Eucharist, Baptism, and Confession: Or rather, to speak properly in the Sense of the Sacred Scriptures, that there was but One Sacrament under Three Sacramental Signs. Then, in explaining his Sentiments upon each of these Sacraments, he says, That he Believes the Real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, to be Present in the Eucharist: But that he Believes the Bread likewise to be present there, *the Body being in, with, and under the Bread*; and this is that which the *Lutherans* call *Consubstantiation*. That many of the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass should be Abolished, and the Service performed in the Vulgar Language. That there the Elevation and Adoration of Christ ought to be Abolished. That the Effect of the Sacrament of Baptism depends only upon our Faith, in the Promise of Jesus Christ; of which the Exterior Baptism is the Sign: Which Faith is supply'd in Infants, by the Faith of the Church. That there is no Difference betwixt the Sacraments of the Old and the New Law. That the Vow of Baptism is the only Vow, that ought to be made. The Effect of the Sacrament of Confession, he makes likewise to depend, upon our Faith in the Promise of our Saviour. That Penance, Secret Confession and Satisfaction are needless: And that tho' we are necessarily Bound, by the Command of Jesus Christ, to Confess our Sins; yet the doing of it to a simple Laic is sufficient to obtain Absolution. Then he speaks of the other Sacraments of the Church of *Rome*; and says, That he is astonished, that they should make Confirmation and Imposition of Hands, Sacraments, being only Ecclesiastic Ceremonies: And laughs at the Character, that the Imposition of Hands is supposed to give to the Clergy, every True Christian being a Priest. He says, That Marriage likewise cannot be a Sacrament, it having no Promise annexed to it: And that the Marriage of Infidels is as valid as that of Christians. That all the Hinderances of Marriage, established by the Civil Laws, ought to be Abolished; but above all, that which proceeds from Ordination, it being Lawful for every Priest to Marry. He approves of Divorce in case of Adultery, and permits the Divorced Persons to Marry again. He rejects the Sacrament of Extreme Unction: And as to the Authority alledged for it, from the Epistle of the Apostle, S. *James*, he rejects that Epistle, and looks upon it as unworthy of that Apostle.

The Bull, Condemning *Luther* and his Writings, was brought to *Germany*, and Published by *Eckius* his greatest Enemy. Yet, tho' *Eckius* was the principal Agent of the Court of *Rome*, in this Affair, the Pope join'd with him *Jerome Aleander*, a Man of good Learning, and well seen in Politics. In the mean time, *Charles* V. who had gone from *Spain* to *Flanders*, after having settled the Affairs of that Country, returned to *Germany*; and was Crown'd upon the 21st of *October*, at *Aix la Chapelle*. After which he appointed a Diet of the Empire, to be held

at *Wormes*, upon the 6th of the Month of *January* 1521. And leaving *Aix la Chapelle*, becauſe of the Peſt which was there, came to *Cologne*, where the Elector of *Saxony* was lying Sick. Here they intimated to his Electoral Highneſs, the Pope's Bull againſt *Luther*: And *Aleander* told him, That the Pope expected Two Things from him, the Firſt was, That he ſhould cauſe all *Luther*'s Writings to be Burnt by the Hand of the Hang-Man; and the Other was, That either he ſhould put *Luther* to Death, or ſend him Priſoner to *Rome*: But the Elector refus'd to do either of them. The Pope likewiſe Addreſſed a Brief to the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, exhorting them to Aſſiſt his Nuncio and *Eckius*, in putting his Bull in Execution againſt *Luther*; but they had as little Regard to his Demands, as the Elector had. And *Luther*, upon the 17th of *November*, renewed his Appeal to the Firſt General Council.

Eraſmus, and ſeveral other Theologues in *Germany*, Propoſed, That either Arbitrators ſhould be choſen for Deciding the Differences betwixt the Pope and *Luther* and his Followers; or that the whole ſhould be referred to a General Council, that ſhould be immediately call'd for that Purpoſe: Very wiſely foreſeeing, that the Burning of *Luther*'s Books would put all *Germany* in a Flame. But the Pope's Nuncioes were ſo Zealous in this Affair, that they would hear of no Accommodation; and prevail'd with the Emperor, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*, to cauſe *Luther*'s Books be Burnt. Accordingly they were Burnt in *Flanders*, and in ſeveral Cities of *Germany*, ſuch as *Cologne*, *Maience*, *Treves*, &c. On the other Hand, *Luther* and his Followers fail'd not to expoſe the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, as much as they could. For *Ulric Hutten*, a Gentleman of *Franconia*, who had an excellent Spirit, was a Good Poet, and a great Favourite of *Luther*, turned the Pope's Bull into Ridicule; and compoſed many Bloody Satyrs againſt the Pope and the Church of *Rome*. At the ſame time, *Luther* Publiſh'd Two Books: The One againſt the Bull, which he calls *The Bull of Antichriſt*; and the Other in Defence of the Articles Condemned in it: And upon the 10th of *December*, he cauſed the ſaid Bull, with the Decretals of the Popes to be publickly Burnt, in the Mercat Place of *Wittemberg*. Upon this, *Aleander* earneſtly intreated the Emperor, to iſſue forth an Edict againſt him: But the Emperor put him off till the Diet of *Wormes*, being unwilling to Diſoblige the Elector of *Saxony*, who had refuſed to accept of the Empire.

The Diet of the Empire having met at *Wormes*, in the Beginning of the Year 1521, the Elector of *Saxony* deſired of the Emperor, that *Luther* might be Cited before them, that they might know, what he had to ſay for himſelf. But the Pope's Nuncio, *Aleander*, made a long Speech to them, wherein he endeavoured to ſhow the Dangerous Conſequences, that might follow upon their allowing of him to be heard, in his own Defence; ſince he was Condemned by the Pope, and maintained ſo many Heretical Doctrines, which he cited out of his Book of *The Captivity of* Babylon. To this the Elector of *Saxony* Reply'd, That poſſibly he did not maintain theſe Propoſitions, in the Senſe that he took them in; and therefore it was neceſſary to hear him. At length it was agreed to, by the Princes of the Diet, That he ſhould have a Safe Conduct: And, on the 6th of *March*, the Emperor wrote to him, by one *Sturm*, an Exempt, requiring him to come to *Wormes* in 21 Days, aſſuring him,

him, that he ſhould have all the fair Treatment imaginable. Upon this, *Luther* parted from *Wittemberg* for *Wormes*, accompany'd with ſome Theologues and about an Hundred Horſe. All the way as he went, the People came from all Corners to ſee him. And, tho' by his Safe Conduct he was Diſcharg'd to Preach by the Way; yet he Preach'd a Sermon againſt the Merit of Good Works at *Erford*. When he came the length of *Oppenhim*, nigh to *Wormes*, he was inform'd, that the Pope's Bull was Publiſhed againſt him. Then being Adviſed, by thoſe that were with him, to return again, for Fear they ſhould Treat him as the Council of *Conſtance* had done *John Hus*; he Anſwered them, with his ordinary Firmneſs of Mind, " That, tho' there were as " many Devils to oppoſe him, as there were Tiles upon the Houſes of " that City, he would go. So he arrived at *Wormes*, accompanied only with Eight Horſe, upon the 16th of *April*, and was Lodged with the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, nigh to the Place where the Elector of *Saxony* ſtay'd. As he came out of his Coach, he ſaid to a great Multitude of People, who were come, out of Curioſity, to ſee a Man who made ſo great a Noiſe, GOD *will be for me.*

The next Day after his Arrival, the Emperor Ordered him, to appear before the Aſſembly of the Diet, after Dinner; where they would give him an Account of the Reaſon, for which he was brought before them. About Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Ulric de Pappenheim*, and *Gaſpard Sturm*, came for him, and brought him before them; and by the Way, he was Ordered by *Pappenheim* only to Anſwer the Queſtions, they were to ask at him. *John de Eck* Official to the Arch-Biſhop of *Treves*, in the Emperor's Name addreſſed himſelf Firſt to *Luther*, in *Latin* and *Germans*; and told him, That his Imperial Majeſty had brought him there to ſatisfy them in Two Things. The Firſt of which was, If he acknowledg'd himſelf Author of all the Books that went under his Name? The Second was, If he had a Deſign to Retract the Erroneous Doctrines that he had maintained in theſe Books? Upon this, *Jerome Schurff*, a Lawyer, who had Accompany'd *Luther*, told them with an Audible Voice, That they ought to Read the Titles of theſe Books. Then, *John de Eck* having read them, *Luther*, in Anſwer to the Firſt Queſtion, acknowledged theſe Books to be his: And as to the Second, it being concerning Matters of Faith, he hoped, they would give him ſome Time to think upon it. After the Princes had Conſulted, what Anſwer they ſhould return to this Demand; *John de Eck* told him, in Name of the Aſſembly, That, altho' the Emperor had plainly told him the Reaſon why he was brought before them, and conſequently, that he ought to have Anſwered without further Delay; yet notwithſtanding, the Emperor, out of his Clemency, granted him a Day to reflect upon the Matter, he was Queſtioned about: And therefore deſir'd him, to give his Poſitive Anſwer, the next Day, at the ſame Hour, by Word of Mouth, and not in Writing. After which, *Luther* was Conducted by the Exempt to his Lodgings.

The next Day, he was brought to the Aſſembly by the Exempt, at the Hour appointed, and attended till Six: At which time, he being brought before them, *John de Eck* asked him, If he would Defend all the Books, that he had acknowledged to have been written by him? Or, If he would Retract any thing, that he had ſaid? To this *Luther*

Anſwered, That he hoped they would give him a favourable Audience; for he Proteſted to them, That whatever he had ſaid or wrote, was for the Glory of GOD, and the Inſtruction of the Faithful. And intreated, that they might Conſider, that his Books were not all of one Kind; That, in ſome of them, he had only treated of Matters of Piety and Morality, in ſo Simple and Evangelical a manner, that even his greateſt Adverſaries could have nothing to Object againſt them: And if he ſhould Revoke theſe Writings, he would Condemn Truths, that both his Friends and Enemies acknowledg'd. That another Sort of Books, which he had written, were againſt the Pope and Papiſts, who had fill'd the World with their Abominable Doctrines and Practices; and who, by the Pope's Laws and Human Traditions, kept the Conſciences of the Faithful, under an unſupportable Tyranny: And that if he ſhould Revoke theſe Writings, it would, be in him, a Confirming of that Tyranny. That a Third Sort of his Writings were thoſe, that he had Compoſed againſt Particular Perſons, who had written in Defence of the *Romiſh* Tyranny: Theſe, he acknowledged, were Compoſed with too much Heat and Bitterneſs; and if any one, by the Sacred Scriptures, ſhould make it appear, he had maintained any Errors in them, he was willing not only to Retract them, but likewiſe to commit the Books, in which they were, to the Flames. Then he Concluded with an Exhortation to them, that they ſhould take Care not to Condemn the Word of GOD; and, by that means, be Inſtrumental in making the Reign of the young Prince *Charles*, Unhappy. *Luther* had no ſooner done, than *John de Eck* Anſwered, with ſome Heat, That he had given no Anſwer to what was Asked at him; he not being Queſtioned, whether he Approved or Diſapproved of what the Councils had Determined; but to Anſwer ſimply, Whether he would Retract or not? Upon this, *Luther* Anſwered in theſe Words, *Since his Imperial Majeſty, and the other Princes, deſire my Poſitive Anſwer, it is plainly this, Seeing I am not Convinced by the Sacred Scriptures, nor by any Evident Reaſon (for I do not think my ſelf obliged to Believe either in the Pope or Councils; it being certain, that they have many times Erred and Contradicted one another) theſe Scriptures, which I have adduced, have perſwaded me, and my Conſcience is engaged by the Word of GOD. So that I neither can nor will Retract any thing; becauſe it is neither Safe nor Sure for a Man, to act againſt his Conſcience.*

The Princes of the Diet, after they had Debated about the Nature of *Luther*'s Anſwer, told him by their Orator, That he had not Anſwered with that Modeſty, that became him. That, if he had Retracted the Errors which were contained in his Books, the Emperor was not to have concerned himſelf with thoſe that were free of them. That he had renewed the Errors which had been Condemned by the Council of *Conſtance*, where the whole Repreſentatives of *Germany* had been. That his Propoſal of Convincing him by the Scriptures, was a meer Jeſt: For to what Purpoſe was it to renew a Diſpute concerning Things, that had long ago been Condemned by the Church and Councils? For, if every one were to be Convinced after that manner, that Contradicted her Authority, there would be nothing Certain or Determined in our Holy Faith. Wherefore they once more deſired to know of him, If he would Defend, as Catholic, all that he had wrote? Or, If he would Re-

Retract ſome things that he had advanced? But *Luther* perſiſted in his Anſwer, and offered to Prove to them, That the Councils had often Erred: But, Night coming on, the Aſſembly was obliged to break up.

The next Day, the Emperor ſent a Writing to the Aſſembly; wherein he told them, That he was Reſolved, in Imitation of his Predeceſſors, to Defend the Church, and to Condemn *Luther* as an Obſtinate Heretic: But before he would do it, he determin'd to ſend him back to *Wittemberg*, according to his Promiſe; and he hoped, the Princes of the Empire would Concur with him in this. Whereupon the Princes and Deputies of the Diet, being afraid of the Bad Conſequences, that might follow upon this, earneſtly intreated his Imperial Majeſty, that they might nominate ſome of their Number to try, if it were poſſible, to perſwade *Luther* to Retract his Opinions: And the Emperor granted their Requeſt, upon the Condition, That their Negociation with him ſhould be only for Five Days. So, upon the 24th of *April*, *Luther* was call'd before them, in the Elector of *Treves*'s Lodgings. At Firſt, they Propoſed to him, That, for the Peace and Good of the Church, he would Submit himſelf to be Judged by her: But, finding he ſtill inſiſted upon his being Try'd by the Sacred Scriptures, they Propoſed, That he would ſubmit his Writings to be Try'd by the Emperor and them. To which he Anſwered, That he was willing his Writings ſhould be Examined by every Man of them, providing they did it by the Scriptures. Then they propoſed, That he ſhould ſubmit himſelf to the General Council, that was to be call'd. To this he very willingly agreed; but ſtill with the former *Proviſo*, That he ſhould be Convicted of his Errors by the Sacred Scriptures. At length the Elector of *Treves* endeavoured to gain him by Private Conferences: In order to which he procured, from the Emperor, a Prorogation of his Time for Two Days; but all was in vain. Whereupon the Emperor Ordered him to retire from *Wormes*, to ſome ſecure Place, in One and Twenty Days time; providing always that he did not Preach by the Way, or excite the People to Rebellion. After this, *Luther* went out of *Wormes*, upon the 26th of *April*, being Guarded by *Sturm*, who had brought him to the Imperial Diet; and being come to *Friburg*, he left him to his own Liberty. Then *Luther* wrote Two Letters, Excuſing himſelf for not yielding to their Propoſals: The One was Directed to the Emperor; and the Other, to the Princes of the Diet.

The Elector of *Saxony*, (foreſeeing that the Emperor was going to Publiſh a Bloody Edict againſt *Luther*, and that, after the Publiſhing of it, he could neither give him his Protection, nor ſuffer him to live in his Dominions, unleſs he were at Variance with the Emperor,) Reſolved to cauſe ſome Perſons, in Mask, ſurpriſe him, and carry him to one of his Caſtles, where he ſhould remain Conceal'd, without any Body's knowing of the Place, where he was: And this was Punctually put in Execution. For *Luther*, Travelling out of *Eyſenac*, upon the 3d of *May*, to *Wittemberg*, was Attacked in the Forreſt, upon the Highway, by ſome Horſe-men in Mask; who, having Firſt thrown him to the Ground, did then carry him, with them by Force, to the Caſtle of *Wartenburg*; where he lay Concealed for Nine Months. And this was done with ſuch Conduct and Fidelity, that none had the leaſt Knowledge of the Place, where he was. This Contrivance had Two

Effects: The First was, That it exasperated *Luther*'s Followers against his Adversaries, they believing that he was Split away by them: The Other was, That he was thereby Secured from the intended Pursuits of the Emperor and Pope against him.

In the mean time, the Emperor, at the Diet of *Wormes*, caused the Edict against *Luther* to be Finished, upon the 8th of *May*; which was Published solemnly, in an Assembly of the Electors and Princes call'd for that End, in his Palace, upon the 26th of the same Month; after the Pope's Nuncioes had delivered, to his Imperial Majesty, the Electors, and other Princes of the Empire, the Pope's Brieves; wherein he thanks them for what they had done already for the Good of the Church against *Luther*, and intreats them to put an End to it. The Edict being read in the Assembly, the Elector of *Brandenburg* Declared, That the whole Assembly approved of it; and that he was of their Opinion. The Electors of *Saxony* and *Palatine*, were then absent: But they had left their Deputies, who assisted for them at the Assembly. By this Edict, it was Declared, That, by the Advice of the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, in Prosecution of the Sentence, pass'd by the Pope, the true Judge in such an Affair, *Martin Luther* is to be considered for the future, as a Member separated from the Church, Schismatic, Obstinate, and a Notorious Heretic: And that all and every one, under the Pain of Lese-Majesty, Loss of Goods, being put to the Ban of the Empire, to Receive, Defend, Sustain or Protect him, either by Deeds or Writings: And, that after the One and Twenty Days of his Safe Conduct, he should be proceeded against, according to the Ban of the Empire, wherever he was: Or at least, that he should be Arrested and Detained Prisoner, till such time as they should receive his Imperial Majesty's Orders. The same Penalties were Order'd against all his Accomplices, Abettors and Followers: And all their Goods, Moveable and Immoveable, were Confiscated; unless they proved, that they had abandoned his Party, and received Absolution by the Apostolic Authority. Likewise the Reading, Printing, or Selling of any of his Books, was Discharged: And all Magistrates were Ordered to cause Burn them, within their respective Jurisdictions. His Doctrines and Books were likewise Condemn'd and Censured by the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, the same Year, upon the 15th of *April*. *Luther*, who had hitherto always spoken of the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, with a great deal of Honour and Respect, no sooner saw himself Condemned by them, but he caused *Philip Melanchton* write an Apology, for him, against their Censure; which he calls *Furiosum* Parisiensium *Theologastrorum Decretum*. And he himself wrote, as it were, an Apology for the Faculty; wherein he makes them say a Number of Impertinencies, in a Barbarous Stile, on purpose to render these Doctors Ridiculous. In the mean time, *Luther* wrote several Books, in Defence of himself and his Doctrines, against the Church of *Rome*, from his Castle, which he call'd his Hermitage and *Patmos*. But *Caroloſtad*, one of his Followers, resolved to accomplish at *Wittemberg*, what his Master had only begun: For he caused take all the Images out of the Churches; abolished Auricular Confession, the Precept of Abstinence from Meats, the Invocation of Saints and Private Masses; and allowed the Monks to come out of their Monasteries, and Marry. The Elector of *Saxony*, being

being afraid that this might raise great Commotions in the Church and State, Consulted the University of *Wittemberg*, about the Method that he should take, in Reforming the Abuses that had crept into the Church. Then, by their Four Deputies, *viz. Justus Jonas*, *Philip Melanchton*, *Nicolas Amsdorof*, and *John Doeltz de Veltkirch*, advised him to have no Regard to the bad Consequences, that might follow upon the Reforming of the Church, by a sudden Abolishing of all those things, that *Luther* had Complained of; since it was to sustain the Great Truths of Religion. So that the Emperor's Edict was little Regarded by the Magistrates in *Saxony*, and several other Parts of *Germany*. Mean while *Luther*, who by this time had turned uneasy with his Confinement, returned to *Wittemberg*, in the Beginning of the Year 1522. And, because he had not so much as asked the Elector of *Saxony*'s Permission for it, the First thing he did, was to write a Letter to that Prince, Excusing his Conduct in this Affair.

Carolostad, as we have said, having Ranversed the Discipline of the Church of *Wittemberg*, *Luther*, being extremely vex'd, either that he had not done it by his Advice, or that it had not been rightly timed, made a Discourse upon the First *Sunday* of Lent; wherein he blamed *Carolostad* and his Followers for all that they had done; but more especially, for his having Taught them, That our Blessed Saviour was not Really Present in the Eucharist; pretending, that, when our LORD said, *This is my Body*, *This is my Blood*, he did not mean it, by the Bread and Wine which was in his Hands; but by his Real Body and Blood, which was before them. Then he told them, That what they had done, was without a Lawful Mission; and that it ought not to have been done, after the manner they did it. "Not, says he, but "that it is a Good Thing to Abolish the Mass; but it ought not to "have been done Rashly and Scandalously: And, if the Mass were not "an Evil Thing in it self, I would Re-establish it. I wish, that all the "Images, in the World, were Destroy'd: But we ought to begin, by "taking, out of the Minds of the People, the Images that they have "formed to themselves; and to instruct them well: And, after this, "the Material Images will fall of themselves. About the same time, he Published a Book in *Latin*, Intitled, *Against the Order falsly called the Order of Bishops*. In the Preface of which, he Declares, That, by the Grace of GOD, he was the Ecclesiast and Evangelist of Jesus Christ, and of the Truth. That he was not afraid of the Persecutions of Men. That he had Armed himself for Attacking the Errors, which the Bishops would Establish by Force and Violence; and for the future he would have no Respect to them: That he would not submit his Doctrines any more to their Judgments, yea not to the Judgment of an Angel; and that, by this his Doctrine, he would Judge not only them, but the Angels themselves. His Words are these, *Ego vero neque Papæ, neque Imperatori, sed ne Angelo quidem de Cœlo Doctrinam meam amplius submittere judicandam volo; sed quoniam de ea certus sum, per eam Judex esse volo non modo Hominum, verum etiam cunctorum Angelorum: Ut si quis Doctrinam meam non acceptaverit, salvus esse non possit, quia Dei est, non mea; idcirco & judicium meum Dei quoque est non meum.* That is to say, *I will neither submit my Doctrine to be Judged by the Pope or the Emperor, or by any Angel in Heaven: But because I am assured of it, by it, I will Judge not*

only Men, but all the Angels in Heaven. So that if any Man receive not my Doctrine, he cannot be Saved; becauſe my Doctrine is GOD's Doctrine; and my Judgment is alſo GOD's Judgment.

In the ſame Year, *Luther* wrote a Letter to the *Bohemians*, Exhorting them to Join with him, in Defence of the Goſpel; and Publiſhed a Tranſlation of the Sacred Scriptures. Againſt which, *Ferdinand*, (Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, the Emperor's Brother) and ſeveral other Princes, Publiſhed ſeveral Edicts. *Luther* was ſo much Chagrin'd at this, that he wrote his Treatiſe of *The Secular Power*, wherein he made bitter Invectives againſt all Princes whatſoever, without having any Regard to their Dignity. This mov'd King *Henry* the VIII. of *England*, who wrote a Letter to the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*, wherein he Complain'd of the Scurrilous and Reproachful Language, that *Luther* had made uſe of, in this Book, againſt all Monarchs and Princes; and particularly againſt him, in a Book which he had written, againſt his Book in Defence of the Sacraments. (for which the Pope gave him and his Succeſſors the Title of *Defender of the Faith*) And intreated them to curb him in the Bud, and deſired them to reflect upon the Riſe and Foundation of the *Ottoman* Empire. Prince *George* of *Saxony* returned him a very Civil and Obliging Anſwer, wherein he told him, That none were more ſenſible of the Rude and Scurrilous Treatment of them, than they were: But they could not help it, for by this time this Monk was become ſo Popular, that neither the Emperor or any of the Princes of *Germany*, would undertake to Puniſh him.

Towards the End of the Year 1522, a Diet of the Empire was held at *Nuremberg*, where the Pope's Nuncio, *Cheregat*, earneſtly preſſed them to iſſue out an Edict againſt *Luther* and his Followers. But they were ſo far from giving any Ear to this, that they Publiſhed an Edict, upon the 6th of *March*, in the Year 1523, containing a Hundred Grievances that the Empire lay under; all which they earneſtly Deſired the Pope to Rectify. The *Lutherans* were ſo overjoy'd at this, that they look'd upon *Lutheraniſm*, as now Eſtabliſhed by an Edict of the Empire. Some time after this, *Luther* eſtabliſhed a Liturgy of his own Contrivance, for the Church of *Wittemberg*; and wrote ſeveral Books in Defence of his Doctrines. In one of theſe, Addreſſed to the Senate and People of *Prague*, upon *The Inſtitution of the Miniſters of the Church*, he Affirms, That there is no Neceſſity of any other Vocation, Miſſion, Inſtitution, or Ordination, than the Election of the Faithful of each Church. In another, concerning *The Abomination of Private Maſſes*, he ſays, That he was Convinced, of the Unlawfulneſs and Idolatry of that Worſhip, by the Devil in a Conference, that paſſed betwixt them. The Particulars of which he ſets down at large; and his Enemies have made no ſmall Noiſe about it. But all this ſeems to be nothing elſe, but an Ingenious Contrivance and Fiction, after the Monkiſh way of Repreſenting their Spiritual Combates. In a Third, which he Intitles, *The Common Fiſc*, he lays down a Plan for Diſtributing of the Revenues of the Monaſteries, Biſhoprics and Chapters, by Eſtabliſhing a *Common Fiſc*. The Method he Propoſed, was, That one Part ſhould be given to the Paſtors or Preachers, and to thoſe who have the Care of the Fiſc. Another, to the Rectors of Schools; and to the Infants of both Sexes, that had been thruſt into the Monaſteries of the Mendicant or Begging Orders. A Third Part, to the Aged

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and Sick. A Fourth, to the *Orphalins*. A Fifth, to the Poor, Impriſoned for Debt. A Sixth, to Strangers. A Seventh, for Building of Ships. And an Eighth, for Magazines of Victual.

Pope *Adrian* the Sixth, Dying upon the 24th of *October* 1523, was Succeeded by Cardinal *Jules de Medicis*, upon the 19th of *November*, who aſſumed the Name of *Clement* VII. In the Beginning of the Year 1524, a Diet of the Empire being to meet at *Nuremberg*, the New Pope ſent to the Diet, Cardinal *Campege* as his Legate, who was a Man well ſeen in Negociations, and who had been ſent into *Germany* before by Pope *Leo* X. to the Emperor *Maximilian*; to whom he was ſo agreeable, that he made him Biſhop of *Feltri*, and got him a Cardinal's Hat. Yet this Legate, with all his Intriguing and Eloquence, could not Perſwade the Diet to Publiſh an Edict againſt *Luther* and his Followers: All they did in Relation to him, was, That the Pope ſhould immediately call a free Council in *Germany* by the Emperor's Conſent; and that, in the mean time, a Diet ſhould be held at *Spires*, where not only all that could be laid to *Luther*'s Charge, but likewiſe all the Grievances of the Empire, ſhould be prepared to be laid before the Council. But this Edict neither pleaſed the one Party nor the other. For the Pope rejected the Propoſal; and *Luther* wrote a Book againſt the Two Imperial Edicts, to ſhow how Contradictory they were to one another. In this Book, *Luther* was ſo incens'd againſt the Pope and the *German* Princes, who were then carrying on a War againſt the *Turcs*, that he ſaid, That none ought to Contribute to the Carrying on of this War, in Regard that the *Turcs* had more Probity and Moderation, than the Chriſtian Princes.

We have Obſerved already, how *Luther* and *Caroloſtad* had fall'n at Variance, upon the Account of his Procedures at *Wittemberg*; out of which City *Caroloſtad* was forced to Retire, in the Beginning of the Year 1524, to *Orlemonde*, where he was choſen their Miniſter, by the Magiſtrates and People: But, having by his Sermons rais'd New Commotions in that City, he was Accuſed to the Elector of *Saxony* of favouring the *Anabaptiſts*, and of being Inſtrumental in the Rebellion of the Peaſants. *Luther*, being ſent to *Orlemonde* by the Elector to Examine the Truth of this, as he paſs'd thro' *Jene*, upon the 23d of *Auguſt*, Preach'd a moſt Violent Sermon againſt *Caroloſtad*, who was preſent, but without Naming him. And having ſaid in his Sermon, That the *Sacramentarians*, or thoſe who Denied the Real Preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt; and the *Iconomachs*, or thoſe who Diſapproved of Images, were Favourers of the Viſions of *Munſter*, the Head of the *Anabaptiſts*: *Caroloſtad*, after Sermon, went to the Inn, where he was Lodged, and endeavoured to Vindicate himſelf. This brought on a long Diſpute betwixt them, in the Heat of which, *Luther*, pulling out his Purſe, and taking a Piece of Gold out of it, gave it to *Caroloſtad*, ſaying, *Keep this, and Write againſt me with all the Force that you are Maſter of.* *Caroloſtad*, Addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who were preſent, ſaid, *My Brethren, behold the Sign and Reward of the Power I receive for Refuting Doctor* Luther: *And I deſire you may be my Witneſſes.* Then they took one another by the Hand, and Drunk one another's Health. The next Day, *Luther* being come to *Orlemonde*, and *Caroloſtad* coming up to

Salute him, *Luther* told him, *You are my Adversary, and have received a* Florin *from me for to Write against me.* Neither would he suffer him to be present at the Conference, he had with the Inhabitants of *Orlemonde*, who received him very indifferently; which obliged *Luther* to retire. But some time after, the Elector of *Saxony*, at his Desire, Banished *Carolostad* out of his Dominions; who retired to *Strasburg*, where he wrote Two Books, in Defence of his Opinion concerning the Eucharist, which were suppressed by the Magistrates of that City, and the Printers Imprisoned.

After this, *Lutheranism* Daily increased in *Germany*. For the Elector of *Saxony*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Duke of *Brunswick* made open Profession of it. The City of *Strasburg* received it, and the Senate of that City not only Protected the *Lutheran* Ministers, but the Priests that were Married, against their Bishop. The Mob at *Francfort*, upon the *Meyn*, expell'd *Frederic Martorff* and *John Cochle*, Two of their Deacons, Pillaged the Monastery of the *Dominicans*, Deposed the Magistrates, and made Choice of a New Senate Composed of Twenty Four Persons, Chosen out of the Populace. The like Commotions were at *Maience*, *Cologne*; and in a Word, in all the States of the Empire, excepting the Hereditary Countries of the Emperor.

Leonard Coppen, a Burgar of *Torgow*, having taken out, upon Good *Friday*, Nine Nuns from a Monastery, at *Nimptschen*; *Luther* wrote a Book in Commendation of this Action, wherein he compares their Delivery to that of the Souls, that Jesus Christ delivered by his Passion. And to Demonstrate further, how Heartily he approved of this Action, he, upon the 13th Day of *June*, in the Year 1525, Married one of them, call'd *Catharine de Bore*, a Lady of Good Quality and Great Beauty, in the 45th Year of his Age. *Oecolampadius* also, and a great many others came out of their Cloisters, turned *Lutherans*, and followed his Example. Upon which *Erasmus* has this pleasant Reflection, *Nuper* Oecolampadius *duxit Uxorem, puellam non inelegantem; vult, opinor, affligere Carnem. Quidam appellant* Lutheranam *Tragœdiam; mihi videtur esse Comœdia; semper enim in Nuptias exeunt Tumultus. i. e.* "*Oecolampadius* has lately Marry'd a Young and Beautiful Girle, he designs "by this, as I believe, to Mortify his Flesh. Some say, That *Lutheranism* is a Tragical Thing; but for me, I am perswaded, that there "is nothing more Comical: For the Unrevaling of the Plot ends always "in a Marriage.

The Troubles of *Germany* augmenting Daily, and the prevailing of the *Turcs*, obliged the Emperor *Charles* V. to call a Diet, to meet at *Spires*, by his Letters given at *Toledo*, the 24th of *May*, in the Year 1525; which met towards the End of the Month of *June*, in the Year 1526: But nothing was done at this Diet, that either Contributed to the Advancement or Suppression of *Lutheranism*, by reason of the Divisions, that hapned betwixt the Emperor and the Pope. Only the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse* proposed to the Deputies of the Cities of *Strasburg* and *Nuremberg*, to enter into a League, and engage the Cities of *Francfort* and *Ulme* with them, for Defending *Luther* and his Doctrines; which the Deputies promised to Communicate to their Masters.

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The Troubles in *Germany* ſtill increaſing more and more, by the frequent Diſputes that hap'ned between the *Lutherans*, *Sacramentarians* and *Anabaptiſts*; the Emperor was obliged to call another Diet, which met at *Spires*, in the Month of *March*, 1529. The Heads of the *Anabaptiſts* were *Nicolas Storck* and *Thomas Muncer* or *Munſter*, who had been both of them Followers of *Luther*; but abandoned him under the Pretext, That his Doctrines came not up to the Perfection required by the Goſpel. The Firſt was Born at *Zwickau*, a City in the Marquiſate of *Miſnia*: The Second, at *Stalberg* in *Saxony*. They Valued themſelves upon their having the Revelations of the Spirit of GOD, by which they were only to be guided. They Contemn'd the Baptiſm of Children, and Rebaptized all thoſe who Join'd with them. They rejected all the other Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Church; and only recommended to their Followers the Internal and Spiritual Life, accompanied by an External Mortification: For which Reaſon, they wore courſe Habits and long Beards. They deſpiſed all Magiſtrates and Governours, whether Civil or Eccleſiaſtic; affirming, That no Man had a Superiority over another; and that their Followers, after that they had Exterminated all the Wicked, ſhould have an Happy Empire, where they ſhould Reign in great Plenty and Eaſe. *Nicolas Storck* was quickly Baniſhed out of *Wittemberg*; and *Thomas Muncer*, from *Zwickau*, where they begun Firſt to Teach their Doctrines. 'Tis not known what became of the Firſt: But *Muncer* retir'd to *Alſtadt*, in *Thuringia*; and, in a ſmall Proceſs of Time, got ſeveral Thouſands of the Peaſants to Join him, Fought ſeveral Battels with the Princes of the Empire, and Ruined a great Number of Countries. Yet at length, notwithſtanding of all his Prophecies and Predictions to the contrary, he was overthrown, taken and Execute at *Mulhauſin*, with ſeveral of his Accomplices.

Ulric Zuinglius, a Prieſt, who was Born on the Firſt of *January* 1487, at *Wildehauſe*, in the County of *Toggenburg* in *Switzerland*, did, upon the Occaſion of Preaching up the Pope's Indulgences, begin the Reformation in *Switzerland*, as *Luther* had done in *Germany*: But they differ'd very much in their Method and Form of Church Diſcipline, and in their Interpretation of our Saviour's Words in the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt. For *Zuinglius* affirmed, That by theſe Words, *This is my Body, and This is my Blood*, our Saviour only meant, that the Bread and Wine was only a Repreſentation of his Body and Blood, and Inſtituted as a Commemoration of his Paſſion; and that his Real Body and Blood was not there. A Doctrine, which *Luther* and his Followers ſo Violently Oppoſed, that in a Letter which he wrote to one of his Book-ſellers, who had ſent him the Tranſlation of the Bible, done by *Leon Juda*, one of *Zuinglius*'s Followers, and whom *Luther* in Deriſion call'd *Sacramentarians*, he tells him, "That for the future, he would have him ſend "him nothing that was done by the Miniſters of *Zurich*; for he would "have no further Commerce with them, or read their Books. That "the Churches of GOD could not Communicate with them, they "being a Damned People, who were leading others to Hell after "them. And that he would have no Hand in their Blaſphemies and "Condemnation; but that he was reſolved to Oppoſe them as long as "he lived, by his Writings and by his Prayers. And, in another Letter to the Miniſter of the Church of *Breme*, he ſays, That he thought

himſelf happy, that he enjoy'd the Beatitude ſpoken of, in the Firſt *Pſalm*, *Bleſſed is the Man, who has not walked in the Counſel of the* Sacramentarians, *nor has ſtood in the Way of* Zuinglius, *nor has ſat down in the Chair of thoſe of* Zurich.

Theſe Diſputes, as I have ſaid, and the prevailing Power of *Soliman*, the Emperor of the *Turcs*, who had taken the City of *Buda*, and threatned to Invade all the reſt of *Hungary*, was the Reaſon of the Calling of this Diet; where the *Anabaptiſts* were Excluded: And a great Debate aroſe about the Excluding likewiſe the Deputies of thoſe Cities, who, notwithſtanding of the Edicts of the Preceeding Diets, had, by their own Authority, Aboliſhed the Maſs, and the other Ceremonies of the Church; but this was not done. At length, after a great many Altercations, they came to examine the Edict of the laſt Diet at *Spires*, by which it was Ordained, That, as to what regarded the Execution of the Edict of *Wormes*, the Members of the Empire ſhould Govern themſelves, ſo as that they might be Anſwerable, for what they did, to GOD and the Emperor. But, finding that this was too General, they, for explaining of it, made a New Decree, upon the 13th of *April*; by which it was Ordained, That, in thoſe Places, where the Edict of *Wormes* had been hitherto Obſerved, they ſhould continue, to ſee it duly put in Execution, till ſuch time as a General Council met, which the Emperor promiſed very ſhortly to call. That thoſe, who had changed their Religion, and could not forſake what they had embraced, without raiſing a Sedition, ſhould continue ſtill what they were, till the Meeting of the Council. That their Doctrine ought not to be embraced, who had different Sentiments from that of the Church, concerning the Euchariſt. That the Maſs ſhould not be Aboliſhed; and that none ſhould hinder the Celebration of it in thoſe Places, where it was Aboliſhed. That the Sect of the *Anabaptiſts* ſhould be Proſcribed. That the Miniſters of the Word of GOD ſhould Preach it, according to the Interpretation of the Church; and that they ſhould abſtain from venting of all other Doctrines, till the Calling of the Council. That all the Members of the Empire ſhould live in Peace, with one another; and not to commit any Hoſtilities, under Pretence of Religion. Laſtly, That none of them ſhould take one another's Subjects under their Protection.

The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, *Erneſte* and *Francis* Dukes of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Prince of *Anhalt*, Oppoſed this Decree of the Diet. Their Reaſons were, That nothing ought to be done, that was Derogatory to the Decree of the former Diet, that had granted a Liberty of Religion till the Meeting of the Council. That this Reſolution, having been taken by all the Members of the Empire, could not be Revok'd, unleſs they all condeſcended to it. That, at the Diet at *Nuremberg*, the Origin and Cauſe of all the Diſſentions, about Religion, was diſcovered; which they had preſented to the Pope in Eighty Articles, to which he had not as yet given any Satisfaction. That ſtill the Concluſions of all their Deliberations were, That the beſt way, for putting an End to all their Controverſies, was to Call a Council. That they could not approve of their requiring of them to quit a Doctrine, which they believed to be conform to the Word of GOD, till ſuch time as the Council met. That their Miniſters had Proven, by

by invincible Arguments taken out of the Sacred Scriptures, That the Popiſh Maſs was contrary to the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Uſe of the Apoſtles: So that they could not Approve, what was ſaid, about it, in the Decree of the Diet; nor to permit their Subjects to aſſiſt at the Maſs, in the Places where it was Aboliſhed; or that the LORD's Supper ſhould be Celebrated after Different Ways, in the ſame Church. That it was well known, what their Sentiments were concerning the Preſence of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt: But that no Decree ſhould be made againſt thoſe, who were not of that Opinion; becauſe they had neither been call'd nor heard upon it. That they Approved of the Clauſe of Preaching the Goſpel according to the received Interpretations in the Church: But that did no ways clear the Matter; becauſe it was a great Debate, Which of them was the True Church? That Nothing was ſo Certain as the Word of GOD, which explained it ſelf: So they would take Care, that Nothing ſhould be Taught, but the Old and New Teſtament in its Purity, which is the only infallible Rule; all the Traditions of Men being Vain and Uncertain. That the Decree of the former Diet had been made, for Procuring of Peace; but that this would infallibly create Troubles and Wars: And, if any one had broken the Firſt Decree, they were willing they ſhould be Try'd before Unbyaſs'd Judges. That therefore they could not approve of the Decree of the Diet: And that they were ready to give the Emperor and all the Princes of the Empire an Account of their Conduct.

This Proteſtation was put in Writing, and Publiſhed, upon the 19th of *April*, by an Act; in which, they Appeal'd, from all that ſhould be done in the Diet, to the Emperor, the future Council, whether General or National, and all Unbyaſs'd Judges. Then they ſent Deputies to the Emperor, to Entreat him to Revoke this Decree. And the Deputies of the Fourteen following Cities adhered to the Proteſtation, *viz. Strasburg*, *Nurenberg*, *Ulm*, *Conſtance*, *Reutlingen*, *Windsheim*, *Menningen*, *Lindaw*, *Kempten*, *Heilbron*, *Iſne*, *Weiſſemburg*, *Nordlingue*, and S. *Gall*. 'Tis from this Famous Proteſtation, that the Name *Proteſtant* came; which was always afterwards given to the *Lutherans*, and is now aſſumed by all thoſe who Diſſent from the Church of *Rome*. The Article of the Proteſtation, concerning the Doctrine of the *Sacramentarians*, was Worded ſo, (as we have expreſſed it) on purpoſe, becauſe of the Diviſion that was betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* upon this Head; which thoſe of the *Roman* Communion fomented, when the Princes took this way of ſuppreſſing it. And, that it might prove the more effectual, the Landgrave of *Heſſe* invited *Luther* and *Zuinglius* to an amicable Conference at *Marpurg*. To this, tho' it was much againſt both their Wills, yet they condeſcended; and met there with ſeveral of their Followers, in the Month of *September*: And, before they had their Public Conference, *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchton* and *Zuinglius* had a Private one; wherein *Luther* charged *Zuinglius* for maintaining ſeveral Propoſitions, which he thought Heretical: But they came to an Accommodation about them all, ſave that of the Euchariſt. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* was preſent at their next Conference, with ſeveral Theologues of *Marpurg*, and other Perſons of Note.

This Conference begun upon the Firſt of *October*, and laſted for Three Days. Then *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* finding, that they could not perſwade *Luther* to alter his Sentiments, about the Real Preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, and being as Reſolute on the other Hand, earneſtly intreated *Luther* to own them as his Brethren, tho' they were of different Sentiments. But *Luther* told them plainly, He would do no ſuch thing; becauſe he could not in Conſcience acknowledge, for his Brethren, thoſe whom he believed to be in an Error. Then the Articles were drawn up, in which they both agreed, concerning the Trinity, Original Sin, Juſtification by Faith, the Efficacy of Baptiſm, the Uſefulneſs of Confeſſion, the Authority of Magiſtrates, the Neceſſity of Infant Baptiſm, and on the Spiritual Manducation of Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt. To which was added, that, altho' they could not agree, whether the True Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt was there Corporeally or not; yet they had for each other as much Chriſtian Charity, as their Conſciences could allow them. After which, *Luther* roſe up, and ſaid, That he underſtood this laſt Clauſe, of that Charity which is due unto Enemies, and not of that particular Charity that ought to be amongſt Chriſtians of the ſame Communion. Then they both Signed the Articles: And they no ſooner parted, but, as it is uſual in ſuch Caſes, both Parties gave it out, that they had the Advantage at the Conference; and Publiſhed contrary Relations and Writings about it.

Whilſt the Proteſtant Theologues were thus Diſputing one againſt another, the Proteſtant Princes and Cities were projecting a League, for their own Defence, againſt the Emperor and Pope. But the Article, concerning the Euchariſt, ſo Diſconcerted all their Meaſures, that they reſolved to let all things ſtand, as they were, till the Meeting of the Diet at *Augsburg*, which his Imperial Majeſty had call'd by Circular Letters, upon the 21ſt. of *January* 1530.

Thereafter the Emperor, having come, upon the 13th of *June*, to *Augsburg*, was ſolemnly received by the Electors and Princes, who had Arrived there before him; and the next Day, which was the Feaſt of the Holy Sacrament, he aſſiſted at the Proceſſion. But the Elector of *Saxony*, and all the other Proteſtant Princes refuſed to go to it, tho' he very earneſtly preſſed them thereto. Two Days after, the Emperor Silenced all the Preachers of Both Parties, who had hitherto Preach'd with Heat; and Nominated ſuch as ſhould Preach for the Future, expreſly Ordering them not to ſpeak Evil of one another.

Upon the 20th of *June*, the Diet ſat down, which was Uſher'd in by a Solemn Maſs: And the Emperor deſired the Elector of *Saxony* to aſſiſt at it, and to carry the Sword before him. Upon which, the Elector having Conſulted his Theologues, as to what he ſhould do in this Caſe; they Adviſed him to go, becauſe he was not call'd to the Maſs, as an Action of Religion; but to do a Service that belonged to his Charge. Prince *George* of *Brandenburg* accompanied him, but none of the other Proteſtant Princes came. After Maſs, they went to the Great Hall, where the Emperor's Chancellor opened the Aſſembly, with a long Diſcourſe upon the Reaſons of calling that Diet.

In the next *Sederunt*, which was Four Days after, Cardinal *Campege*, the Pope's Legate, made a Diſcourſe, wherein he exhorted them to ſub-

ſubmit themſelves to the Emperor, to Join in one Faith, and to enter cordially into the War againſt the *Turcs*. The Elector of *Maience* returned Anſwer to this Speech of the Legate, in the Name of the Diet. The other Ambaſſadors having been heard, the Elector of *Saxony* and the other Proteſtant Princes intreated, that the Emperor would permit them to Read a Confeſſion of their Faith, which they had drawn up: But this was refuſed them. Yet the next Day, in a Particular Aſſembly of the Princes, and ſeveral Members of the Empire, in the Emperor's Palace, he himſelf being preſent, they were permitted to read it: And they preſented him with one Copy of it, in *Latin*; and another, in *Germans*. This Confeſſion of Faith, which was afterwards ſo Famous, under the Name of *The Confeſſion of* Augsburg, was drawn up by *Melanchton*, (who had, by far, more Learning and Moderation in him, than all the other Followers of *Luther*) and Signed by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, by the Princes *Erneſte* and *Francis* Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, by the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, and by the Deputies of the Cities of *Nurenberg* and *Reutlingen*.

After the Reading of this Confeſſion, the Emperor diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, to deliberate about the moſt proper Method that was to be taken for reducing of the *Lutherans*. Some were for putting in Execution the Edict of *Wormes*, and extirpating them by Force of Arms. Others Propoſed, That ſome Perſons of good Probity, Learned and Diſintereſted ſhould be choſen; and that the Emperor ſhould Proceed, as they adviſed him. A Third Opinion was, That this Confeſſion ſhould be given to ſome Theologues of the *Roman* Communion, to be Examined and Refuted by them; and that this Refutation ſhould be read in the Diet before the Proteſtant Princes. This laſt Advice was followed; and *John Faber*, *Eckius*, *Conrad de Wimpina*, *Conrad Coelin*, *John Cochle*, and ſome other Theologues were choſen for to draw up this Refutation. Which after they had done, they preſented to the Emperor: But it was ſo full of Uncharitable Reflections, that the Emperor returned it to them, with an Order to take out all theſe Expreſſions, and put more ſoftning ones in their Places.

This being done, the Emperor call'd the Proteſtants, upon the 3d of *Auguſt*, and told them, That he had Communicated their Confeſſion of Faith to Perſons of Piety and Erudition, to ſee what was Cenſurable in it, and what was not: And that they had accordingly given in their Opinions in Writing, which he approved of, and that they ſhould hear it Read. Then one of his Imperial Majeſty's Secretaries read every Article by it ſelf, with the Anſwers returned to them by the above-named Theologues. Some they Approved of, without any Exception; Others they abſolutely rejected; and Others they Approved of in Part, and Rejected in Part.

The Articles they Approved of, were, The Firſt, concerning the Myſtery of the Trinity. The Third, upon the Incarnation. The Eighth, That the Wicked are not out of the Verge of the Church; and the Sacraments, adminiſtrated by Evil Miniſters, are Valid. The Ninth, concerning the Neceſſity of Baptiſm, and the Baptiſm of Infants. The Tenth, concerning the Real Preſence of our Saviour, in the Euchariſt. The Thirteenth, upon the Efficacy of the Sacraments; yet

Judged defective in this, that it was not acknowledged, that there were Seven of them. The Fourteenth, upon the Miſſion of the Miniſtery; providing that Canonical Ordination were acknowledged. The Sixteenth, concerning the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate. The Seventeenth, upon the Laſt Judgment and the Reſurrection. The Eighteenth, upon Free Will.

The Articles intirely Rejected, were the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and the Twentieth, That Men are not Juſtified by the Merit of Good Works, but by Faith alone. The Seventh, That the Church is the Congregation of Saints; and that it was ſufficient, for the Unity of the Church, to be agreed about the Doctrine of the Goſpel and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, without being neceſſarily obliged, to follow the ſame Cuſtoms and the ſame Traditions. The Twentieth Firſt, concerning the Invocation of Saints.

Thoſe, that were in Part Received and in Part Rejected, were, The Second, concerning Original Sin; only the Definition of that Sin was excepted againſt, becauſe it ſeemed to agree to Actual Sins. The Eleventh, Approved as to Abſolution; but Rejected as to Confeſſion. The Twelfth, upon Repentance; but Diſapproved, where it is ſaid, That Faith is a Part of Repentance; and in what is ſaid concerning Satisfaction. The Fifteenth Approved, where it is ſaid, That the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church ought to be Obſerved; but Rejected, where it is ſaid, That the Cuſtoms received by Tradition, (as Celibacy and the Monaſtic Vows) are of no Uſe for Obtaining of Grace, or for Satisfying of GOD.

As to the Second Part of the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, in which the *Proteſtants* Charged, as great Abuſes, the giving of the Communion under One Kind, the Celibacy of the Clergy, the Ceremonies of the Maſs, the Private Maſſes, the giving the Name of Sacrifice to the Maſs, the Monaſtic Vows, the Abſtaining from Meats, Faſts, Auricular Confeſſion, &c. In the Anſwers 'tis only ſaid, That they were not Abuſes, but Holy Practices eſtabliſh'd from the Authority of the Scriptures and Tradition; yet they Acknowledged, that there were ſome Abuſes, that needed to be Reformed, and that the Emperor had engaged to procure a Reformation of them.

After the Reading of this Anſwer, the Elector of *Saxony* ſaid, in the Name of all the reſt of the *Proteſtants*, That they were ſtill in the ſame Diſpoſition of Mind, in doing all, they could with a ſafe Conſcience do, for Uniting together in Religion. And, if it could be ſhown by the Sacred Scriptures, that they had Advanced any Errors, they were willing to Abjure them. And, if a more ample Explanation of their Doctrines were required, they were willing to give it. For ſince they had Approved of ſome of their Doctrines, and Rejected others; it was neceſſary, they ſhould Confirm and Clear ſuch of them, as were ſtill in Debate. And they hoped, that a Copy of the Refutation of their Confeſſion would be delivered to them for that End. But the Emperor would not grant them this Favour: Yet two Days after, he offered it to them, upon this Condition, That they ſhould not cauſe it to be Publiſhed; becauſe he was not willing to have theſe Matters any more Debated about, but amicably taken away. But the *Proteſtants* would not Accept of it upon that Condition: So that all People begun now to Deſpair

Deſpair of any Accommodation betwixt them. Howbeit, at the earneſt Deſire of the other Princes, another Conference was agreed to.

This Conference begun upon the Seventh of *Auguſt*, in the Great Church of *Augsburg*. At the Opening of the Conference, the Elector of *Brandenburg* Exhorted the *Proteſtants*, to ſatisfy the Emperor in Reuniting themſelves, in the ſame Faith, with the other Princes and Members of the Empire; otherwiſe they would involve their Country in a Terrible and Bloody War. Two Days after, *George Bruck*, a Lawyer, Anſwer'd in Behalf of the *Proteſtants*, and gave in all their Grievances. At length, after great Janglings and Debates betwixt them, it was Propoſed by the *Proteſtants*, That; out of Both Parties, a few Perſons ſhould be Choſen to ſee, if they could fall upon a Way of Accommodating them. This was agreed to; and Seven Perſons, on each Side, were Nominated, *viz.* Two Princes, Two Lawyers, and Three Theologues. Thoſe Nominated by the *Catholics*, were, for Princes, the Biſhop of *Augsburg* and the Duke of *Brunſwic*; for Lawyers, the Chancellor to the Arch-Biſhop of *Cologne* and the Chancellor to the Marquis of *Baden*; and the Theologues were *Eckius*, *Wimpina* and *Cochle*. The Princes for the *Proteſtants*, were, the Elector of *Saxony*'s Son and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*; the Lawyers, *Bruck* and *Heller*; and for Theologues, *Melanchton*, *Brentius* and *Schthnephius*. Theſe Perſons, having met and conferred together, agreed upon Fifteen of the One and Twenty Articles of the *Augsburg* Confeſſion: So that there only remain'd Six; Three of which were Controverted in Part; and the other Three were remitted to the Second Part of the Confeſſion, upon which they were moſt Difficulted.

The *Lutherans* agreed to theſe Doctrinal Points, That it ſhould be no longer Taught, That Men are Juſtify'd by Faith alone, but by Faith and Grace. That Good Works are Neceſſary. That the Reprobate are contained in the Church. That Men have Free Will. That the Saints Interceed for us; and that we might Honour their Memories. As to the other Seven Articles, they Agreed, That the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt was under both the Bread and the Wine. That the Laics were not to be blamed, who took the Sacrament of the Euchariſt under one Species only. That the accuſtomed Veneration, given to the Sacrament, ſhould not be blamed. That Public Maſſes ſhould be Celebrated with the accuſtomed Ceremonies. That they would Obſerve what was Eſſential in the Conſecration. That the Faſts of Vigils might be Obſerved, and certain Feaſts Solemnized. That the Biſhops ſhould retain their Juriſdiction; And that the Curates, Preachers, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, ſhould obey them, in all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. And Laſtly, That their Excommunications ſhould not be contemn'd.

The *Catholic* Theologues, having upon the 22d of *Auguſt* Reported to the Diet, what they had done, looked upon the Reconciliation as almoſt Concluded: And to haſten it the more, they reduced the Number of the Deputies to Three of each Side; whereof the Two Lawyers of each Party were continued, and one Theologue, which was *Eckius* for the *Catholics*, and *Melanchton* for the *Lutherans*. The Points that remain'd in Debate were particularly the Maſs, the Monaſtic Vows, and the Celibacy of the Clergy. The *Catholics* were pleas'd, that the

Prieſts, who were Married, ſhould live peaceably with their Wives: But they would not yield in the leaſt as to the Maſs, or the Monaſtic Vows. *Melanchton*, who was very much inclined to Peace, would willingly have given ſome Conceſſions, even in theſe Two Articles likewiſe. But his other *Proteſtant* Brethren were extremely offended at him, for what he had already done; and ordered him to proceed no further.

Thereafter, they coming to no Accommodation, the *Proteſtant* Princes retired from the Diet, in the Month of *October*: But, before they went away, they preſented the Emperor with an Apology, for their Confeſſion, drawn up by *Melanchton*. Which, when his Imperial Majeſty would not receive, they caus'd Publiſh the next Year.

Luther, tho' he was not at this Diet, (being either afraid of coming thereto, or kept from it by the Perſwaſion of his Friends) yet could not be prevailed with to forbear Writing againſt the Princes thereof. For, whilſt they were ſitting, he publiſhed ſeveral Writings, wherein he repreſented them very odiouſly to the People; and particularly one, upon the 2d *Pſalm*, in which he applies to the Princes Aſſembled at *Augsburg*, that which is ſaid, in that *Pſalm*, of the Aſſembly and Conſpiracy of the Princes of the Earth againſt Jeſus Chriſt.

After this Diet, the *Proteſtant* Princes and Cities entred into a Mutual League, for Supporting one another againſt their Enemies. And when ſeveral Attempts, that had been made, for bringing them back again to the Church of *Rome*, had fail'd; all was referr'd to a General Council, which was Call'd and Appointed to ſit down at *Trent*: But of this hereafter in the next Life. In the mean time, the *Proteſtants* were contriving amongſt themſelves, how to Strengthen their Party, by reconciling the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians* together. *Bucer* undertook to do this: And a Formula of an Union was drawn up by *Melanchton*, and Signed by both Parties; ſave the *Swiſſes*, who drew up a diſtinct one of their own. In this Formula, they acknowledged, That the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt was Truly and Subſtantially Preſent, Given and Taken in the Euchariſt, with the Bread and the Wine. Tho' there was neither a Tranſubſtantiation, nor Local Incluſion of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, in the Bread, nor a Durable Union betwixt the Body of Jeſus Chriſt and the Bread, but when uſed; yet by a Sacramental Union, the Bread was the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, *that's to ſay*, That in giving of the Bread, the Body was Preſent and Given: But that this was only in the Action; the Body not being Preſent, when the Bread is kept in a *Ciborium*, or carried about in Proceſſion. That the Sacrament depends not upon the Merit of the Miniſter, or of him who receives it; the Body and Blood being Truly Given to the Unworthy, who receive it.

But tho' *Luther* and all the Miniſters of the Higher *Germany* Signed this Formula, yet it was of no long Duration, as it appears from *Luther*'s Expreſſions againſt the *Zuinglians*; which I cited already, and which he wrote a little before his Death. But that, which Strengthned the *Proteſtants* moſt of all, and which *Luther* had the Glory to ſee, was the Revolt of the Northern Crowns, which hapned thus (*e*).

The

(*e*) See the Hiſt. of the Revol. of *Sweden*, *Lond.* 8*vo.* 1696.

The *Swedes*, reſolving to Dethrone their King, *Albert*, becauſe he had violated the Liberty and Privileges of his Subjects, made an Offer of their Crown to *Margaret de Valdemar*, Queen of *Denmark* and *Norway*: A Princeſs, ſays the before-cited Author, who, beſides the uſual Ambition of her Sex, was Miſtreſs of a Dexterity in the Management of Affairs, and of a Capacity to form a long Series of Coherent Projects, that are rarely Obſerved in a Woman. Her Inclinations to Love, were ſuitable to her Character and Dignity: *That is*, She was not really in Love with any thing, but Glory; or Senſible of any Paſſion, but her Ambition to Extend her Empire, and Advance her Authority. This Princeſs received, with Joy, the Propoſal that was made to her by the *Swedes*, as the Moſt Probable Means to ſecure the Peace of *Denmark*. For the Violent Animoſity, that Reign'd betwixt the Subjects of both Kingdoms, was of as Ancient a Date as the Foundation of the Two Kingdoms: And that Antipathy, which is uſually Obſerved betwixt Neighbouring States, had all along been a perpetual Source of War, which had oftentimes proved Fatal to *Denmark*. Beſides, this Prudent Princeſs concluded, that her new Advancement might, one Day, furniſh her with an Opportunity, to Unite *Sweden* to *Denmark*. Theſe Conſiderations, as I have ſaid, made this Princeſs embrace their Propoſal with Joy: And *Albert* being Dethroned, her Title to the Crowns of the Three Kingdoms of the North, was Univerſally Own'd and Acknowledged.

The *Swedes*, having now Subjected themſelves to a Princeſs, that had no Children, and fearing that, after her Death, King *Albert* or the Prince his Son, might renew their Pretenſions to the Crown, intreated her to ſecure the Happineſs of the Kingdom by an Advantageous Match. This Propoſal, however intended, was not at all Welcome to the Queen. She was too Fond of the Sovereign Power, to ſhare it with a Husband; yet, that ſhe might not ſeem to ſlight the Petition of her New Subjects, ſhe conſented to appoint her Succeſſor. But, at the ſame time, ſhe reſolved to chooſe a Prince, whoſe Tender Age might ſecure the Quiet of her Government, and keep him from Attempting to mount the Throne, during her Life. In Purſuance of this Reſolution, ſhe ſent for Prince *Henry* of *Pomerania*, the Son of *Wartiſlaus* VII. and of *Mary* of *Mecklenburg*, the Daughter of *Henry* of *Mecklenburg* and of *Ingelburg*, the Queen's Elder Siſter; and Declared him the Heir of the Three Northern Crowns.

The Form of Government in theſe Kingdoms was almoſt the ſame. All Three were Elective; and every Nation had its Senate, without whoſe Advice or the Conſent of the Eſtates, the Prince could not undertake any important Affair. The Queen, in order to the Accompliſhment of her great Deſign, ſpent ſome time in gaining Creatures, and ſecuring the Intereſt of ſome of the Leading Men of each Nation. Then, as ſoon as ſhe found her Project Ripe for Execution, ſhe call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Eſtates of her Three Kingdoms, to be held at *Calmar* in *Sweden*; whither Fourty Deputies of each Nation repaired, to Eſtabliſh a Fundamental Law, for the Uniting of the Three Kingdoms under one Monarch. The Queen preſented the Young Duke of *Pomerania* to the Convention, and intreated them to confirm her Choice. She alſo endeavoured, with a great deal of Eloquence, to make them

ſenſible of the Advantages of an Union, by making them Terrible to their Enemies, and taking away all their Ancient Animoſities and Quarrels. But above all ſhe repreſented to them the Inviting Proſpect, they had, of making themſelves Rich, by being Maſters of all the Trade of the *Baltic* Sea. That the *Hanſe Towns* could never afterwards Enrich themſelves, by their Diviſions. And that the only way to perpetuate theſe Advantages, and to make the Union Solid and Durable, was to Unite the Three Kingdoms into One Monarchy, by a Solemn and Fundamental Law. Theſe Arguments, with the Intereſt of her Creatures, either Gain'd or Commanded the Conſent of all the Deputies. The Election of the Duke of *Pomerania* was unanimouſly Approved; and the Three Kingdoms of the North were United, under that Prince and his Succeſſors, by a Fundamental Law, which was received by the Three Nations, and Confirmed by the moſt Solemn Oaths.

This Celebrated Union of *Calmar*, inſtead of Eſtabliſhing a Laſting Concord betwixt the Northern Kingdoms, was the Fatal Occaſion of thoſe Bloody Wars, that kept *Sweden* and *Denmark* in a Perpetual Flame, for above a Hundred Years. It conſiſted of Three main Articles, which ſeem'd to have been framed on Purpoſe, to Secure the Liberty and Independency of each Nation. By the Firſt, 'twas Ordained, That theſe Three Kingdoms, which, by the Conſtitution of their Government, were Elective, ſhould afterwards be ſubject to one King, who ſhould be Elected by Turns in each Kingdom: And that the Royal Dignity ſhould not be appropriated to any one Nation to the Prejudice or Excluſion of the reſt, unleſs the deceaſt Prince ſhould leave Children or Relations, whom the Convention of the Three Eſtates ſhould Judge Worthy to Succeed him. The Second obliged the Sovereign, to ſhare his Preſence betwixt the Three Realms; and to ſpend the Revenues of each Crown, in the Reſpective Kingdom, without Exporting the Money he received, or applying it to any other Uſe, than the Particular Advantage and Benefit of the Kingdom where it was levied. By the Third and moſt important Article, 'twas Provided, That each Kingdom ſhould retain its Senate, Laws, Cuſtoms and Privileges, that the Governours, Magiſtrates, Generals, Biſhops, Soldiers and Gariſons, ſhould be Natives of the Kingdom, where they were Employ'd: And that the King ſhould never Diſpoſe of any of theſe Poſts to Foreigners; or to the Subjects of other Kingdoms, who ſhould be reputed Foreigners and Aliens to the Government of the Country, where they were not Born.

The *Swedes* were extremely pleaſed to think, that the Royal Prerogative was ſo effectually reſtrained by this Treaty, that the Sovereign could never afterwards Invade the Liberties of the Subject: But they were ſoon convinced of their Error, and both ſaw and felt the Fatal Conſequences of their Miſtaken Policy. For the Queen, being too Powerful and Ambitious, to content her ſelf with ſo limited an Authority, was ſcarce ſettled upon the Throne of *Sweden*, when ſhe began to extend her Power; and endeavour'd, with an extraordinary Application, to make her ſelf the Abſolute Miſtreſs of the Kingdom, by ſeiſing on all the Principal Forts, which ſhe cunningly got out of the Hands of the Gentry. She alſo beſtowed moſt of the Vacant Governments on *Daniſh* Lords, againſt the Proviſo expreſly mentioned in the Treaty

Treaty of *Calmar*; and, by Degrees, removed the *Swediſh* Nobility from all the Conſiderable Places of Honour and Truſt in the Kingdom. At laſt ſhe incens'd them ſo, that they went in a Body to attend her; and laid before her the Titles, by which they held their Privileges; and a Copy of the Treaty of *Calmar*, the Violation of which gall'd them extremely: But ſhe was too well acquainted with her own Power, to dread the Effects of their impotent Rage; for inſtead of returning a Satisfactory Anſwer to their Addreſs, ſhe told them in a Slighting and Diſdainful Manner, *That ſhe would Adviſe them to keep their Charters and Titles as carefully, as ſhe intended to keep the Forts of the Kingdom.* After this, ſhe always Govern'd with an Abſolute Power; keeping the Nobility, at a Diſtance, from the Management of State Affairs; and Impoveriſhing the Common People, that they might not be able to carry on a Deſign againſt the Government.

But ſince theſe Politic Cautions were not ſufficient to reſtrain a Nation, that had been accuſtomed to Liberty, and always ready to Revolt, when they found themſelves in the leaſt Injured; ſhe made it her Buſineſs to gain Creatures, and to form a Party in the Kingdom, that might be able to maintain her Authority, and baffle all the Attempts of her Enemies. For the more effectual Proſecution of that Deſign, ſhe caſt her Eyes upon the *Clergy*, who were very Powerful, both by Reaſon of their vaſt Riches, and the great Number of their Vaſſals: Nor could ſhe have taken a better Way, to curb the Fury of a Grumbling and Superſtitious People, who thought themſelves obliged to be Govern'd by the Maxims of their Spiritual Guides. There was not a Church then in *Sweden*, that did not receive ſome Conſpicuous Marks of her Bounty. She Augmented the Power, and Confirmed all the Privileges of the Biſhops: And afterwards admitted them into a Share of the Government, that their own Intereſt, and the Preſervation of their Grandeur might oblige them, to maintain the Authority of the Crown. On the other Hand, the Biſhops, being gain'd by ſuch High and Diſtinguiſhing Favours, did devote themſelves to the Intereſt of the Court: And the Inferior Clergy followed their Example, both by Reaſon of their Dependance upon their Superiors, and becauſe the Favour of the Court, and the Queen's Recommendation to the Chapters, were the moſt effectual Means to obtain a Biſhopric.

The Lords and Gentlemen, who were already Jealous of the Riches and Power of the Clergy, could not, without Grief and Indignation, behold this New Addition to their Authority: But they were forced to content themſelves with repining in Secret, till *Charles Canutſon* was Elected King of *Swedland* and *Norway*, in the Year 1445 or 48, who, having raiſed the languid Courage of the *Swedes*, and awakned their Ancient Averſion againſt the *Daniſh* Government, broke the Treaty of *Calmar*: And, reſolving to Govern without any Dependance upon the Biſhops, he obtained an Order of the Senate to make an exact Enquiry into all the Rights of the Crown, and the Public Revenues, which the Clergy had uſurped. And, under the Pretext, that the Superſtition of the People would give the Clergy an Opportunity, by Degrees, to make themſelves Maſters of all the Lands of the Kingdom, he Ordain'd, That no Perſon for the future ſhould erect any new Foundations. For this, the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics treated *Canutſon* as a

Heretic. And *John Benedicti de Salſtat*, Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, Diſpatched a Gentleman, with Secret Inſtructions, to *Chriſtian* I. King of *Denmark*, to invite him to *Sweden*, in order to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Treaty of *Calmar*. *Chriſtian* having ſent a Powerful Army into *Swedland*, *Salſtat* immediately call'd a General Aſſembly of the Clergy, to be held at *Upſal*; where he Excommunicated the King in a Solemn Maſs, which he ſaid on that Occaſion. After the Office was ended, he laid his Eccleſiaſtical Ornaments and Habits upon the Altar, Swearing, That he would never put them on again, till he had driven *Canutſon* out of the Kingdom. Then he took a Cuiraſs and Sword, and went out of the Church in that Warlike Equipage, at the Head of his Vaſſals, to Fight againſt his Sovereign. The reſt of the Biſhops followed his Example, and took up Arms for the Preſervation of their Privileges; and, having Joined the *Danes*, *Canutſon* was Defeat, and obliged to retire out of the Kingdom. Then the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, having entred *Stockholm*, in the Year 1457, cauſed Proclaim *Chriſtian* I. King. But that Prince, knowing the Arch-Biſhop's Turbulent Temper, cauſed him to be apprehended, and ſent him Priſoner to a Caſtle in *Denmark*.

Canutſon, after he had lived Seven Years in Exile, was reſtored to his Throne. Upon this, King *Chriſtian* ſet the Arch-Biſhop at Liberty, upon his Promiſe of raiſing a new Inſurrection, againſt *Canutſon*, which he accordingly did. And, in a Battel betwixt them, upon the Lake *Meler*, which was then Frozen, the King was entirely Defeat: And, not having Men enough left to ſecure his Retreat, he was forced to put himſelf into the Hands of his Enemies. The Arch-Biſhop made him Renounce the Title of King; and afterwards Confined him to a Caſtle in *Finland*, which he allowed him for his Subſiſtance. The Arch-Biſhop, after this Victory, had the Government of *Sweden*, as long as he lived.

Upon his Death, which hapned in the Year 1468, *Canutſon* had the good Fortune to mount the Throne a Third Time; but had little or no Authority. His Succeſſors *Steno* and *Suanto Sture*, Govern'd only in Quality of Adminiſtrators. But, in the mean time, the Kings of *Denmark* did all they could, for Aboliſhing of that Office, and bringing *Sweden* under the Subjection of *Denmark*, by reviving the Union of *Calmar*. The Biſhops favoured their Party: And *James Vulfin*, Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, after the Death of the Adminiſtrator *Suanto Sture*, did all, that lay in his Power, for Subjecting his Country to *Denmark*. But, finding that he could not effectuate it, he demitted his Arch-Biſhopric in favours of the Son of a Senator, call'd *Eric Trolle*, who was a Sworn Enemy to the new Elected Adminiſtrator *Suanto Sture*. This new Arch-Biſhop eſpouſed the Intereſt of *Chriſtian* II. King of *Denmark*; and it was not long ere he was at Variance with the Adminiſtrator. His Suffragans eſpouſed his Quarrel, and ſome of them were ſo forward as to propoſe, that the King of *Denmark* ſhould be ſent to, and deſir'd to break the Truce betwixt the Two Nations. The Adminiſtrator being informed of this, ſummon'd a Meeting of the States at *Tellia*, under Pretext, that the Truce with *Denmark* was ready to expire; but in effect, to diſcover the Strength of the Arch-Biſhop's Party, whom he ſummoned to repair thither, in order to his Qualifying himſelf for his Office, by taking the Uſual Oath of Fidelity to the States. But the Arch-Biſhop, inſtead of obeying, retired to his ſtrong Caſtle of *Steque*.

About

About this time, Pope *Leo* X. ſent *John Angelo Arcemboldi*, in Quality of his Legate, to the Northern Kingdoms. This Legate was of a ſmooth and pliant Temper, extremely Polite and Complaiſant: And ſeem'd to make the Getting of Money his principal Buſineſs, and the main Object of his Deſires. For the Purchaſing of which, he was intruſted with a full Power to grant Licenſes, for the Eating of Fleſh on Fiſh Days, to thoſe who would be at the Charge of Purchaſing a Diſpenſation. At the ſame time, he diſtributed Indulgences to all thoſe, who would contribute a certain Sum for Building of S. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*. *Arcemboldi* ſcraped together thoſe Profitable Incomes with all the Greedineſs of a Soldier, that is ſent to Levy Contributions: And thereby he not only incenſed the *Swedes* and the Adminiſtrator; but likewiſe *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*. Howbeit *Chriſtiern*, knowing that he could not Succeed, in his Deſign againſt *Sweden*, without the Aſſiſtance of the Clergy, did Diſſemble his Reſentment ſo well, that he overloaded him with Careſſes and Obligations, during his Abode in *Denmark*; and, at his Departure, he received his laſt Viſit with the higheſt Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Civility.

The King of *Denmark* having begun ſome Acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Swedes*, the Adminiſtrator cauſed an Indictment to be drawn up againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, as the Author and Fomenter of the Conſpiracy. Then, in the Month of *September*, in the Year 1516, he call'd a Meeting of the Eſtates at *Weſteras*, the Capital City of *Weſtmannia*; and the Arch-Biſhop was Summon'd to appear before them. But that haughty Prelate, refuſing to appear, was declared Rebel; and the Adminiſtrator was Ordered to ſeiſe his Perſon. Immediately the Adminiſtrator went with an Army, and laid Siege to the Arch-Biſhop's Fortreſs of *Steque*, obliged him to Capitulate, and ſent him to *Stockholm*. Here the Senate Ordered him to reſign his Title to the Arch-Biſhopric, to retire to a Monaſtery, to do Penance for all the Diſturbances, his Ambition had raiſed in the Kingdom; and that his Fortreſs of *Steque* ſhould be Demoliſh'd. The Arch-Biſhop, being thus forced to renounce his Dignity, delivered his Reſignation, in full Senate, to be tranſmitted to the Pope: But, at the ſame time, he ſent one of his Creatures to *Rome*, to Complain of thoſe Violent Proceedings, and to beg the Protection of the Holy See.

Upon theſe Complaints, the Legate *Arcemboldi* was Ordered to return immediately to *Sweden*; and to require the Adminiſtrator to put the Arch-Biſhop in Poſſeſſion of his Office and Dignity, upon Pain of Excommunication. This being refuſed, Pope *Leo* X. put the whole Kingdom of *Sweden* under Interdiction; and Excommunicated the Adminiſtrator and the Senate. The Bull was directed to *Theodore* Arch-Biſhop of *Lunden* in *Denmark*, and the Biſhop of *Odenſee* in *Fuenen*. The *Swedes* were extremely offended at the laſt Article thereof, which committed the Execution of the Bull to *Chriſtiern* II. King of *Denmark*. The Adminiſtrator, on the other Hand, cauſed ſeiſe upon all the Sums of Money, that were due in *Sweden* to the Legate. The King of *Denmark*, being Authorized by the Pope's Bull, entred *Sweden*, with a Powerful Army; and immediately began to Deſtroy the Country with Fire and Sword: But the Adminiſtrator, with a Numerous Army of Country People, drove him back to his Ships. Yet not long after, the King of

Denmark gave Battel to the Adminiſtrator, and obtained a total Victory over the *Swedes*; the Adminiſtrator having his Leg ſhot from him by a Cannon Ball.

Some Days after, the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal* was Re-eſtabliſhed in his Dignity, who Conveen'd the States, and made them own *Chriſtiern* for their King. This Prince, having thus made himſelf Maſter of all *Sweden*, came to *Stockholm*, upon the Firſt of *November*, in the Year 1520, in order to his Coronation: And all the Grandees of the Kingdom were invited to this Ceremony, where *Chriſtiern* cauſed them all to be Arreſted, when they were leaſt thinking upon it, by the Counſel of the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, who demanded Juſtice of the Deceaſed Adminiſtrator, and of all the Senators who had compell'd him to renounce his Dignity. The King remitted that Affair to *Theodore*, Arch-Biſhop of *Lunden*, and to the Biſhop of *Odenſee*, one of his Suffragans; to whom the Pope's Bull, againſt the Adminiſtrator and Senate, had been Directed. Theſe two Biſhops, by vertue of the Pope's Commiſſion, began to proceed againſt them as Heretics. But the King, being unwilling to loſe time, without any other Formality, cauſed bring them all to a Scaffold, where a *Daniſh* Officer read the Pope's Bull aloud, as if it had been the Sentence of their Condemnation; adding, that they were Executed by the Orders of the Apoſtolical Commiſſioners, and the Advice of the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*. After which, they were all put to Death, without being allowed to have any Confeſſors to aſſiſt them. The Biſhops of *Stregnez* and *Scara*, all the Senate, and Ninety Four Lords, had their Heads cut off, upon the 8th Day of *November*: And the City of *Stockholm* was abandoned to the Fury of the *Daniſh* Soldiers, who promiſcuouſly Murdered all, that had the Misfortune to be in their Way. Then they Broke into their Houſes, where the Citizens were Stab'd in the Arms of their Wives; their Daughters expoſed to the Brutiſh Luſt of the Soldiers. And in a Word, none were ſpared, but thoſe who were Protected, either by their Poverty or Uglineſs. Yea ſuch was the Inhumane Rage of this Furious and Barbarous Prince, that a certain Gentleman of the *Swediſh* Nation, being Senſibly touched at the Sight of this Horrid Maſſacre, could not reſtrain himſelf from Tearing. For which, the King cauſed him to be faſtned to a Gibbet, where his Privy Members were cut off, his Belly ript up, and his Heart plucked out; as if Pity and Compaſſion had been the Fouleſt and moſt Enormous Crimes. But GOD ſuffered not theſe Barbarities to paſs long unpuniſhed by the Hands of *Guſtavus Erickſon*.

This *Guſtavus Erickſon* was Deſcended from the Ancient Kings of *Sweden*, and particularly from King *Canutſon*, who was his Great-Uncle. His Father, *Eric Vaſa*, Governour of *Finland*, was one of thoſe who were Murdered at *Stockholm*. This young Nobleman, who had Naturally a High and Daring Spirit, and a Soul poſſeſſed with an eager Deſire of Glory, had been very Serviceable to the Adminiſtrator, in all his Wars againſt King *Chriſtiern*; and having made his Eſcape to the Mountains of *Dalcarlia*, after many ſtrange and ſurpriſing Adventures, got together an Army: And, in a ſmall time, by his Conduct and Valour, became ſo Formidable, that he Defeat the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*. In the Year 1523, he was, in a Meeting of the Eſtates at *Stregnez*, Declared King of *Sweden*; and had the Glory of being the Deliverer of his Country, and

and the Breaker of that Famous Treaty of Union at *Calmar*, which had brought his Native Country under great Calamities, for a Hundred Years. Whereas King *Christiern* being deprived of his Dominions, and expell'd by his *Danish* Subjects, (who placed on his Throne, *Frederic d' Oldenburg* Duke of *Holstein*) retired to the Low-Countries; and, Ten Years after, attempting by the Assistance of the *Hollanders*, to Re-establish himself, he was taken and put in Prison, where he remain'd till his Death, which hapned upon the 25th of *January* 1559.

It was under the Reign of this *Gustavus*, that *Lutheranism* was brought into *Sweden*, First by the *Germans*, who were in his Army ; and then by the Advice of his Chancellor. *Gustavus* designing to curb the Excessive Power of the Clergy, Consulted with his Chancellor *Larz Anderson*, about the most proper Method that was to be taken ; and that it might be so done, that the Clergy should not in the least have any Pretext, for raising of an Intestine War. This Chancellor was a Person of an Obscure Birth, but full of Ambition; of a vast and soaring Genius, Cunning and Eloquent, and Bold in Council: He was Master of a very Fruitful Invention in contriving Projects and Expedients ; and his Mind was always full of Great Designs. In his Youth, he entred into Ecclesiastical Orders ; and the Interest of his Friends, join'd with his own Abilities, procured him the Dignity of Arch-Deacon of *Stregnez*. He had also some Prospect of obtaining the Bishopric; for there were some, who Voted for him at the Election : But he was so Discouraged by the Rubs he met with in that Way to Preferment, that he resolved to try his Fortune in another Road. Then having left the Church for the Court, his Merit was quickly taken Notice of, and procured him the Esteem of *Gustavus*. His Skill in the Laws of his Country, and his Resentment against the Clergy for excluding him from a Bishopric, were sufficient Qualifications to recommend him to the Favour of that Prince, who wanted a proper Instrument to Humble an Order of Men, whom he both Fear'd and Suspected. He made him therefore his Chancellor, and by his Advice resolved to encourage the Progress of *Lutheranism*.

Olaus Petri, (who had Study'd, at *Wittemberg*, under *Luther*) and some other *Lutheran* Doctors, being secretly informed of this by the Chancellor, came to *Sweden*, and Preach'd up their Doctrines to the People. Pope *Adrian* VI. upon Notice of this, that he might stop its further Progress in that Kingdom, sent for his Legate there, one *John Magni*, a *Swede* of great Merit, who was then at *Rome*. But this Legate (coming just at the time of *Gustavus*'s Election, and the Expulsion of *Gustavus Trolle*, Arch-Bishop of *Upsal*, who had followed the King of *Denmark*) was chosen to that Arch-Bishopric by the King and Senate, much against his Will.

Sometime after this, the King Discharged all Ecclesiastics to make Use of their Excommunications against their Enemies and Debitors. He Disannull'd the Jurisdiction of the Officials, remitted the Judging of all these Affairs to the Secular Courts, Discharged the Bishops from possessing the Successions of the Ecclesiastics in their Dioceses, and revok'd a great many Exemptions that the Clergy enjoy'd. The Bishops Complained of these Declarations, and that *Olaus Petri* had Translated the New Testament, into the *Swedish* Language, taken from that which *Luther* had Printed in *Germany*. The King Answer'd, That the Clergy, ha-

having Poſſeſs'd themſelves, during the Civil Wars, of ſeveral Rights of the Crown, were not to take it ill, that his Officers made an exact Enquiry after them: And as for *Olaus Petri*, he was willing to abandon him, or any other of his Subjects, that could be convicted of Hereſy.

Upon this, *Olaus* immediately emits a Challenge to the Biſhops, wherein he offers to Convict them and the reſt of the Clergy, before his Majeſty, of ſeveral Groſs and Scandalous Errors. The King agreed to this Propoſal, and a Conference was appointed at *Upſal*. But the Biſhops refuſed to Diſpute with a Man, of whom they were Judges by their Office; they only Ordered a Theologue, call'd *Gallus*, to Reaſon with him. Theſe two Doctors Diſputed a long time, concerning Purgatory, Indulgences, Communion under Both Kinds, the Celibacy of the Clergy, and likewiſe their Temporal Power: But, becauſe they agreed not in the Teſt, by which they were to be try'd, it had no great Effect. For *Olaus* would be try'd by no other Authority than the Sacred Scriptures,: And *Gallus* would not only be try'd by the Scriptures; but likewiſe by Tradition, the Fathers, and Councils. At length the Diſpute fell upon the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament by *Olaus*. Upon this, the King deſired the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal* to make a New Tranſlation: And this was the Reſult of this Conference.

The Arch-Biſhop Aſſembled, at *Stockholm*, his Suffragans with the principal Perſons of the Secular and Regular Clergy; where it was Reſolved, notwithſtanding of the great Oppoſition that the Biſhop of *Lincopinc* made, That a Verſion of the New Teſtament ſhould be made in Oppoſition to that of *Olaus*. The King likewiſe Aſſembled the Senate, at *Stockholm*, and Propoſed the taking of the Two Thirds of the Tithes, for the Maintenance of his Troops; and the Silver Plate of the Churches, for the Paying of the Debts of the State. The Senate having Approved of this Propoſition, their Decree was immediately Publiſhed, and Commiſſaries appointed for every Province, to ſee it put in Execution.

This raiſed great Diſcontents amongſt the Clergy and Monks, who excited and fomented ſeveral Seditions. But *Guſtavus*, having appeaſed them, Ordered, That none of the Monks ſhould come out of their Cloiſters, but Twice in the Year. And, whereas the moſt of them had Strangers for their Superiors, he changed them, and put in Natives in their Places. Then he required the Biſhops to give up their Fortreſſes; and, by an Order of the States, they were to be put in his Hands. That they ſhould Disband all their Troops. That they ſhould be no more Members of the Senate. That they ſhould apply no more, for their Uſe, the Fines and Confiſcations. That the Silver Plate, and the uſeleſs Bells of Churches ſhould be employ'd, in paying of the Public Debts. That the Nobility might retrieve, from the Eccleſiaſtics, the Goods their Anceſtors had Pawned, upon their paying the Pawn. That Two Thirds of the Tithes ſhould be Sequeſtrated, for the Paying of the Troops, during the War; and for the Uſe of Hoſpitals and Public Schools, during the Peace. This Act was Signed by the Biſhops themſelves. The Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, whom the King could not prevail with, was ſent by him, a little time before, to *Poland*; and from thence, he went to *Rome*, for to Implore the Aſſiſtance of Pope *Clement* VII.

Guſta-

Gustavus, having Published this Declaration, put himself immediately at the Head of his Troops, and went, thro' all his Provinces, to see it put in Execution. *Olaus Petri* and several *Lutheran* Doctors followed him, and Preached in his Presence, in the Principal Churches, wherever he went. The most part of the Curates made an open Profession of *Lutheranism*, by Marrying, and saying Mass in the Vulgar Tongue. The Bishop of *Lincopinc* retired to *Poland*: The other Bishops went to their own Seats, where they remain'd silent. The most Part of the Monks forsook their Convents: Some, out of Fear; and others, out of Lewdness. The Bishop of *Scara*, and the Marischal *Tureio Hanson*, and a Few, who adhered to the Church of *Rome*, went to *Dalcarlia*, where they formed a Party, that were quickly Dispersed by *Gustavus*'s Army. Then having no more to be afraid of, he openly Declared himself *Lutheran*, in the Year 1527: And made *Olaus Petri*, Minister at *Stockholm*; and *Lawrence Petri*, Arch-Bishop of *Upsal*, and publicly Married him to one of his Relations.

In the Year 1529, *Gustavus* call'd a General Assembly of all the Clergy, in which they Established the Confession of *Augsburg*, as the Confession of their Faith. Their Ceremonies are many of them the same with the Church of *Rome*. They have their Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: Their Churches are Splendid and Magnificent. They have kept the Custom of Confessing, and several other Practices of the Church of *Rome*.

Christiern II. King of *Denmark*, brought in *Lutheranism* likewise there; and owned it, when he retired to the *Low-Countries*. But *Frederic* was the First, who, in the Year 1524, permitted *Luther*'s Doctrines to be Publicly Preach'd in the Churches of *Denmark*. His Son, *Christiern* III. having had the Care of all the Ecclesiastical Affairs committed to him, did, in the Year 1527, Establish the Confession of *Augsburg*, and made the whole Clergy *Protestants*: And he, succeeding to his Father, in the Year 1535, brought from *Wittemberg*, *John Bugenhagen*, a Disciple of *Luther*, commonly call'd *Pomeranus*, who accomplish'd its Establishment in that Kingdom. *Frederic* II. continued to maintain it: And Pope *Pius* IV. having solicited him to receive the Nuncioes, that he had sent to *Germany*, for Inviting the Princes to the Council of *Trent*; he Answer'd, That neither he, nor his Father had ever Acknowledged the Pope, and therefore he would give no Ear to what he proposed. Thus, I have, in as few Words as possibly I could, represented, how the Reformation was Established in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*; and shall now return to our Author.

He is made Professor of Theology at *Franckfort*.

Upon our Author's Arrival in *Germany*, in the Year 1540, he was made Professor of Theology, at *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*, by the Elector of *Brandenburg*. The next Year, there was a Conference about Religion, appointed at *Wormes*, by an Order from the Emperor *Charles* V. And tho' *Alesse* was one of the *Lutheran* Doctors, that was sent thither by the *Protestant* Princes; yet *Nicolas Granville*, who was then the Emperor's principal Minister of State, would noways consent, that our Author should be allowed to be one of the Disputants. Then *Eckius* was chosen by the *Romanists*; and *Melanchton*, for the *Protestants*: But, after a Conference of three Days, they broke up, without agreeing to any thing.

He goes to a Conference at *Wormes*, but is not permitted to speak.

In a Diſpute at *Franckfort*, he mantains the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate, in Puniſhing the Sin of Uncleanneſs

The next Year, in an Aſſembly at *Franckfort*, he maintain'd in a Public Diſpute, that the Civil Magiſtrate could and ought to Puniſh the Sin of Uncleanneſs; and was ſupported by *Philip Melanchton*. Which ſo incenſed the Court of *Brandenburg* againſt them, that they wrote to the Univerſity of *Wittemberg*, to give them a Public Reproof. Upon this, *Aleſſe* left *Franckfort*, and went to *Lipſic*, in the Year 1543. *Albert* Duke of *Pruſſia*, deſigning to erect an Univerſity at *Koningsberg*, intended to have had our Author Profeſſor of Theology there: But the Profeſſor's Place at *Lipſic* falling Vacant at the ſame time, and being offered to him, he accepted of that, and made his Excuſe to the Duke of *Pruſſia*.

He aſſiſts at a Conference at *Naumburg*.

In the Year 1554, a great Controverſy ariſing amongſt the Divines of *Pruſſia*, about ſome Points in Religion, betwixt the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans*; a Conference was appointed at *Naumburg*, where *Aleſſe* acquit himſelf to the Admiration of the whole Aſſembly, and for which he is highly Commended by *Camerarius*.

He appeaſes the Diſciples of *Oſiander* at *Nuremberg*.

In the Year 1555, the Diſciples of *Andrew Oſiander*, having raiſed great Diſſentions in the City of *Nuremberg*; *Melanchton* made Choice of *Aleſſe*, as the fitteſt Perſon to appeaſe them, by his Wiſdom and Learning: And in this, his Management Anſwered *Melanchton*'s Expectation. But of all the Diſputes that he had, none made ſo great a Clamour and Noiſe, as that which he maintained at *Lipſic*, upon the 29th of *November*, in the Year 1560, when he aſſerted the Neceſſity and Merit of Good Works: And it is the Fifth amongſt the *Antitapperianas*.

He maintains the Neceſſity and Merit of Good Works.

An Account of his Works.

This Author, as I have ſaid, wrote a great many Books in Defence of *Luther* and his Opinions: And ſince I have ſubjoin'd a ſufficient Account of them already in the Catalogue of his Works, I ſhall only trouble the Reader with a ſhort Narrative of the Subject Matters, upon which he writes. In the Year 1533, he Publiſh'd a Book in Defence of Reading the Scriptures, in the Vulgar Language. In the Year 1542, he Publiſhed a Vindication of himſelf, againſt the Biſhops of *Scotland*, who had Condemn'd him as an Heretic. The ſame Year, he Publiſhed another Book, againſt the Biſhop of *London*, proving that the Sacred Scriptures, without Tradition, Fathers or Councils, is the only Rule of our Faith. In the Year 1550, he Publiſhed an Expoſition upon the *Pſalms* of *David*. In the ſame Year, he Publiſhed Commentaries upon the Epiſtles of *Timothy* and *Titus*. In the Year 1551, he Publiſhed the Liturgy of the Church of *England* in *Latin*. In 1553, he Publiſhed a Commentary upon the Goſpel according to S. *John*. And the ſame Year, all his Diſputes were Publiſhed: The Principal of which, are his Diſpute with *Cochle*, concerning the Neceſſity of Laics Reading the Scripture, of Juſtification, or that we are Juſtify'd by Faith and Good Works, and not by Faith alone. His Diſputes againſt *Andrew Oſiander*, concerning Free Will, Predeſtination, and Juſtification, from the Epiſtle to the *Romans*. Several Diſputes againſt *Tapperus*, about the Maſs and Tranſubſtantiation. Three Diſputes concerning the Mediation of Chriſt, and his Juſtifying of us. A Diſpute concerning the Agreement betwixt the Ancient and Reformed Churches, *&c.*

In the Year 1554, he Publiſhed his Book againſt the Horrid Blaſphemies of *Michael Servetus*, a *Spaniſh* Phyſician, who was Burnt Alive at

at *Geneva*, upon the 27th Day of *October* 1553, for maintaining in his Book, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, Printed in the Year 1532, That Christ Jesus was only called the Son of GOD; because He, by His Power, in place of the Seed of Man, had made the Virgin *Mary* Conceive and bring him to the World; and that, by him, He made His Will known to the Sons of Men. And this, he says, plainly appears from what is said by S. *Luke*, Chap. 1. V. 35. *And the Angel Answered, and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore also that Holy Thing, which shall be Born of thee, shall be called the Son of GOD.* So that he was not Begotten by the Seed of *Joseph*, as *Carpocrates*, *Cerinthus*, and *Photinus* impiously imagined; but by the Power of GOD, as it appears from the Word, *Therefore*, that being the Reason of his being call'd the Son of GOD; and not from his being Coeternal, Consubstantial, and Coequal with the Father. *Multis* (says he) *Scripturarum Testimoniis ipse specialiter esse Filius monstratur, & ejus respectu DEUS dicitur Pater. Vere, inquam, Pater; quia eo vicem humani Patris supplente genitus est: non enim ex semine* Joseph *genitus est, ut* Carpocrates, Cerinthus & Photinus *impie mentiti sunt; sed potentissimâ DEI Virtus vice seminis viri obumbravit* Mariæ, *agente in eâ Spiritu sancto*, Lucæ 1. *Et sequitur, Quapropter & quod nascetur sanctum, vocabitur Filius DEI. Pondera verbum*, Quapropter, *nota illationem; nota rationem quare Filius DEI vocetur (f).*

It had been Good for the Church of GOD, that this Learned Physician had not Broach'd this Notion, but had confined himself to his own Profession. His Sagacity and Penetration give us great Reason to believe, that the World might then have had Just Cause to Bless his Memory. For to him we plainly owe the First Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood. And since this Book is scarcely to be had, most of the Copies having been burnt as well as the Author, I shall here, for the Reader's Satisfaction, insert his own Words. In his *Fifth Book of the Trinity*, where he Treats of the *Holy Ghost*, he takes Pains to Prove, *That the Substance of the Created Spirit of Jesus Christ is Essentially Joined to the, Substance of the Holy Ghost.* To Explain this, he Talks much of GOD's Breathing the Soul into Man; and the Way he proceeds is this (*g*), "He supposes Three Spirits in Man's Body, *Natural*, "*Vital* and *Animal*; which are really not Three, but Two Distinct "Spirits. The *Vital* is that, which is communicated, by *Anastomoses* "from the Arteries, to the Veins; in which it is called *Natural*. The "*Blood* therefore is *First*, whose Seat is in the Liver and Veins. The "*Vital Spirit* is *Second*, whose Seat is in the Heart and Arteries. "The *Animal Spirit* is *Third*, which is like a Ray of Light, and has "its Seat in the Brain and Nerves. So that he makes the Beginning of the whole Operation, to be in the Liver; which, according to him, is the Original Work-House of the Blood, which he calls *The Soul of Life*, as it is call'd in the Old Testament. Now to understand, how the Blood is the Life, he says, "We must First understand the Substantial "Generation of the Vital Spirit, which is compounded of, and Nou-"rished by inspired Air and the subtilest Part of the Blood. The "*Vital Spirit* has its Original in the Left Ventricle of the Heart, by the "Assistance of the Lungs, which chiefly contribute to its Generation. It

(*f*) Servet. de Error. Trinit. Lib. 1. Fol. 6. (*g*) Vide Post. to the Pref. of Wot. Rel. second Ed. pag. 27.

" is a Subtile Spirit, wrought by the Force of Heat, of a Florid Colour, " having the Power of Fire. So that it is a ſort of a ſhining Vapour, " made of the purer Part of the Blood, containing, within it ſelf, the " Subſtance of Water, Air and Fire. It is made in the Lungs, by the " Mixture of Inſpired Air, with that Elaborated Subtile Blood, which " the Right Ventricle of the Heart communicates to the Left. Now " this Communication is not made through the *Septum* of the Heart, " as is commonly believed: But the Subtile Blood is very Artificially " agitated by a long Paſſage thro' the Lungs, from the Right Ven- " tricle of the Heart; and is prepared and made Florid by the Lungs, " and transfuſed out of the *Arterious Vein* into the *Venous Artery* it ſelf. " It is mixed with the Inſpired Air; and, by Exſpiration, purged from " its Dregs. And thus at length, the whole Mixture is attracted, by " the *Diaſtole* of the Heart, into the Left Ventricle; being now a fit " Subſtance, out of which to form the Vital Spirit.

" Now that this Communication and Preparation is made by the " Lungs, is evident from the various Conjunction and Communication " of the *Arterious Vein*, with the *Venous Artery* in the Lungs. The re- " markable Largeneſs of the *Arterious Vein* does likewiſe confirm it; " ſince it would never have been made of that Form and Bulk; nor " would it have emitted ſo great a Quantity of very pure Blood, out " of the Heart, into the Lungs, if it had been only for their Nouriſh- " ment; nor would the Heart have been this way Service- " able to the Lungs, ſince the *Fœtus* in the Womb is otherways " Nouriſhed, by reaſon of the cloſeneſs of the Membranes of the " Heart, which are never opened, till the Birth of the Child, as *Galen* " Teaches. (So that the whole Mixture of Fire and Blood is made in the Lungs.) " Where there is a Transfuſion out of the *Arterious* " *Vein* into the *Venous Artery*, which *Galen* took no Notice of. *Transfuſio a venâ arterioſâ ad arteriam venoſam propter ſpiritum a* Galeno *non animadverſa.* After this he ſays, " That this *Vital Spirit* is tranſmitted from " the Left Ventricle of the Heart into the Arteries of the whole Body: " So that the more Subtile Parts get upwards, where they are yet more " refin'd, eſpecially in the *Plexus retiformis*, which lies in the Baſe of " the Brain; where, from Vital it begins to become Animal, and ap- " proaches to the proper Nature of the Rational Soul. *Ille itaque ſpiritus vitalis a ſiniſtro cordis ventriculo in arterias totius corporis deinde transfunditur; ita ut, qui tenuior eſt, ſuperiora petat, ubi magis adhuc elaboratur, præcipue in plexu retiformi ſub baſi cerebri ſito, ubi ex vitali fieri incipit animalis ad propriam rationalis animæ rationem accedens.* He Reaſons long upon this, to prove, That the Blood is the Soul of Man; and ſeems to allow no other, but what is thus made, Firſt Elaborated in the Liver, thence carried by the Veins into the Right Ventricle of the Heart, and ſo into the Lungs; where, being mix'd with Air, it becomes Vital: And afterwards, being carried by the Arteries into the Brain, 'tis there further Sublimed, till it receives its laſt Perfection; ſo as to be fit to perform the Nobleſt Operations of the Animal Life.

Our Author likewiſe wrote, in the Year 1560, another Book, in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity, againſt *Valentine Gentile*, who was Beheaded at *Berne*, for maintaining, That *GOD had Created, in Eternity, a Spirit of a Super-excellent Nature, that was afterwards Incarnate*

in

in the Fulness of Time (*b*). And Lastly, he wrote a Description of the City of *Edinburgh*, Published in *Sebastian Munster*'s Cosmography, Pag. 51.

His Death and Character.

This Author Died at *Lipsic*, upon the 17th Day of *March*, in the Year 1565, in the 65th Year of his Age. He was Married, when he was in *England*, to an *English* Woman; with whom he had Two Daughters and One Son: But his Son and one of his Daughters Died before himself. He was a Man of great Learning, and one of the most Subtile Disputants of his Age. And tho' he was one of *Luther*'s greatest Disciples; yet he had nothing of his Temper: For he was a Person of a Meek and Peaceable Disposition, and was alwise Proposing New Methods for Reconciling the Different Societies of Christians to one another. Which so endeared him to *Melanchton*, that they were inseparable Comrades: And *Beza* had very good Reason to say, That he was one of the Greatest Ornaments of his Country.

(*b*) Vide Bib. Antitrin. pag. 26.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. EXpositio *Lib. Psal.* David. *juxta* Hebræorum & *D.* Hieronym: *Supputationem*, Lipsi: *in Fol.* 1550 & 1596.
II. *An expediat Laicis legere Novi Testamenti Libros Linguâ Vernaculâ. Disp. inter* Cochlæum & Alex. Alessium, *in* 8*vo.* 1535.
III. *Contra Decretum Episcoporum* Scotiæ, Argent. 1542, *in* 8*vo.*
IV. *De Scripturâ Sacrâ Linguâ maternâ legendâ*, Lipsiæ 1533, *in* 8*vo.*
V. *De Verbi Autoritate contra Episcopum* Londinensem, Lipsiæ 1542, 8*vo.*
VI. *Oratio de* Gratitudine, *& alia de restituendis Scholis*, Lipsi: 1541, 8*vo.*
VII. *Oratio de Auctore & Utilitate Psal.* Lipsi: 1542, 8*vo.*
VIII. *Cohortatio ad Pietatis Concordiam ineundam*, Lipsi: 1559, 8*vo.*
IX. *Responsio ad* 32 *Articulos Theologorum* Lovaniensium, Lipsi: 8*vo.* 1559.
X. *Ordinatio Ecclesiæ seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in Regno* Angliæ, Lipsi. 1551, 4*to.* & 1690, 8*vo.*
XI. *Commentar. in Evangelium* Johan. Lipsi: & Basil. 8*vo.* 1553.
XII. *Comment. in utramque Epistolam ad* Timotheum, Lipsi. 1550, 8*vo.*
XIII. *Explicatio in Epistol: ad* Titum, *ibid.* 1550, 8*vo.*
XIV. *Disputatio inter* Alex: Alessium & Joan: Cochlæum, *ibid:* 1551, 8*vo.*
XV. *De Justificatione contra* Osiandrum, Lipsi: 1553, 8*vo.*
XVI. *Disputationes ex Epistolâ ad* Romanos, Lipsi: 1553, 8*vo.*
XVII. *Assertio Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ de Trinitate, cum Confutatione Erroris* Valentini Gentilis, Genevæ 1567, 4*to.* & Lipsi. 1564, 8*vo.*
XVIII. *Liber Primus Expositionum super Psalmos* Davidis, Lipsi: 1596, 8*vo.*
XIX. *Disputatio de perpetuo Consensu Ecclesiæ*, Lipsi: 1553, 8*vo.*
XX. *Responsio ad* Cochlæi *Calumnias*, Lipsi: 1554, 8*vo.*
XXI. *Contra horrendas* Serveti *Blasphemias Disp:* III. Lipsi: 1554, 8*vo.*
XXII. *Responsio ad* Tapperum *de Missâ & Cœnâ Domini*, Lipsi: 1565, 8*vo.*
XXIII. *Disput:* III. *de Mediatore & Justificatore Hominis*, Lipsi: 1554, 8*vo.*
XXIV. *Omnes Disputationes ejus*, Lipsi: 1553, 4*to.*

THE LIFE of *ROBERT WAUCHOP*, Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, and Primate of all *Ireland*.

THE *Wauchops* are ſaid to have had their Firſt Riſe, in the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore*, about the Year 1062; and to have come from *France*, as we have formerly Obſerved, in the Life of Biſhop *Elphinſton*. There is, in the Charter-Cheſt of *Cuming* of *Culter*, a Tranſumpt of a Charter (granted by King *Alexander* II. to *Robert Wauchop*, Son to *Allan Wauchop*) of ſeveral Lands in the North and South, before theſe Witneſſes, *Alexander Cumin* Earl of *Buchan*, *Roberto de Roſs* Intitulato *de Suelis*, *Roberto de Ellemers*, *Bernardo de Upellais* & *William Olyfand* apud *Vukilburgh*, upon the 16th Day of *October*, in the 33 Year of his Reign. This was in the Year 1247, Two Years before King *Alexander*'s Death, which hapned in the Year 1249. From this *Robert* and his Predeceſſors are Deſcended Lineally the Lairds of *Nidree* in Eaſt *Lothian*. Of which Family this Learned and Excellent Prelate was a Son: For, in all the Records of the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he was Eight Times Procurator, he Signs himſelf, *Robertus Wauchop de Nidree* Mariſchal.

His Parentage and Birth.

This Reverend and Learned Prelate, was Born in the Reign of King *James* IV. *(a)*, and, having attained to a competent Age, was ſent over by his Parents to the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies in the *Belles Lettres*, and Philoſophy. Then he applied himſelf to Theology, which when he had Studied, with great Care and Application for ſeveral Years, thereafter, for his further Improvement, he was ſent to *Rome*, where he entred into Holy Orders. When he had ſtaid for ſome Years there, he returned to *Paris*; and was ſo Famous for his Extraordinary Accompliſhments, that all the Learned Men, about that Univerſity, were fond of his Acquaintance, and admired his profound Knowledge in all the Sciences. But his Inclination and Piety carrying him ſolely to the Study of Divinity, he therefore gave himſelf entirely to it; and became ſo great a Maſter in the Knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, the Fathers and Councils, that, in all the Public Diſputes, he appeared with extraordinary Diſtinction; and whatever he ſaid was attended with incredible Applauſe. At length he commenced Doctor of Divinity, in this Univerſity, and in that Station he reſolved to remain all his Life, without troubling himſelf with Buſineſs, had he not been compell'd, by ſeveral Learned Prelates, and

He is ſent over to *Paris*, where he applies himſelf to Theology.

From *Paris* he goes to *Rome*, where he is Ordained a Prieſt.

He returns to *Paris*.

Is Created Doctor of Divinity.

(*a*) Vide Leſly de Geſt. Scot. Lib. 10 Pag. 515. Surius Append. ad Naucleri Chronica, 1554. Spotiſ. Ch. Hiſt. of Scot. pag. 97. Cardinal Palavicini Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, Book 1. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. Lib. 19 pag. 669. Sir James Wares Account of the Iriſh Biſhops. Sleidan Hiſt. Lib. 17. Pag. 299. &c. F. Paul's Hiſt. of the Council of Trent. Abbrege de Hiſt. de Concil. de Trent. par M. Jurieu.

and the Maſters of the Univerſity, to be their Procurator. In which Station he acquit himſelf ſo well, that he was choſen, as we have ſaid, Eight times in that Place; and once, Viſitator of all the Colleges. An extraordinary Office: But which was then thought neceſſary; becauſe, about this time, ſeverals of the Members of the Univerſity begun, to be well affected to the Doctrines of the Reformers.

He is made Procurator and Viſitator of that Univerſity.

Pope *Paul* III. being informed of our Prelate's Great Abilities, ſent for him to *Rome*, about the Year 1535; and employ'd him as his Legate to the Emperor and the King of *France*; and afterwards promoted him to the Arch-Biſhopric of *Armagh* in *Ireland*. Our Hiſtorians tell us, That, when he came to *Ireland*, he found the Natives there in great Ignorance; whom he laboured to inform, in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, with incredible Pains and Diligence. For, being ignorant of the *Iriſh* Tongue himſelf, he got one, who was expert both in the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Languages: And, Travelling thro' his Dioceſs, he Preach'd to them, Four or Five Times in a Week; making his Interpreter render into *Iriſh*, his Diſcourſes after him, incaſe that they had not underſtood him fully in the *Engliſh* Language. But, whilſt he was thus propagating the Chriſtian Religion, in *Ireland*, amongſt thoſe Barbarous Natives that had been too much neglected; the Diſorders and Abuſes, that had ſpread every where thro' the Chriſtian World, neceſſarily required the Calling of a General Council. And the Pope knowing by Experience, of what great Uſe our Prelate's Advice might be to him in this Affair, ſent him Letters, Ordering him to come to *Rome* for that End; which he willingly obeyed.

He goes to *Rome*, and is ſent Legate from the Pope to the Emperor and King of *France*.

He is made Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*. His great Piety and Zeal in Reforming his Dioceſs.

He is called by the Pope to *Rome*.

Till this Time, the Wars and Troubles in *Germany* and *France*, of which we have ſpoken in the preceeding Life, had hindered the Calling of a General Council. But now, both the Emperor and the King of *France*, were reſolved to have one, for Reforming the many Abuſes, that had been ſo much complained of, by *Luther* and his Followers. The Pope was no ſooner informed of this their Reſolution, than (that the Church might not ſeem to be obliged to them for it) he immediately iſſued out a Bull, for the Meeting of a General Council, at the City of *Trent*, upon the 15th of *March*, in the Year 1544.

The State of the Affairs of the Church at this time.

The Emperor was not a little diſſatisfy'd, that the Pope ſhould have done this, without asking of his Advice: Yet, that he might appear to be the principal Actor in this Affair, he ſtifled his Reſentments; and ſent his Ambaſſadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, Inviting the Princes to ſend their Prelates to the Council. In the mean time, he cauſed the Theologues of *Louvain*, to meet, and Ordered them to reduce all the Controverted Matters in Religion, to certain Articles, that they might be preſented to the Council. Accordingly they met, and drew up Thirty Two Articles, without any Proofs. Howbeit the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, who affected an Abſolute Superiority in Eccleſiaſtic Affairs, as well as in Civil, did Confirm, by an Edict, theſe Thirty Two Propoſitions.

The King of *France*, in Imitation of this, called a Meeting of the Theologues of *Paris*, at *Melun*, to condeſcend upon the Demands, that ſhould be made to the Council. To this Meeting our Prelate came Poſt from *Rome*; but they could not agree amongſt themſelves. For ſome were for Re-eſtabliſhing the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and the Decrees of

A Meeting of Theologues at *Melun*, to which our Prelate comes Poſt from *Rome*.

He opposes the Pragmatic Sanction.

the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſle*; others, amongſt whom was our Prelate, were againſt it. So coming to no Concluſion, they kept by Five and Twenty Articles of Doctrine, that had been agreed to, in the *Sorbone*, Two Years before. Now ſince this Controverſy cannot be well underſtood without knowing what the *Pragmatic Sanction* is, it will be neceſſary to give an Account of it here (*b*).

What the Pragmatic Sanction is.

Whilſt Pope *Eugenius* was endeavouring, with all his Might, to diſſolve the Council of *Baſle*, and to ruin its Authority, as it is fully related in the Hiſtory of that Council, in the Firſt Volume of this Work; the Fathers of that Council ſent Deputies to *France* to *Charles* VII. and to the Church of *France*, to acquaint and preſent them with the Decrees and Regulations, that they had made for Reforming of the Eccleſiaſtic Diſcipline, that they might be received in that Kingdom. Upon this, the King of *France* calls a Meeting of his Clergy, to Examine theſe Decrees. This Aſſembly Met in the Month of *July*, in the Year 1438, in the Holy Chapel, in the City of *Bourges*; where the King, the Princes of the Blood, and his Council were preſent. The Deputies of the Council were heard, their Decrees Examined, and Judged moſt proper for Obviating of Expectative Graces, Reſerves, and other Abuſes that had been introduced into the *Gallican* Church. Some of them were approved of, purely and ſimply; and others, with Modifications, ſuch as the Prelates thought fit to make. Not, that they any ways Queſtioned (as they themſelves Declare) the Authority of the Council of *Baſle*, that had made theſe Decrees: But becauſe the Time, Manners, and Perſons of the Kingdom required it. Of theſe Decrees, contained in Twenty Three Articles, there are only Two, that were made after the Second Diviſion between the Council and Pope: So that the Twenty and One, that remained, were Approven by an expreſs Bull of the Pope, in Conſequence of the Accommodation they made with the Pope, in the 16th Seſſion. Theſe Two Decrees, made after this Second Diviſion, were that of Collations, and that of Cauſes, which paſt in the 31ſt Seſſion, the very Day upon which *Eugenius* was Depoſed: But they are ſo mollify'd in the *Pragmatic*, that *Eugenius* was acknowledged Lawful Pope.

The Firſt Article, approved by the *Pragmatic*, is the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, concerning the Uſefulneſs of General Councils, renewed in the Firſt Seſſion of the Council of *Baſle*, bearing, That they ſhould be called every Tenth Year; and that the Pope ſhould be Obliged to appoint, at the end of each Council, the Place where the next was to meet; tho' he had the Power of calling it ſooner, in caſe of Neceſſity; and of altering the Place, providing always that this be done with the Advice and Conſent of the Cardinals. In Conſequence of this Decree at the Council of *Conſtance*, a General Council was Indicted to be held at *Pavia*, which was begun there, and transferred to *Sienna*, and from that to *Baſle*, where they now ſat.

The Second Article of the *Pragmatic*, was another Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, renewed in the ſecond Seſſion of the Council of *Baſle*, concerning the Sovereign Power of Councils above the Pope. Theſe Two Decrees were received by this Aſſembly, at *Bourges*, without any Reſtriction or Limitation.

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(*b*) Vid. M. Du Pin. Nov. Bib. Tom. 13. pag. 1. &c.

The Third Article contains the Two Decrees concerning Elections. The First of which past in the 12th Session of the Council of *Basle*; and the Second, in the 23d. Session. By the First, 'tis Declared, That the General Reserve of the Dignities of all Metropolitan and Cathedral Churches, of Monasteries and others, are abusive; excepting those that are mentioned in the Body of the Canon Law, and which are in the Lands that are subject, either immediately or mediately, to the Church of *Rome*. And it is Ordered, That these Dignities shall be provided, when Vacant, by Election, without derogating from the Rights, Reasonable Customs or Postulations that remain in the Disposition of the Common Law.

The Electors are exhorted to choose a Person, who has requisite Qualities, to supply the Vacant Dignity. That they should not proceed to the Election, till they had Celebrated a Mass to the Holy Ghost, received their Sacraments, given their Oath to the President of the Assembly, who should be obliged to give his Oath likewise to them, for Electing him whom they believed in Conscience to be most useful to the Church, either in Spirituals or Temporals; and not to Vote for any that either directly or indirectly endeavoured to get themselves Chosen. They were enjoined to choose one in Orders, of a Competent Age, of a Holy and Unblamable Life and Conversation, well seen in all the Sciences, and proper for the Canonical Functions. But if they made Choice of any, without these Qualifications, or that they were guilty of Simony in their Election, the Election was declared Null by Law. And those, who were Guilty of the Simony, were ordered to be Punished, not only according to the Laws against Simony, but likewise for ever to be deprived of having any Vote in Elections. And those, who were chosen by Simony, and all those who had a Hand in it, were declared Excommunicated, *ipso facto*; and could not be Absolved, till they had renounced the Benefices, that they had thus Purchased.

Then the Council Exhorts all Kings, Princes, Common-wealths, Magistrates, Communities, and all Powers whatsoever, either Civil or Ecclesiastic, not to write to the Electors, Letters of Recommendation, Threats or Intreaties, in favour of any Person: And in case that this should be, the Electors are enjoined to have no Regard to it. The Election being made and presented to him, who was to confirm it, if there was a Co-elect or any that opposed the Election, it was Ordered, That, upon an Appeal, the Election should be discussed. But that in the mean time, the Decree of the Election should be Published in the Church where it was made, that he, to whom it belonged to Confirm the Election, should Examine the Form of the Election, and the Capacities of the Person Elected. And they are strictly Discharged to take any thing, from the Person Elected, upon any Pretence whatsoever, unless a Moderate Tax, that was ordered to be given to the Notaries, for their Reward; and which was to be estimate, not according to the Revenues of the Dignity, but according to the Trouble that they had been put to. The Confirmations otherways made are Declared Null; the Confirmators Simoniacs, Divested of their Authority, and Excommunicated. The Pope likewise, who ought to be a Patron to others, is exhorted, neither to receive or exact any thing for the Confirmation of the Elections, that belong'd to him; and threatned, that,

if he did otherways, he would be obliged to Anſwer to a General Council.

The Second Decree concerning Elections, is for Obviating the Reſervations of ſome particular Dignities, and the Encroachments that the Pope had either made, or might make, againſt the preceeding Decree. By this, it is Ordered, that the Election ſhould be made in theſe Churches; and that, if it ſhould happen, that an Election Canonically made, ſhould cauſe any Trouble either to the Church or State, the Pope may, in regard to that preſſing Neceſſity, by the Advice of his Cardinals, reject that Election, and order the Chapters or Convents, to proceed to a New Election that is not Subject to the like Inconveniencies. The Aſſembly of *Bourges* added to this Decree, That the Pope ſhould be obliged to ſend thoſe, (who were to be promoted by him and by his Authority) to their immediate Superior, that they might receive from him the Conſecration or Benediction, by the Authority of their Superior: At leaſt, if they were not preſent at the Pope's Court, and refuſed Conſecration; then and in that Caſe, they ſhould be ſent to their Superior, to take their Oath of Obedience to him. Thoſe, that receive the Conſecration from any other, but their immediate Superior, whatever Authority they may pretend to from the Pope, are condemned in a Fine of an Hundred Crowns of Gold: The one Half to be Paid to the Ordinary; and the other, to the Support of the Fabric of the Church.

The Aſſembly likewiſe added, That they did not think that the Council intended to put any Reſtriction upon the King and the Princes of his Kingdom, from uſing their Prayers, for recommending Perſons of Merit and Zeal for the Good of the State; providing they did not make uſe of Threats and Violence.

The Fourth Article of the *Pragmatic*, is the Decree aboliſhing Reſervations, which paſt in the 23d Seſſion of the Council of *Baſle*.

The Fifth, is that about Collations, paſt in the 31ſt. Seſſion of the Council; by which, Expectative Graces are rejected, as abominable; and the Pope is diſcharged to uſe them for the Future. The Particular Reſerves of Benefices, made by the Pope or his Legates, are declared Null. Yet it is permitted to the Pope, to reſerve, during his Pontificate, the Collation of one Benefice in the Churches, where there are Ten; and Two, where there are Fifty. In the mean time, the Collations, made by Prevention, are approved of; and a Diſtribution of Benefices were made to Graduates. Each Cathedral Church is Ordered, to have a Theologue; and that each Collator ſhould be obliged, for that end, to give a Prebendary to a Maſter of Theology; or a Batchelour, who has fully compleated his Courſe, or Studied, or Taught Ten Years in an Univerſity; and who ſhall be obliged to reſide and teach Leſſons, at leaſt, once or twice a Week. That the Third Part of the other Prebendaries ſhould be aſſign'd to the Graduates: So that the Firſt Vacancy ſhould be for a Graduate, and alſo the next, till two be filled; and ſo of the reſt. Theſe Graduates were either Licentiates or Formed Batchelours in Theology, that had either ſtudy'd or Taught Ten Years in a Privileged Univerſity; or Doctors Licentiate either in Law or Medicine, that had ſtudy'd Seven Years in theſe Univerſities; or Maſters and Licentiates in the Arts, that have, ſince they Learned their Logic, ſtudy'd Five Years in an Univerſity, or Six Years in Theology; or Batche-

Batchelors, either in the Civil or Canon Law, that have ſtudy'd Three Years, if they be Perſons of Quality; or Five Years if not ſuch. Otherways it is Ordered, That theſe Graduates ſhall make their Qualifications known to the Collators, by Teſtimonies of undiſputable Credit. That the Collators, in the Collation of Benefices and principally of Dignities, ſhould prefer Licentiate Maſters and Batchelors in Theology: And that the ſame ſhould be Obſerved in Elective Dignities, Parſonages, Adminiſtrations and Offices of the Churches. That thoſe Graduates, that have Two other Prebendaries, or a Dignity and Prebendary, or one or more Benefices requiring Reſidence, ſhould have no Share in the Third Part of the Benefices, alloted for the Graduates. That the Cures of Wall'd Towns ſhould be given to Graduates. That the Graduates ſhould be Obliged, each Year, to give in their Names, in time of Lent, to thoſe to whom the Collation of Benefices and Cures does belong: Otherways the Preſentation or Collation, made in their Favours, ſhould be Null. Laſtly, By this Decree, it is enjoined to the Collators of Regular Benefices, that they ſhould only be beſtowed upon Regulars.

The Aſſembly of *Bourges* added the following Clauſes to this Decree. I. That the Expectative Graces and the Faculties of Nomination, granted by the Pope, for which there are expeded Acts, ſhould be tolerated till *Eaſter*; and, in the mean time, the Council ſhould Judge, if they ſhould be tolerated: And all other Expectative Graces or Nominations, about which there are no expeded Acts, when the Decree of the Council is made, are declared Null. II. That thoſe, who impetrate and accept of Expectative Graces, ſhould be Puniſhed ſeverely; for which, the Concurrence of the Civil Power ſhould be asked. III. That the Council of *Lateran* having aſſigned a time to Collators and Patrons for Conferring; it were fit, the Council ſhould Declare, that the Pope, in that time, ſhould not prevent the Ordinaries. IV. That the Collation of the Third Part of Benefices ſhould be by Turns; yet ſo, that a Prebend of a Cathedral ſhall make his Turn with a Prebend of the ſame Nature; a Curate, with a Curate; a Chaplain, with a Chaplain: Upon Condition, that the Benefices of Collegiate Churches, depending upon the ſame Collator, ſhould make their Turns amongſt themſelves. V. That the Univerſities ſhould Nominate a certain Number of their Graduates to the Collators, who ſhould have the Liberty to chooſe ſuch of them, as they pleaſed, but not to confer upon any others ſave thoſe: And that theſe ſhould be preferred to thoſe that are afterwards Named. VI. That the Univerſities ſhould be obliged to Declare the Degrees of thoſe, whom they ſhould Nominate; and the Benefices, to which they are Nominate. VII. That all Benefices, that become Vacant, ſhould be ſupply'd by Turns; excepting thoſe that became Vacant either by Permutation or Reſignation. VIII. The Aſſembly Orders, that no Degrees ſhould be conferred but upon Perſons of a good Capacity and Vertue: And that great Care ſhould be taken, that Promotions be not done lightly and precipitantly. For, ſay they, nothing is more Ridiculous, than to ſee many have the Name of Maſters, that ought to be Scholars. IX. That the Reſerves of the Benefices, that the Pope is permitted to reſerve to himſelf, ſhall be, by an Apoſtolic Mandate, addreſſed to the ordinary Collator, and under a true Date. X. The Aſſembly grants, to the preſent Pope, the Diſpoſition of the Benefices of thoſe, that are

promoted to other Benefices, at the time of their Promotion, in what Place ſoever they be Conſecrated, or Bleſſed; and of thoſe that are remitted to him, by the Perſons promoted; which is only granted to the preſent Pope, without Prejudice to the Rights and Liberties of the *Gallican* Church; excluding all his Succeſſors from the Privilege of this Conceſſion. XI. The Aſſembly deſires, that the Council ſhould make a Regulation, for hindering the Popes, from making or augmenting the Number of Chanons in a Cathedral, where the Number of the Chanons are limited; unleſs it be in the Caſe of providing one to a Dignity or Office, according to the Form preſcribed, that requires a Prebendary.

The Sixth Article concerning Cauſes, is taken from the 31ſt Seſſion of the Council of *Baſle*, by which it is Ordered, That, in all the Provinces, that are more than Four Days Journey diſtant from the City of *Rome*, all Cauſes (except thoſe, call'd the *Cauſe majores*, expreſly mentioned in the Canon-Law; and thoſe of Cathedral Churches and Monaſteries, whoſe immediate Subjection is Devolved upon the Apoſtolic See) ſhould be determined by Judges, who are Competent by Law or by Cuſtom, or Privileged. And, for preventing the Prolonging of Proceſſes by Appeals, which was too often done upon ſlight and frivolous Reaſons, this Synod Declares, That, if the Injured Perſon cannot get Juſtice done him by his Judge, he may, by an Appeal, have Recourſe to the next immediate Superior; but to no other, no not to the Pope himſelf. Alſo they diſcharge all Appeals from any Interlocutor, that are made before the Definitive Sentence: And, if one appeals from the Judge (to whom he is immediately ſubjected) to the Holy See, it is Ordered, That the Cauſe ſhall be remitted to Judges, that ſhall be Nominated upon the Place, till the Proceſs be ended; unleſs a Denial of Juſtice, or ſomething of that Nature, is to be feared from theſe Judges, which muſt be proven by Letters of Commiſſion, and Juſtify'd by other Ways than by Swearing. And in this Caſe, the Holy See is allowed to be the only Competent Judge. And Laſtly, The Council Orders, That, in all Cauſes relative to their Decrees, or the Perſons preſent at the Council, they ſhall be Judged by the Council as long as they ſit. The Aſſembly Approves of what is Ordered by this Decree, That the Pope cannot be Appeal'd to, *omiſſo medio*. That the Pope ſhould be obliged, in all Appeals devolved upon him, to Nominate Judges upon the Place. That no Appeal ſhould be made before the Definitive Sentence, and the other Clauſes of the Decree: But they added the following Modifications. *Firſt*, That, if the Court of *Rome* be on the other Side of the *Alpes*, they ſhould not, at the firſt Inſtance, bring before them any Cauſes, ſave thoſe that were within Two Days Journey: But all others ſhould be Regulated according to the Decree of the Council. The *Second*, That the Regular and Secular Benefices, or the Places exempt in Conſequence of the Canon of the Council of *Conſtance*, *Attendentes*, ſhould not be comprehended in the Places that this Decree exempts from the Juriſdiction of the Ordinary. The *Third* is, That the Regulation, concerning the Council's being Judge of the Cauſes of their own Members, ſhould be tolerated: But the King's Ambaſſadors are ordered to Remonſtrate to them, That it is not the Buſineſs of General Councils to be Judging theſe Cauſes; becauſe this might afford Matter for perpetuating the Council for ever, and of abſorbing or ſwelling up the Authority of the Holy

Holy See and other Prelates, which would be highly prejudicial to the Faith and to the Church. The *Fourth* Modification bears, That all Cauſes (which, by their Nature and according to the Holy Decrees, ought not to be brought to the Holy Apoſtolic See or Court of *Rome*, or to General Councils, if the Cauſe be not fixt) ſhall be carried before the Ordinary Judges, to whom they properly belong. And, if an Appeal be made from them, Commiſſaries ſhall be Named for the Places, according to the Conſtitution of *Boniface* VIII. *Statutum*; and that Letters of Prohibition be got from the King, for that Effect, directed to the Court of Parliament, and the other Officers and Juſticiaries of the Kingdom.

The Seventh Article is againſt theſe, who interject frivolous Appeals. It Diſcharges any to Appeal from an Interlocutor, that has not the Effect of a Definitive Sentence, and to Appeal for the Second time from the ſame Sentence. This Article is accepted, as it is in the 20th Seſſion of the Council of *Baſle*; as is likeways the Eighth, by which it is Ordered, That a Peaceable and Triennial Poſſeſſion of a Benefice, providing they have any Colourable Title, ſhall be valid: But it is enjoined to the Ordinaries, to take care, that none ſhould poſſeſs a Benefice, without a Juſt Title.

The Ninth, taken from the 23d Seſſion, limits the Number of Cardinals to 24, but this was not put in Execution.

The Tenth is the Decree againſt the Annates, by which it is Ordered, That nothing ſhall be exacted, either in the Church of *Rome* or elſewhere, for Confirmation of Elections, Admiſſion of Poſtulations or Preſentations, Diſpoſition, Election, Poſtulation, Inſtitution, Inſtallation, Inveſtiture of Cathedral and Metropolitan Churches, Monaſteries, Dignities, Benefices, Eccleſiaſtic Offices, no more than for Holy Orders, the Benediction, or the *Pallium* either before or after the granting of the Grace; yea not under Pretext of Expedition of Letters, Bulls, Seals, Common Annates, Firſt Fruits, *&c.* or under any other Title or Pretext whatſoever, either directly or indirectly; reſerving only Reaſonable Salaries for Writers, Abbreviators and Regiſtrators, for their Trouble and Travel. Thoſe, that Contraveen this Canon by Promiſing, Exacting or Giving, are Condemned equally with thoſe, that are Guilty of Simony. All the Cenſures, Obligations or Promiſes, made in Prejudice of this Decree, are declared Null. And it is Ordered, That, if the Pope ſhould Contraveen this Regulation, it ſhould be referred to the Council; and all others Puniſhed according to the Regulations of the Canons.

The Aſſembly Modify'd this Article in Favours of Pope *Eugenius*, granting him, during his Life, upon each Benefice (that is Vacant, otherways than by Permutation or Reſignation, and Taxed to the Value of Ten Livres, according to the Tax made by the Council of *Conſtance*) the Fifth Part of this Tax; and in thoſe Benefices, that are not Taxed, Two Tenths of the Fruits, *viz.* a Tenth Part of the Firſt Year, and another Tenth of the Second. But always upon the Condition, that this is only granted to him, as a Gratuitous Gift, and without Prejudice to the Rights and Privileges of the *Gallican* Church: And that this ſhall have no Place in Benefices, where there are Laic Patronages; or thoſe that the King has a Right to diſpoſe of by the Regale, or otherways. And Laſtly, That thoſe, who were to pay this Fifth Part, were not to be

taken out of their Dioceſs or any where elſe, but before their Ordinary Judges, or in regard of Exempts to their Superiors; and if they have them not, in the Dioceſs; or that they, who are negligent to the Dioceſians of the Place, that they ſhould be obliged to do Juſtice, either by Vertue of the Pope's Authority, or by the Authority of the Council. It is likewiſe Ordered, That, if the ſame Benefice comes to be Vacant Twice, in one Year, only One Fifth ſhall be paid; the one Half, out of the Goods of the laſt Poſſeſſor; and the other Half, from his Succeſſor. Then they Conclude, That all the other Exactions, that the Court of *Rome* ſhould make, under what Pretence ſoever, ſhould entirely ceaſe, under Pain of loſing the Benefice. The Aſſembly likeways thought it proper, that the Council ſhould add certain Inflictions, and an Irritant Clauſe to theſe Decrees.

The Eleventh Article is taken out of the 21ſt Seſſion, and Regulates the Manner of Celebrating the Divine Service in Cathedral or Collegiate Churches. It is Ordered, That it be done at competent Hours, after the People's being Advertiſed by the Ringing of Bells. That it be ſaid ſlowly, with a Pauſe, in the Middle of every Verſe. That they ſhould punctually Obſerve the Difference between the Feaſts and Faſts of the Church and other Days. That thoſe, who Celebrate it, ſhould be decently clad with the ordinary Veſtments of the Church; Obſerving that Gravity, which the Office and Place requires of them; without interfiering with one another, or amuſing themſelves by Reading other things; and Singing as they ought, and are obliged to do. That they ought to riſe at the Singing of the *Gloria Patri*; and Bow their Head at the Pronouncing of the Name of *Jeſus*. 'Tis forbidden them to read or ſay their Office in Particular, when it is Recited in Common. And 'tis Recommended to the Care of the Deacons, or of thoſe to whom this Charge is committed, to Take Care, that this be Obſerved.

The Eight Following Articles contain diverſe Regulations, touching the Divine Service and Churches. All which are accepted of purely and ſimply as they are ſet down in the 21ſt Seſſion of the Council.

The Twentieth Article is againſt the Public Concubinage of the Clergy. By this they are Deprived of their Benefices, and declared Incapable of being promoted to any Honours, Dignities or Benefices, unleſs they be Diſpenſed with by their Superiors. And if they relapſe after the Diſpenſation, that they ſhall, for the Future, be Declared for ever Incapable: And thoſe Superiors, that neglect to Puniſh them, are Ordered to be proceeded againſt. And as for thoſe, that are to be Depoſed by the Pope, the Provincial Councils or their Superiors, are Ordered to ſend their Informations, againſt them, to the Holy See. Here it is likewiſe Obſerved, that a Public Concubinar is not only he, who is Declared ſo by a Sentence, or his own Judicial Confeſſion, or by the Notoriety of the Fact, which cannot be denied: But likeways he, that keeps a Woman of an ill Character with him; and, being Advertiſed by his Superior to put her away, does not do it. The Council likeways Orders Puniſhments to be inflicted upon Eccleſiaſtic Judges, that receive a Retribution from Concubinars; or ſuffer them, or neglect to Puniſh them. And all Superiors are enjoined to conſtrain their Inferiors to quit their Concubines. Alſo all Secular Judges, yea even Kings themſelves, are forbidden to hinder them from proceeding againſt ſuch. And all Mar-

Marry'd Laics are Diſcharged from living in Concubinage. This Decree is accepted of, by the Aſſembly, without any Modification.

The 21ſt Article, taken from the 20th Seſſion, bears, That, for the Future, none ſhould be obliged to evite the Converſing with Excommunicated Perſons, or to Obſerve the Eccleſiaſtic Interdiction; unleſs the Sentence of Excommunication, or the Interdiction, or any other Cenſure, be Named againſt the Perſons, or againſt the Places; or at leaſt, unleſs it was ſpecially and expreſly Denounced; or if it be ſo notoriouſly known, that, neither in Law or Reaſon, it can be ſuppoſed to be unknown.

The 22d Article is taken out of the ſame Seſſion, and Diſcharges an Interdiction to be Pronounced againſt a City, Caſtle, Village, or any other Place: If it be not for the Fault of the Places themſelves, or of the Lord of the Place, Governour, or his Officers; and not for the Fault of a Particular Perſon, unleſs he be Excommunicated and Denounced; and that the Sentence being Publiſhed in the Church of the Place, the Lord of the Place, or his Officers, required by the Judge to expel him in two Days after, has not done it. And in this Caſe, two Days after he has retired, the Divine Service may be Celebrated.

The 23d Article is the Abolition of the *Clementine*, *Literis*, in the 23d Seſſion of the Council; where it is Ordered contrary to the Diſpoſition of that *Clementine*, That, tho' it be enounced in the Apoſtolic Letters or others, that any having Renounced his Dignity, Benefice, or Right, or that he be deprived of it, or that he has done any thing that has taken away his Right, theſe Letters cannot Prejudice that Perſon; altho' the Grace obtained, or the Intention of him that granted it, be Founded upon that Enunciation; unleſs it be proven by Witneſſes or Authentic Documents. The Aſſembly Accepts of this Decree, and of the Preceeding ones, without Reſtriction or Modification: And concludes, that the Articles, which they have accepted of purely and ſimply, ought to be put in Execution immediately; and the others, with the Modifications, that they have made, in Hopes that the Council will concur and agree with them: They likewiſe reſolved, That the King ſhould be intreated to Receive and Approve of theſe Decrees, as enounced by them; and that he ſhould Order his Court of Parliament, and other Judges, to put, and ſee them put in Execution, in every Point; and to cauſe all thoſe to be ſeverely Puniſhed, that ſhould contraveen them.

Upon this Remonſtrance, the King, after having Deliberated with the Princes of the Blood, the Nobility and other Perſons of his Council; and knowing, that the Demand, made in Name of the *French* Clergy, was Juſt, Reaſonable and Agreeable to the Decrees of the Holy Fathers, Approved of what they had done, and gave his Royal Aſſent thereto: And Ordained, That their Reſolutions ſhould be put in Execution, and Obſerved to Perpetuity in the Kingdom of *France*, and in the *Dauphinate*; that they ſhould have their full and plenary Effect, from the Day and Date of his Ordinance; and be Publiſhed, and Regiſtrate in the Public Regiſters. For this End, he enjoins all his Councellors, in his Courts of Parliament, and all other Judges to Obſerve them; to Judge ſuch Cauſes as came before them, by theſe Decrees; to ſee, none ſhould be troubled that Obſerved them; and to Puniſh thoſe, of what Quality ſoever they were, who contraveened them. This Declara-

tion of *Charles*, King of *France*, is Dated at *Bourges*, the 7th of *July* 1438, given by the King in his Council, where was the Dauphin, the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Anjou*, the Count *Du Maine*, *Peter* Son to the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Counts *de la March*, *de Vendoſme*, and *de Tancarville*, and many Prelates, Eccleſiaſtics, and Seculars; and Signed, *N. Firbois*.

The *Pragmatic Sanction*, being thus received by the *Gallican* Church, was immediately carried to the Council of *Baſle* by the King's Ambaſſadors. The Council would not expreſly approve of all they had done; being unwilling to paſs a general Law, for approving of their Modifications: But they put no Stop to their being Obſerved in *France*; ſince they did obviate a great many Abuſes of the Court of *Rome*; and ſince it was conform to the Ancient Liberty of the *Gallican* Church, who always maintained the Juriſdiction of Ordinaries Elections, and the Authority of General Councils. And *Charles* VII. King of *France*, made them exactly to be Obſerved, during all his Life. But, he Dying in the Month of *July*, in the Year 1461, *Lewis* XI. his Son, who Succeeded him, was prevailed with to Aboliſh it, at the Solicitation, and by the Intrigues of *John Godefrey*, Biſhop of *Arras*, to whom, the Pope had promiſed a Cardinal's Cape for his Reward. And after it had been ſeveral times Aboliſhed and Re-eſtabliſhed by the Court of *France*; at length, as I have ſaid, ſeverals of the Theologues at *Paris*, who had met at *Melun*, were for Propoſing the Re-eſtabliſhing of it to the Council, that was call'd to meet at *Trent*. But, it being found, and urged by our Prelate and ſeveral others of the Clergy, That this was againſt the *Concordate*, that was made with Pope *Leo* X. nothing was Concluded by them, but to ſtand to the 25 Articles, that had been Publiſhed by the *Sorbone*, Two Years before.

In the mean time, Pope *Paul* III. Deputed for his Legates, *John Maria de Monte* Cardinal-Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, *Marcellus Cervinus* Cardinal-Prieſt of the *Holy Croſs*, and *Reginald Pool* Cardinal-Deacon of S. *Mary* in *Coſmedin*. Cardinal *Pool* was of the Royal Blood of *England*, and greatly Eſteemed for his Piety: Cardinal *Marcellus* was a Perſon of great Knowledge, Conſtancy and Firmneſs of Mind: And Cardinal *de Monte* was one of an open Mind; and ſo Faithful to thoſe he Patronized, that he preferred always their Intereſts before his own. Theſe Three Legates were ſent to *Trent*, with a Brief of Legation, without giving them, as the Cuſtom is, a Bull of Power or any Inſtruction in Writing; being as yet uncertain, what Commiſſion to give them. But, not long after their Arrival at *Trent*, they received a Bull, granting them full Power of doing every thing that might tend for the Good of the Church, and the Extirpation of Hereſy; yet with this Condition, that, in all things, they ſhould Proceed with the Conſent of the Council.

After this, another Bull was ſent them, impowering them to transfer the Council to any other Place, if they did not find *Trent* convenient for them.

The Legates arrived at *Trent*, upon the 13th of *March*, in the Year 1545, which was Two Days before the time Appointed for the Sitting down of the Council: But they could not Open it at the Day appointed; becauſe there were no Prelates come thither then. *Don Diego de Mendoza*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, arrived Ten Days after, and

and only found the Legates, the Cardinal of *Trent*, and Three Biſhops, *viz. Thomas Campeggio*, Biſhop of *Feltre*, the Cardinal's Nephew; *Thomas* of S. *Felicius*, Biſhop of *Cava*; Friar *Cornelius Muſſus*, a *Franciſcan* Biſhop of *Bitonto*, the moſt Eloquent Preacher of thoſe Times. At Firſt, the Legates communicated to this ſmall Number of Biſhops, the Letters they received from *Rome*: But perceiving, that *Don Diego* equalized himſelf to them; and that the Biſhops preſumed more than they were wont to do at *Rome*; and, being afraid of the Bad Conſequences of this, they ſent Word to *Rome*, That always one Letter ſhould be written to be publicly ſhown; and another, with what was not fit to be imparted. They demanded alſo a Cypher to communicate the Matters of greater Moment.

The Month of *March* being paſt, and the time, prefixt for Opening the Council, expired by many Days; the Legates, being aſhamed to Open it with ſo ſmall a Number, ſent for further Advice to *Rome*. In the mean time, the Ambaſſadors of the King of the *Romans* arrived the 8th of *April*, and were received in a ſolemn Congregation; in which, *Don Diego* would needs have the Precedency of the Cardinal of *Trent*, and all the other Cardinals that ſhould come to the Council, as repreſenting the Emperor; and therefore claimed to be placed next to the Legates: But they found out a Way to place them ſo, that it could not appear, who had the Precedency. In the mean time, the Emperor's Procedures, with the *Proteſtants* in *Germany*, both Diſpleaſed them and the Pope; and all the Prelates were ordered, with all Expedition, to attend the Council at *Trent*. In Obedience to which, our Prelate, with other Nine Biſhops, came to *Trent* about the Firſt of *May*. Upon the Third Day, they had a Congregation, wherein they adjuſted ſeveral Preliminaries: But did nothing of Moment; only deferred the Day of Opening the Council towards the End of *May*, till they got the Advice of Cardinal *Farneſe*.

He is ordered to attend the Council of Trent, where he arrives with ſome other Biſhops.

There were at *Trent* 20 Biſhops, 5 Generals of Orders, and an Auditor of the *Rota*. Some of theſe Biſhops, moved by Poverty, made grievous Complaints about their being detained ſo long to no purpoſe; and threatned to return to their Native Countries, not being able to live any longer there. Whereupon the Legates reſolved to give, upon the Pope's Charge, Fourty Ducats a Year to the Biſhops of *Nobili*, *Bertinoro*, and *Chioza*, who complained more than the reſt: And, fearing that this Munificence might give Pretence hereafter, they declared, that it was for a Subſidy and not for Proviſion. Yet notwithſtanding of all their Importunities, the Months of *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, *September* and *October* were paſt, before the Council was Opened. And the Pope was ſo perplexed with the Emperor's Conduct, who ſometimes threatned the *Lutherans*, and ſometimes the Council, that he heartily repented he had call'd it; and which he would have gladly Diſſolved, if it had conſiſted with his Honour. At length, not knowing how to extricate himſelf, he ſends the Biſhop of *Caſerta* to the Emperor, with the Propoſal, either to have it Opened or Begun, Suſpended or Tranſlated. The Emperor, by no means, would conſent either to the Suſpenſion or Tranſlation: But at length, he condeſcended, about the Middle of *October*, that the Council ſhould be Opened, and the Reformation treated of; providing

they ſpoke not of Hereſies or Points of Doctrine, leaſt they ſhould Provoke the *Proteſtants*.

The Pope, being Advertis'd of this by his Nuncio, was touched to the very Heart. For he plainly foreſaw the great Advantage the *Lutherans* had by this Anſwer, and how much it leſſened his own Authority. Yet he diſſembled his Reſentment; and, as it were of himſelf, he ordered the Council to be Opened upon the 13th of *December*. The Prelates at *Trent* were overjoyed at this News. But, at the ſame time Letters came from the *French* King to his Prelates, who were but Three, ordering them to return Home. This Chagrined the Legates extremely: For by this it appear'd, that *France* would not Approve of the Council, or have any Hand in it. Therefore they dealt very earneſtly with them to ſtay, telling them of the great Scandal that would enſue upon their leaving them, and that the King gave that Order when the Caſe was otherways; ſo that at leaſt they ſhould ſtay till they acquainted him of the bad Conſequences, that would follow upon their being recall'd. Upon this, Two of them reſolved to ſtay; and the Third, who was the Biſhop of *Rennes*, was ſent to know the King's Mind.

He writes an Account of the Council, and its Procedures.

Our Learned and Worthy Prelate, finding that the Council was now going to be Opened, reſolved to write an Account of their Procedures, which he accordingly did from its Firſt Commencement till the Year 1551, in which he died. What theſe Tranſactions were, in which our Author was ſo much concerned, I ſhall ſum up in as few Words, as poſſibly I can.

The Laſt of *November*, the Time prefixt for the Opening of the Council, approaching, the Legates wrote to *Rome*, That, to preſerve the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, it were fit, in Opening of it, to Read and Regiſter a Bull commanding it to be done; and ſent an Expreſs with all Diligence, that it might come in time. The Anſwer, together with the Bull, arrived the 11th of *December*. The Legates commanded a Faſt and a Proceſſion the next Day, and called a Congregation of Prelates, where Firſt the Bull was read: Then they ſpoke of all that was to be done, the next Day, in the Seſſion. In this Meeting, the Biſhop of *Eſtorga* Propoſed, That it was neceſſary to read, in the Congregation, the Brief of the Legation and Precedency; that all might make Profeſſion of their Obedience and Subjection to the Apoſtolic See. The Requeſt was approv'd of by almoſt all the Congregation, and accompanied with the particular Inſtance of every one. But the Legate of the *Holy Croſs* (conſidering how far this Demand might reach; and that, to Publiſh the Authority of the Precedency, might breed Danger, to have it limited; thinking it better, by keeping it ſecret, to uſe it as Occaſion ſerved) Anſwered readily, That in the Council all were but one Body: And that it was equally neceſſary to read the Bulls of every Biſhop, to ſhew that he was ſuch an one inſtituted by the Apoſtolic See, which would be tedious; and by Reaſon of thoſe, who would Daily come, would ſpend the Time of all the Congregations. And ſo he ſtopt the Requeſt, and retained the Dignity of the Legation, which conſiſted in being unlimited.

At length the 13th of *December* came, on which Day, the Council was to be Opened. The Pope Publiſhed, at *Rome*, a Bull of *Jubile*; in which he Declared, That he had intimated a Council to heal the Wounds of

of the Church, cauſed by impious Heretics: Therefore he Exhorted every one to aſſiſt the Fathers, aſſembled therein, with their Prayers to GOD; which to do Effectually and Fruitfully, they ought to Confeſs themſelves, and Faſt Three Days, and during that time, to go in Proceſſions, and then to receive the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament; granting to all thoſe, that did ſo, a Pardon of all their Sins. The ſame Day, the Legates in *Trent*, with all the Prelates, being Twenty Five in Number, in their Pontifical Habits, accompanied with the Divines, Clergy and People of Foreign Parts and of the City, made a Solemn Proceſſion from *Trinity-Church* to the Cathedral, which was Richly Adorned with Tapeſtry: Where Cardinal *de Monte*, the Prime Legate, did Sing the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt; and the Biſhop of *Bitonto* made a Long and Eloquent Sermon. After which, the Legates cauſed read a long Admonition upon the Neceſſity of Calling a Council, and upon the manner, in which they ought to behave themſelves.

Theſe Things being done according to the Rite of the *Roman* Ceremonial, all kneeled down to Pray ſoftly, and then they ſaid aloud, *Adſumus, Domine, &c. Sancte Spiritus, &c.* Which the Preſident ſpake with an high Voice, in the Name of all. The Litany being Sung, the Goſpel was read by the Deacon, *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, &c.* And Laſtly, the Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, being Sung, and all ſet down in their Places; the Cardinal *de Monte* pronounced the Decree for Opening the Council, and holding the next Seſſion: To which the Fathers agreed by the Word, *Placet*. This being done, *Hercules Severallo*, Speaker of the Council, deſired the Notaries to make an Inſtrument of all. Then the Hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, was Sung: And the Fathers, putting off their Pontifical Habits, and taking on their Common, accompany'd the Legates, the Croſs being carried before. Theſe Ceremonies were uſed in all the following Seſſions. Thus ended the Firſt Seſſion, in which nothing made ſo great a Noiſe, as the Biſhop of *Bitonto*'s Sermon, ſeveral Expreſſions whereof were Cenſured. For, beſides his vain Oſtentation of Eloquence in it, he was particularly Cenſured for his ſaying, That, if they did not open their Hearts to the Knowledge of the LORD, yet the Holy Ghoſt would open their Mouths; tho' their Hearts remained repleniſhed with a wicked Spirit; as He did the Mouths of *Balaam* and *Caiaphas*, two Falſe Prophets: Leſt, if the Council ſhould Err, the Church ſhould Err alſo. But his comparing the Council to the *Trojan* Horſe, (into the Belly of which all the Biſhops were to enter) was lookt upon by ſome, as a Piece of Folly and Irreverence; and by others, as an ill Preſage to the future Affairs of the Church. In the mean time, the Legates, not knowing what ſhould be Handled in the next Seſſion, nor what Order Obſerved, ſent an Expreſs to *Rome* for further Inſtructions: And to amuſe the Prelates, they called a Congregation upon the 18th Day, wherein nothing of Moment was propoſed; all the time being ſpent in Debating about their manner of Living, Converſing, and Governing their Families. All which was reſerved to a Congregation, that met on the 22d, which ended in this, That a good Reformation of the Mind was principally Neceſſary. Wherefore being Exhorted to aim at that Seemlineſs, which belonged to their Degree, and the Edification of their People, they would thereby find, what they had to redreſs in themſelves and their Families. By this time, the

Pope's Anſwer was returned to the Legates; wherein he told them, That it did not become the Council, to invite either Princes or Prelates, to aſſiſt them either with their Preſence or Prayers; ſince he had done that already by his Bull of *Jubile*, and by the Letters for the Convocation of the Council. That the Council was not to write to any, the Legates having Power to ſupply that by their own Letters, written in all their Names. That, in the Extenſion of their Decrees, their Title ought to be, *The Moſt Holy, Oecumenical and General Council of* Trent, *the Apoſtolical Legates being Preſidents*. That they ſhould give Votes not by Nations, but by Perſons; becauſe it was never uſed in Ancient Times, but was introduced by the Council of *Conſtance*, and followed by that of *Baſil*, which are not to be imitated: But that they were to follow that of the laſt *Lateran* Council, being the beſt and moſt decent. As to that concerning the Condemning of Heretics, Matters to be handled, and other Things demanded by them, Order ſhould be given in convenient time. Mean while, they are injoined to ſpend the time in Preambulary things, according to the Cuſtom of other Councils. That they ſhould maintain their Precedency with that Comelineſs, that beſeemeth the Legates of the Apoſtolic See. Then, as for the Maintenance of the Prelates he ſends them a Brief, by which he exempts all the Prelates of the Council from the Payment of Tenths; and granted them the Participation of all Fruits, as well in Abſence as Preſence. He ſent alſo Two Thouſand Crowns to help the poor Biſhops, giving Order, That they ſhould take Care to publiſh it, that it might be known, how Zealous he was in aſſiſting all the Members that required his Charity.

This Anſwer being come from *Rome*, a Congregation was call'd, upon the 5th of *January* 1546, where the Cardinal *de Monte*, having Saluted and Bleſſed them all in the Pope's Name, cauſed the Brief of Exemption for Payment of the Tenths to be read. Whereupon the Legates made large Encomiums upon the Pope's Goodneſs. But ſome of the *Spaniſh* Prelates affirmed, That this Favour of the Pope did greater Dammage than Benefit: Becauſe the accepting of it imply'd, that the Pope might lay Burdens upon other Churches; and that the Council had not the Authority to hinder him, nor to exempt thoſe, who, by Right, were to be included. The Legates, having waved this with much Dexterity, proceeded to the Conciliary Actions. And Cardinal *de Monte* told them, what Form was obſerved in the laſt *Lateran* Council, where himſelf was preſent, as Arch-Biſhop of *Spionto*: And earneſtly preſt, that they might follow the ſame. After this, a Diſpute aroſe amongſt them, concerning the Title of the Council. For the *French* Prelates would have added to the Title, ſent from *Rome*, theſe Words, *Repreſentingthe Univerſal Church*: In this they were joined by a great many Biſhops. But the Legates told them, That that Title was only uſed in the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*; and to imitate them, was to give them ſome Authority. *John de Salazzar*, Biſhop of *Lanciano*, a *Spaniard* by Nation, aſſiſted the Legates very much in a Diſcourſe, wherein he highly commended the Firſt Councils of the Church; and deſired, they might be imitated in the Title uſed by them, which was very plain, without expreſſing Repreſentation, or what, or how great Authority the Council had: But he likewiſe was of the Opinion, that the Clauſe, *The Apoſtolic Legates Preſidents*, ſhould be laid aſide; becauſe it had never been uſed

uſed by any Ancient Council, but begun only by that of *Conſtance*, which, by reaſon of their Schiſm, changed Preſidents often. The Legates took the Firſt Part of his Advice, but not the laſt.

Upon the 7th of *January*, all the Prelates, clad in their ordinary Habit, aſſembled themſelves in the Houſe of the Prime Legate; from whence they went to the Cathedral Church, with the Croſs before them.

Out of the Country of *Trent*, were brought into the City, Three Hundred Foot, Armed partly with Pikes, and partly with Harquebuſſes; and ſome Horſe. Theſe put themſelves in File, on either ſide the Way, from the Houſe to the Church; where the Legates and Prelates being entred, the Soldiers returned to the Mercat-Place, Diſcharged their Pieces, and remained there to Guard the Seſſion. Beſides the Legates and the Cardinal of *Trent*, there were preſent, at this 2d Seſſion, our Prelate and Three other Arch-Biſhops, Twenty Eight Biſhops, Three Abbots of the Congregation of *Caſſina*, and Four Generals. Theſe Fourty Three Perſons made the General Council. About the Number of Twenty Divines ſtood upon their Feet. The Ambaſſador of the King of the *Romans*, and the Proctor of the Cardinal of *Ausburg* were preſent, and ſat upon the Ambaſſador's Bench: And near unto them ſat Ten Gentlemen upon the ſame Bench, choſen out of the Bordering Places by the Cardinal of *Trent*. *John Fonſeca*, Biſhop of *Caſtelamare*, ſaid Maſs: And *Coriolanus Martirannus*, Biſhop of S. *Mark* made the Sermon.

When Maſs was ended and the other Ceremonies above-mentioned, the Biſhop of *Caſtelamare* went up to the Pulpit, and read the Bull againſt the admitting of the Proctors of thoſe who were abſent, to give their Votes, and the Decree of the Council exhorting them all to live Chriſtianly and decently together. After which, the Fathers, being interrogated, Anſwered, *That they were pleaſed.* But the *French* Prelates inſiſted, that to the Title of the Council, theſe Words, *Repreſenting the Univerſal Church*, ſhould be added; but nothing was done in it. The next Seſſion was appointed the 4th of *February*; and the Fathers had leave to depart, who, putting off their Pontifical Habits, did, in their ordinary Apparel, accompany the Legates Home, in the ſame Order they came to Church: Which was obſerved in all the following Seſſions.

After this Seſſion, there was no Congregation held till the 13th of *January*, in which at Firſt they ſpent a great deal of time in Diſputing about the Title of the Council: But at length the Fathers earneſtly preſſed, that they ſhould treat of Affairs of greater Moment. Whereupon the Legates, to ſatisfy them, Propoſed, That they ſhould conſider the Three Heads of the Pope's Bull for Calling the Council, *viz.* the Extirpation of Hereſy, Reformation of Diſcipline, and Eſtabliſhing of Peace; and which of theſe Three ſhould be Firſt Treated of. So they earneſtly entreated them to Pray to GOD, for the Illumination of his Spirit, to Direct them in this Affair; and that each of them ſhould ſpeak his Opinion in the next Congregation. Then ſome Commiſſions, from abſent Biſhops, were preſented.

The next Day, the Legates wrote to *Rome*, gave an Account of what they had done; and deſired further Directions as to what they ſhould do in the next Congregation. They likewiſe advertiſed the Pope, that

Cardinal *Pacceco* had Advice, that the Emperor had given Order to ſeveral *Spaniſh* Biſhops, who were Men of Exemplary Lives and Great Learning to come to the Council: Wherefore they Adviſed the Pope to ſend Ten or Twelve Biſhops of Equal Abilities to Ballance them.

In the next Congregation, which was held upon the 18th, there were Four different Opinions concerning the Matters, they ſhould Firſt begin to Treat of. The Firſt was, That they ought to begin with the Reformation of Abuſes, and the Vitious Lives of the Clergy; ſince from them the Hereſies aroſe: And that it would be in vain, to treat of Points of Doctrine, till once there were a thorow Reformation eſtabliſhed. Others were for Beginning with the Doctrines; becauſe Faith is the Ground and Foundation of a Chriſtian Life: And that no Man begins to Build from the Roof to the Foundation, but from the Foundation to the Roof. And that it is a greater Sin to Err in Faith, than in other Human Actions. A Third Opinion was, That the Points of Reformation and Faith could not well be ſeparated; becauſe there was no Doctrine without Abuſe; nor no Abuſe, which drew not after it ſome bad Interpretation, or a bad Senſe of ſome Doctrine: Therefore it was neceſſary to handle them, at the ſame time. And that, ſince the World had their Eyes fixt upon the Council, and expected a Remedy, from them, as well in Matters of Faith as in Manners, they would be better ſatisfy'd by handling them both together, than one after another: Eſpecially if, according to the Propoſition of the Cardinal *de Monte*, diverſe Deputations were made; and that one handled this Matter, and another that which ſhould be done quickly: Conſidering that the time preſent, when Chriſtendom has Peace, was Precious, and not to be loſt; not knowing what Impediments the time to come might bring: And the rather, becauſe they ſhould Study to make the Council as ſhort as they could, that the Churches might not be long deprived of their Paſtors. Of this Opinion was our Prelate. The laſt was, That that of the Peace ſhould be Firſt treated of: And to that end, they ſhould write unto the Emperor, the Moſt Chriſtian King, and other Princes, giving them Thanks for the Convocating of the Council; and that, in order to its being continued, they ſhould eſtabliſh Peace; and help the Work forward, by ſending their Ambaſſadors and Prelates: And likewiſe to write Friendly to the *Lutherans*, inviting them Charitably to come to the Council, and Join themſelves with the reſt of Chriſtendom. The Legates commended their Wiſdom: But, becauſe it was late, and the Affair of great Moment, the Determination of it was referred to the next Seſſion. Then it was Ordered, that there ſhould be Two Congregations, every Week, on *Monday* and *Friday*, without Warning. The Arch-Biſhop of *Aix*, having received Letters from the King of *France*, Saluted the Synod in his Name, and Promiſed, that his Majeſty would ſend ſuddenly an Ambaſſador and many Prelates of his Kingdom. So this Congregation ended.

The Legates wrote preſſing Letters to *Rome* for Inſtructions, and Money to the poor Biſhops. But the Pope made no great Haſte with his Diſpatches; for he was nowiſe fond of the Council, his Mind being wholly intent upon a War againſt the *Lutherans*, which Cardinal *Farneſe* had treated with the Emperor, the Year before. During theſe Delays, the Prelates, who deſired to begin with the Reformation, got a Number of others to join with them: So that the Legates, after they had, for a long

long time, elided this Propoſition, at length were obliged, to oppoſe it openly, in the Congregation held upon the 22d of *January*. One Reaſon the Legates made uſe of, againſt their Beginning with the Reformation, which had a great Impreſſion upon all the Prelates, was, That the Emperor had, in *May* laſt, at the Diet of *Wormes*, told the *Proteſtants*, That, if the Council did not Accommodate their Differences in Points of Doctrine, he would call another Diet, and do it himſelf: So that, if they did not Firſt treat of Religion, they could not, in Reaſon, hinder the Emperor to treat thereof in *Germany*; and deſired them to conſider, what a Reflection that would be upon the Council.

The next Congregation was ſpent in reading many Letters, and Diſputing what Seal to uſe: And it was concluded, that the Seal of the Firſt Legate ſhould be uſed, till ſuch time as one for the Council ſhould be Engraven at *Venice*; becauſe there were no Engravers at *Trent*. The Time of the Seſſion approaching, and the Legates, for want of Inſtructions from the Pope, not knowing what to do; Cardinal *Pool* propoſed, That, in the approaching Seſſion, they ſhould read and confirm the Creed of the Church of *Rome*. At laſt it was Reſolved, That the Decree, concerning the Calling of the Council, ſhould be made with a ſimple Title: And that, in the Decree, it ſhould be told, That they were to treat of Religion and Reformation; but in ſuch general Terms, that the Creed might be recited and paſſed over: Making another Decree to defer the Material Points to another Seſſion; becauſe that ſome Prelates were ready to ſet forward, and others were on Journey already. When this was framed, they imparted it to the Prelates they truſted moſt to: Amongſt whom, the Biſhop of *Bitonto* told them, That to make a Seſſion, Re-eſtabliſh a Creed made 1200 Years before, and continually Believed, and now Accepted of by all, might be laughed at by their Enemies. Others ſaid, That it was pretty odd, that, after a Work of Twenty Years time, they ſhould be Conveen'd, only to hear their Creed repeated. Yet theſe Reaſonings prevail'd not with the Legates: So that, upon the 4th Day of *February*, the Day appointed for the Seſſion, they went to Church with the uſual Ceremonies and Company. *Peter Tragliavia*, Arch-Biſhop of *Palermo*, Sang Maſs; *Ambroſe Catarin* of *Siena*, a *Dominican* Friar, Arch-Biſhop of *Torre*, Read the Decree. The Subſtance whereof was, That the Synod, conſidering the Importance of the Two Points to be treated of, *viz.* the Extirpation of Hereſies, and Reformation of Manners, exhorteth them all to truſt in GOD, and Arm themſelves with Spiritual Weapons. And, that their Diligence may have both Beginning and Progreſs from the Grace of GOD, it Determineth to begin from the Confeſſion of Faith; imitating the Examples of the Fathers, who, in the Principal Councils, in the Beginning of the Actions, have oppoſed that Buckler againſt the Hereſies, and ſometimes have Converted the Infidels, and have Overcome the Heretics with that alone, in which, all that Profeſs Chriſtianity, agree. Then the Creed was repeated, Word by Word, without adding any other Concluſion. The Arch-Biſhop asked the Fathers, How the Decree pleaſed them? All Anſwered Affirmatively: But ſome, with Conditions and Additions of no great Moment. After this, the other Decree was read, intimating, for the next Seſſion, the 8th of *April*; becauſe there were ſeveral Prelates

ready to come, and others upon their Journey: And the moe Fathers there were, their Decrees would have the greater Authority.

After this, the Legates advertiſed the Pope, what they had done in this Seſſion; and that it was not poſſible for them, to delay the treating of the Affairs of Religion, any longer. About this time Died *Martin Luther*, which the Fathers of the Council looked upon, as a Good Omen: Nowiſe doubting, but that his Death would facilitate their Procedures againſt his Followers. The Court of *Rome*, finding that the Fathers were longing to treat of the Controverſies betwixt them and the *Lutherans*, gave Power to the Legates to proceed, as they thought fit. So, in the Congregation of the 22d of *February*, they told the Fathers, That the Firſt Foundation of Faith being Eſtabliſhed, they ought, in the next Place, to handle the Doctrines, controverted between them and the *Lutherans*. In order to this, Articles were Extracted out of the Books of the *Lutherans*, contrary to the then eſtabliſhed Faith of the Church, that they might be Studied and Cenſured by the Divines, who were about Thirty in Number, and who were Ordered, every one of them, to give their Opinions freely: So that Matters might be prepared for framing of the Decrees, that were to be preſented in the Congregations, and examined by the Fathers, when every Man's Voice was known.

The Articles for Matter of Doctrine, drawn out of the *Lutheran* Books, were Four. The Firſt was concerning the Sufficiency of the Sacred Scriptures, and the Neceſſity of Tradition. The Second, concerning the Canonical Books of the Bible, and their Number. The Third, concerning the Authority of the Vulgar Verſion of the Bible, and the Neceſſity of having Recourſe to the Originals. The Fourth was, that the Scripture of it ſelf was moſt eaſy and perſpicuous: And that, to underſtand it, neither Gloſs nor Commentary was neceſſary; but to have the Spirit of a Sheep of Chriſt's Paſture. A Fifth Article was propoſed to their Conſideration; and that was, If Anathema's ſhould be Formed upon theſe Matters?

Upon the Two Firſt, the Divines Diſcourſed in Four Congregations. In the Firſt, all agreed, That the Chriſtian Faith is contained partly in the Scripture, and partly in Traditions: And much time was ſpent in producing for this, Paſſages out of *Tertullian*, who very often ſpeaks of them; and many were taken out of S. *Irenæus*, S. *Cyprian*, S. *Baſil*, S. *Auguſtine* and Others: But there was ſome Difference, how this Matter might be fitly handled. *Vicenzo Lunella*, a *Franciſcan* Friar, was of Opinion, That, in regard the Holy Scripture and Tradition were to be eſtabliſhed for the Ground of the Chriſtian Faith, they ought Firſt to Treat of the Church; becauſe the Scripture received its Authority from it, according to that Famous Saying of S. *Auguſtine*, *I would not have Believed the Goſpel, if the Authority of the Church had not compelled me*: And no Uſe can be made of Traditions, but by Grounding them upon the ſame Authority; for if a Controverſy ariſe about a Tradition, it will be neceſſary to decide it either by the Teſtimony or Determination of the Church. So this Foundation being laid, That every one is bound to Believe the Church, one may ſecurely Build thereon. This Opinion had no Followers: For ſome ſaid, That all the Sectaries would claim the ſame Privilege of being the True Church. Others ſaid, That the Authority of the Church was a thing already decided; and to claim to it now

now, would look, as if it were but new, and not ever believed ſince Chriſtianity began.

Anthonius Marinarus, a Carmelite Friar ſaid, That for Deciding of this Article about Tradition, it was meet, Firſt to Determine, Whether the Queſtion was *Facti* or *Juris*? *i. e.* If the Chriſtian Doctrine has Two Parts; One which was Written by the Will of GOD; and the Other which was forbidden to be Writ, and is only Taught by Word of Mouth? Or, if in the whole Body of Doctrine, it hath accidentally hapned, that ſome Part hath not been committed to Writing? He added, That it was a clear Caſe, that the Majeſty of GOD, Ordaining the Law of the Old Teſtament, appointed, that it ſhould be Neceſſary, it ſhould be Written; and therefore Wrote the Decalogue in Stone with His own Finger, Commanding it ſhould be laid up in the Ark of the Covenant: That He often Commanded *Moſes* to Write the Precepts in a Book; and that one Copy ſhould be kept in the Ark, and the King have another to read it continually. But that it was quite otherwiſe under the Goſpel, which the Son of GOD Wrote in the Hearts of His Followers; for which, neither Tables, nor Cheſt, nor Book was neceſſary: And that the Church was moſt Perfect before any of the Apoſtles Wrote: And tho' they had Writ nothing; yet the Church would have wanted nothing of its Perfection. And therefore, that it is an undoubted Truth, that as Chriſt Founded His Doctrine in the Hearts of His Followers, ſo He forbad it not to be Written, as in ſome Falſe Religions, where the Myſteries are kept Secret, and only Taught by Word of Mouth. So that, whatſoever the Apoſtles have Written or Taught by Word of Mouth, is of equal Authority; becauſe they Wrote and Spoke by the Inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt: So that the Articles of Faith could not be diſtinguiſhed into Two Kinds; ſome Publiſhed by Writing, and others Commanded only to be Communicated by Voice. And whoever would oppoſe this, had Two great Difficulties to Anſwer: The one was, to tell, Wherein the Difference is? And the other, How the Apoſtles Succeſſors have been able to Write that, which was forbidden by GOD? Adding, that it was as hard to maintain the Third, *that is*, How it hath accidentally hapned, that ſome Particulars have not been Written? Becauſe it would Derogate from the Providence of GOD, in Directing the Holy Apoſtles to Compoſe the Scriptures of the New Teſtament. Therefore he Concluded, That to enter into this Treaty, was to Sail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*: And that it was better to imitate the Fathers, who ſerved themſelves of this Place only in caſe of Neceſſity, never thinking to make it an Article of Competition againſt the Holy Scriptures. He added, That it was not neceſſary to proceed now to any Determination; becauſe the *Lutherans*, tho' they ſaid, That they would be Convinced by the Scriptures only, have not made a Controverſy in this Article: And that it is good to keep themſelves only to the Controverſies, which they have promoted, without ſetting new ones on Foot, and expoſing themſelves to the Danger of making a greater Diviſion in Chriſtendom.

This Friar's Opinion pleaſed but very few: And Cardinal *Pool* was ſo diſpleaſed at it, that he told him with ſome Heat, That it was fitter to have been delivered before an Aſſembly of *Proteſtants* in *Germany*, than before the Council. So, as we have ſaid, it was generally agreed to,

That the Chriſtian Faith is contained partly in the Scripture and partly in Traditions.

As to the Second Article, concerning the Canonical Books of the Scripture, there were Four Opinions concerning them. *Aloiſius* of *Catana*, a *Dominican* Friar, was of the Opinion, that they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed into Two Ranks. In the Firſt of which, only thoſe ſhould be put, that are received by all Chriſtians without Contradiction: And in the Second, thoſe that had been either doubted of, or rejected for ſome time. This Opinion was ſupported by the Authorities of S. *Auguſtine*, S. *Jerome*, and Cardinal *Cajetan*. Others were for making of Three Ranks. The Firſt of thoſe that have been acknowledged as Divine. The Second of thoſe that were doubted of, for ſome time; but are now received as Canonical: Such as the *Apocalypſe*, the Six Epiſtles, and ſome ſmall Portions of the Evangeliſts. The Third of thoſe, whereof there is no great Certainty: Such as the Apocryphal Books of the Old Teſtament, and ſome Chapters of *Daniel* and *Heſter*. Others thought it better to make no Diſtinction at all; but to imitate the Council of *Carthage* and others, in acknowledging, for Canonical, the Books that they acknowledged for Canonical. And Laſtly, Others were of the Opinion, That all thoſe, that were in the *Latin* Bible, ſhould be acknowledged as Canonical, and of equal Authority. But that, which troubled them moſt, was the Book of *Baruch*, which a great Number would have excluded; becauſe neither the Council of *Laodicea*, nor the Council of *Carthage*, nor any Pope, had Numbred it amongſt the Canonical Books; and beſides that it wanted the Beginning: But the Major Part were for making it likewiſe Canonical; becauſe it was read in the Church, as a Part of *Jeremy*.

Upon the Eighth of *March*, the Theologues having ended their Debates about theſe Two Articles; the next Day, there was a Congregation, in which they agreed as to the Article of Tradition; but referred that, concerning the Canonical Books of the Scripture, to the next Diet. Some few Days after, arrived *Don Francis de Toledo*, who was ſent Ambaſſador, by the Emperor, to aſſiſt *Don Diego*: And he was met, upon the Way, by our Prelate and a great many others. About this time likewiſe arrived *Vergerius*, a Biſhop, who had been Famous for his frequent Conferences with the *Lutherans* in *Germany*, by the Pope's Command: But with ſuch Succeſs, that inſtead of his Convincing of them, they Convinced him of the Reaſonableneſs of their Opinions. Upon which, Friar *Hannibal*, a *Griſon*, one of the Inquiſitors, accuſed him of *Lutheraniſm*; and raiſed a Sedition againſt him in his Dioceſs. Upon this, the Biſhop fled, for Protection, to the Council, hoping to Vindicate himſelf before them: But they remitted him to the Pope. He, being unwilling to be Tried at *Rome*, went ſtreight for his own Dioceſs, expecting, by this time, the Minds of thoſe of his Dioceſs would be appeaſed: But the Pope's Nuncio at *Venice*, who had Orders from *Rome* to make up his Proceſs, diſcharged him from going thither. Upon this, he retired to the Country of the *Griſons*, where he owned *Lutheraniſm* publicly; and Wrote ſeveral Things againſt the Pope and Church of *Rome*.

In the Congregation upon the 15th it was agreed to, That all the Books of the *Latin* Bible ſhould be approven of, as Canonical, without any

any Diſtinction: But they had great Diſputes concerning the *Latin* Tranſlation. Friar *Aloiſius* of *Catanea* ſaid, That Cardinal *Cajetan*'s Method ſhould be followed. This Learned and Excellent Cardinal, who was inferior to none, that Sat in the Council, in any Capacity whatſoever, being ſent Legate into *Germany*, in the Year 1523, fell upon a Way of Convincing the *Lutherans*, which was from the Plain and Literal Meaning of the Text of Scripture, in the Original Tongue, in which it was Written; expounding the *Hebrew* Roots of the Old, and the *Greek* of the New, but not the *Latin* Tranſlation. And tho' he had no Knowledge in theſe Languages himſelf; yet he employed Men, who were well ſeen in them, and who Conſtructed to him the Text, Word by Word, as his Works upon theſe Sacred Books ſhew. For he held it as a Maxim, *That, to underſtand the* Latin *Text, was not to underſtand the Infallible Word of GOD, but the Word of the Tranſlator, which was ſubject and obnoxious unto Errors.* But this Opinion was vigorouſly Oppoſed by the moſt of them. For they ſaid, That this was to ſubject the Scriptures to every mean Pedant of a Grammarian, who, either for want of Knowledge in Divinity, or out of Malice, might alledge, when challenged for Heretical Doctrines, That the Text is not ſo in the Original: And, by this means, their Diſputes ſhould never have an End, as long as there was a Grammatical Trick or Criticiſm toſupport them; and this evidently appeared, from the Various and Contradictory Tranſlations of the Bible, ſince *Luther*'s Firſt Tranſlation of it.

D. *Iſidorus Clarus*, a *Breſcian* and *Benedictine* Abbot, a Man of an extraordinary Knowledge in the Languages, gave his Opinion next, and told them, That, in the Primitive Church, there were many *Greek* Tranſlations of the Old Teſtament, which *Origen* gathered into one Volume, the chief of which is call'd the Septuagint, from whence diverſe in *Latin* were taken; and many were taken from the *Greek* Text of the New Teſtament, one of which, moſt followed and read in the Church, and eſteemed the beſt by S. *Auguſtine*, is call'd the *Italic*. But S. *Jerome*, finding that of the Old Teſtament ſwerve from the *Hebrew* Truth, (of which Language he had a Perfect Knowledge,) made a New Tranſlation out of the *Hebrew*; and amended that of the New Teſtament, according to the Truth of the *Greek* Text. S. *Jerome*'s Credit made this Tranſlation be Received by many; yet ſome Rejected it: But in a few Years it was Univerſally Received, without excluding the Old. And S. *Gregory*, in his Commentary upon *Job*, ſays, That the Apoſtolic See uſed them both: And he himſelf, in the Expoſition of that Book, made Choice to follow the New; yet, in the Allegations, he uſed ſometimes one, ſometimes another. The Times following, by the Uſe of them both, compoſed One, partly taken out of the Old, and partly out of the New: And this was call'd the *Vulgar Edition.* The *Pſalms* were all of the Old; the Leſſer Prophets, all of the New; and the Greater, mixt of them both. And ſince no Interpreter, according to S. *Jerome*, ever pretended to the Holy Ghoſt; therefore it was his Opinion, that the Vulgar Edition ſhould be preferred to all others.

Andrew de Vega, a *Franciſcan* Friar, was for approving of the Vulgar Tranſlation; but with this Reſtriction, that none ſhould be hinder'd from having Recourſe to the Original *Hebrew* and *Greek*. After this, it was agreed, that the Vulgar Edition ſhould be approv'd of, after it had

been exactly collated with the Original *Hebrew* and *Greek:* And Six Perſons were Nominated for that End, and Commanded to be Diligent in making that Correction, that it might be Publiſh'd before the End of the Council; reſerving Power to themſelves to augment the Number, if, amongſt thoſe that were to come, any were fit for the Work.

Then they proceeded to the Examining of the Fourth Article, concerning the Method of Interpreting the Sacred Scriptures: About which there were likewiſe Four Opinions. The Firſt was that of Cardinal *Cajetan*, who ſaid, That New Doctrines were not to be rejected, if they agreed to the Text of Scripture, and oppoſed none of the Fundamental Articles of our Faith, tho' the Current of the Doctors and Fathers of the Church were againſt it; becauſe GOD Almighty had not tied the Senſe of the Scriptures to the Old Doctors: Otherwiſe there would remain no more Power to thoſe that live now, nor to Poſterity, than to Tranſcribe the ſame things again. Beſides, it looked like a Spiritual Tyranny, to forbid the Faithful to make uſe of the Gifts that GOD had endowed them with. For, if this be denied in the Study of the Sacred Scriptures, Men will abandon it, and apply themſelves to other Studies. And this Variety of Spiritual Gifts belongeth to the Perfection of the Church, and is found amongſt the Fathers, in whoſe Writings there is great Diverſity, and oftentimes Contrariety, yet joined with aſſured Charity: And it was unjuſt and unreaſonable to deny them that Liberty, which the Ancients had aſſumed to themſelves.

Thoſe of the contrary Opinion ſaid, That a Popular Licenſe, or giving every Body the Power of Interpreting the Sacred Scriptures, was worſe than a Spiritual Tyranny, becauſe it was a laſting Fond for New Diſputes. That it was true, that the Fathers were allowed to Comment upon the Sacred Writings; and that they very often differed, from one another, in their Expoſitions of them, but there was a Neceſſity for it then: And they led ſuch Holy Lives, and Taught ſuch Pure Doctrines, that there was no ſuch Reaſon for ſuſpecting them, as the Innovators of this Age. And ſince theſe Holy Fathers had ſufficiently already explained the Scriptures, there was no Neceſſity of Admitting any Interpretations, but what were conformable to theirs. *Richard* of *Mans*, a *Franciſcan* Friar, went ſo far as to ſay, That the Doctrines of Faith were now ſo cleared, that we ought no more to Learn them out of Scripture, which in former times was read, in the Churches, for the Inſtruction of the People; but is read now only for to Teach them, how to Pray.

A Third Opinion was, That the Sacred Scriptures, being the Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt, were of ſo extenſive a Nature, that they were capable of Diverſe Interpretations, in every Age, according to the Errors that ſhould ariſe in the Church. So that it was Unreaſonable to adhere only to the Interpretations of the Fathers: Not only, becauſe their Expoſitions, for the moſt part, were Allegorical and ſeldom Literal; and thoſe, that follow the Letter, fit themſelves to their own Time, ſo that the Expoſition agreeth not to our Age: But likewiſe, becauſe as it was Judiciouſly ſaid by Cardinal *Cuſanus*, a Man of Excellent Learning and Probity, that the Underſtanding of the Scripture muſt be fitted to the Time, and Expounded according to the current Rites. So that it is

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nowiſe ſtrange, to ſee the Church interpreting the Scriptures, at one time, after one Manner; at another time, after another Manner.

The Fourth Opinion was that of *Dominicus Soto*, a *Dominican* Friar, who ſaid, That a Diſtinction ought to be made betwixt Matters of Faith and Matters of Manners. That as to Matters of Faith, every one ought to be limited: But as to Matters of Manners, they might have Liberty to Interpret the Scriptures, as they pleaſed; providing alwiſe, that Piety and Charity were preſerved. At length Cardinal *Pacceco* having made a Speech, upon the Reaſonableneſs of Adhering to the Interpretations of the Ancients; our Prelate, and the moſt of the reſt of them, adhered to this.

The Congregation of the 29th was all ſpent in the Fifth Article, *viz.* If they ſhould make Canons, and Anathema's upon theſe Matters? A great Number thought, it was very hard to Declare every one a Heretic, and Pronounce an Anathema againſt him, who ſhould Queſtion the Authority of the Vulgar, perhaps in Places of no great Import. Others thought, it was too Rigorous, to Condemn every one that ſhould have the Vanity to Publiſh ſome new Opinion of his own, upon the Scriptures. At length, after a long Debate, a Medium was found out, which was to form the Canons concerning Tradition, and the Number of the Canonical Books, with Anathema's; and to refer thoſe concerning the Vulgar Verſion and the Interpretation of the Scripture, till they came to Treat about Matters that were to be Reformed. After this, ſeveral Methods were propoſed for reſtraining the ill Uſe, that Libertines and Profane Perſons made of the Sacred Scriptures; ſome, by way of Enchantments, Charms and Spells; and others, by Profane Applications, in Lampoons and Encomiums upon Men. Much alſo was ſaid of the Means, how to remove the Paſquins of *Rome*: And here the Cardinal *de Monte* ſhewed great Paſſion in deſiring a Remedy; becauſe he was often made a Subject of the Saucineſs of the Courtiers Tongues, by reaſon of his Natural Liberty and Pleaſantneſs of Wit. At laſt all agreed, That the Printers ſhould be Prohibited to Print any Sacred Thing, before it was Licenſed. Then about Readings and Preachings there were terrible Controverſies. The Regulars, being already in Poſſeſſion of them, as well by the Pope's Privileges, as by the Practice of Three Hundred Years, laboured to preſerve them with all their Might. And the Prelates, alledging they belonged to them, and were Uſurped, pretended Reſtitution: But the Legates put off this Controverſy to another Seſſion.

The Eighth of *April*, appointed for the Seſſion, being come, the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt was ſaid by *Salvator Alepus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Torre* in *Sardinia*; and the Sermon was made by Friar *Auſtine*, of *Aretium*, General of the *Servi*. After which, the Decrees were Publiſhed, by which it was Declared, That the Traditions of the Church were of equal Authority with the Sacred Scriptures. The Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Bible was formed. The Vulgar Verſion was Declared Authentic. And the Libertines and Printers were ſeverely Reproved, and Ordered, That no Books, in Divinity, be Printed, without the Author's Name, and an Approbation upon the Frontiſpiece of the Book; under Pain of Excommunication and a Pecuniary Mulct. After this, the Commiſſion of *Don Diego de Mendoza* and *Francis de Toledo*, the Emperor's

Ambaſſadors, were read by the Secretary of the Council. *Don Diego* was abſent, and the other, complemented the Council in his Maſter's Name; and they returned his Complement. Theſe things being done with the uſual Ceremonies, this Seſſion ended, at which there were Fourty Eight Biſhops and Five Cardinals. The next Seſſion was appointed to be upon the 17th of *June*. The Decrees were immediately ſent to *Rome* by the Legates, and ſhortly after Printed.

In the Firſt Congregation after this Seſſion, the Legates propoſed to Treat of Original Sin: But the *Spaniſh* Prelates Oppoſed this, and ſaid, That to provide againſt the Abuſes of Preaching and Reading, was Matter enough for one Seſſion. In this they were backed both by the *Italian* and *German* Prelates. And *Don Francis* dealt ſo earneſtly with the Legates, to Treat of the Reformation of Abuſes, that they told him, They had expreſs Orders from the Pope to the contrary: But the Ambaſſador being nowiſe ſatisfied with this Anſwer, they wrote again to *Rome*, to know what they ſhould do. In the mean time, in a Congregation, they Ordered, That, for the Future there ſhould be Three Sorts of Congregations held. One for Divines, to Diſcourſe on the Matters of Faith which ſhould be propoſed; whoſe Opinions ſhould be written by one of the Notaries of the Council. Another, in which they ſhould treat of the Reformation; to which the Doctors of the Canon Law were admitted. And the Third, of the Prelates, to frame the Heads of Doctrine and Reformation, which, being Examined and ſet in order according to the moſt common Opinion, ſhould be propoſed in the General Congregation, to underſtand every one's Opinion; that, by the Determination of the Major Part, the Decrees might be Eſtabliſhed, which are to be Publiſhed in the Seſſion.

According to this Order they begun to treat of Lectures and Sermons, of which we ſpoke before. The great Corruption of the Clergy, and the Lazineſs of the Prelates for ſeveral Ages, had been the Reaſon that they had intirely neglected to inſtruct their People, till at length the Mendicant Monks and the Univerſities filled all the Pulpits, they found Vacant, without the Permiſſion of the Ordinaries or the Biſhops of the Place. By this Means, they Enriched themſelves conſiderably, obtained Privileges from the Popes to Preach, without the Permiſſion of the Ordinaries, and had been now in Poſſeſſion of this, for 300 Years, as we ſaid. The Biſhops did all they could to turn theſe Monks out of their Pulpits: But, on the other ſide, the Legates deſired to maintain the Privileges given by the Pope. At length after many Diſputes, they thought, that, in the Congregation of the 10th of *May*, all would agree: But it fell out quite contrary; for tho' it laſted till Night, yet they could come to no Concluſion. Therefore to put ſome End to it, the Legates cauſed an Abbreviate of the Opinions of the Divines and Canoniſts, delivered in diverſe preceeding Congregations, to be read; ſaying, That, in regard the Voices were long, they had collected the Sum of them, that they may Examine them, and ſpeak their Opinions thereon. But *Bracius Martellus*, Biſhop of *Fieſole*, hearing the Extract read, oppoſed it in a continued Speech, and ſaid, That it was neceſſary, that the General Congregation ſhould know the Voices and Reaſons of all, without reading Collections and Sums: And enlarged himſelf, by amplifying the Authority of the Council, and the Neceſſity to inform it well, and the

the great Inconveniencies of expecting Determinations from any other Court; alluding to their frequent Diſpatches to *Rome*, or that things ſhould be carried by Two or Three Perſons, meaning the Legates. For which, the Legates Reproached him, with an affected Modeſty; and ſo the Congregation broke up.

The next Day, the Legates ſent to the Biſhop, to demand a Copy of his Diſcourſe, and ſent it to *Rome* with their Advice, That, for his Seditious Temper and Irreverent Speech, he ſhould be expelled the Council; and Order taken, that the Biſhop of *Chioza* ſhould never return. This laſt Biſhop, immediately after the Seſſion, had retired upon the Pretence of being indiſpoſed: But the real Reaſon was, becauſe of ſome ſharp Words, that paſſed betwixt him and Cardinal *Pool*, in Defence of *Antonius Marinarus*'s Opinion about Tradition. This ſo offended the Legates, that they thought fit to retire: But the Pope was of a contrary Mind, being afraid that it might have created a Diſturbance in the Council, and therefore he told them, That he would take a more convenient time to puniſh the Two Biſhops; and Ordered them to proceed to Original Sin. And as for the Correction of the Vulgar Edition, that they ſhould proceed no farther, till the Deputation, at *Rome*, had Determined what Courſe ſhould be held. In Obedience to this, the Legates, made a Congregation, for Two Days together, to Determine upon the Two Heads of Reading and Preaching, before they publiſhed their Deſign of handling Matters of Faith; being afraid, that it might offend the Imperialiſts, if they left this undecided: And they cauſed the Deputies for the Vulgar Edition, bring to them all they had done, charging them to proceed no further, until they received new Orders.

In treating of the Lectures and Sermons, the Biſhops, eſpecially the *Spaniſh*, gave in a general Complaint againſt the Regulars, for having Uſurped their Pulpits, without their Licenſe: And, amongſt many other things, Complained of their Avarice and Exactions, and that the preſent Troubles of the Church, aroſe from their Preaching up the Doctrine of Indulgences, to enrich themſelves: And that, if *Luther*, who was one of them, had been confined to his Cell, to weep for his own and the Sins of his Brethren, it had been better for the Church of GOD. On the other Hand, the Generals of the Regulars ſaid, That the Biſhops and Curates having wholly abandoned the Office of a Paſtour, ſo that, for many Hundreds of Years, the People remained without Sermons in the Church, and without the Doctrine of Divinity in Schools; GOD had raiſed the Begging Orders to ſupply theſe neceſſary Miniſteries, into which they did not intrude themſelves, but entred by the Grant of the Supreme Paſtour, the Pope: And, if they had not done this, there had been now no Sign of Chriſtianity. And as to what was ſaid of their Avarice and Covetouſneſs, it was a meer Calumny; ſince they employed all the Money, they got, in Works of Charity and Devotion. The Legates, being puzzled how to behave betwixt them, ſent for further Advice to *Rome*: And the Pope wrote to them, That they ſhould take ſpecial Care to preſerve the Privileges of the Univerſities and Monks; but to ſee likewiſe, to fall upon ſome Method to appeaſe the Biſhops. At length after various Projects, this Medium was fallen upon, that, according to the Ancient Cuſtom, they ſhould reſtore a Divinity-Lecture in Cathedral Churches and Monaſteries: For, in many Cathedral

Churches, there was ſtill remaining a School-Man, Head of the Readers, with a Prebend. They found no Difficulty to grant the Superintendency of the Lectures, in Cathedrals, to the Biſhops: But they were unwilling to grant them the Superintendency over the Lecturers, in Monaſteries, for fear that the Pope's Juriſdiction over them ſhould be thereby leſed. Then *Sebaſtian Pighius*, Auditor of the *Rota*, found out a Medium, which was this, That the Superintendency ſhould be given to the Biſhops, as Delegates of the Apoſtolic See. This gave a Pattern to accommodate other Difficulties; one, in giving Authority to the Metropolitans over Pariſhes United to Monaſteries, not ſubject to any Dioceſs; another, in giving Power to Biſhops over exempted Preachers, who fail: And ſerved for ſeveral other Uſes in the following Seſſions.

In the following Seſſions after this, a Debate aroſe amongſt them, about the Subject Matter upon which their Lectures and Sermons ſhould be. The Doctors of the Canon-Law were for excluding the Subtilities of the School-Divinity, and, in their Place, to bring in the Nature and Efficacy of the Sacraments, the Duties of a Chriſtian Life, and the Authority of the Church. But the Friars would not hear of the excluding the Jargon of the School-Divinity; becauſe it got them a Reputation of Learning, when they really had none. So a Medium was fallen on, which was, That the Lecture ſhould be for the Expoſition of the Scripture; and that the Matter of the Sermon ſhould be fitted to the Exigency of the Text read, and the Capacity of the Auditors.

At length, after many Diſcourſes in many Congregations, they came to eſtabliſh the Decrees for the Sermons. And, to remove all the Difficulties, Objected by the Prelates, they promiſed to enlarge their Authority, by granting them Power to allow or diſallow the Preachers, when they Preach out of Churches of their Order; and, when they Preach in them, by making them acknowledge the Prelate, Firſt asking his Benediction: That they ſhould have Power, of Puniſhing them for Hereſy; and of Diſcharging them to Preach, if they found them Scandalous: And, if they would reſt ſatisfy'd with this, they ſhould have other Privileges granted to them, as Occaſion ſerved. But, on the other hand, the Generals of the Orders were nowiſe ſatisfy'd with theſe Propoſals; yet both of them were prevailed upon to ſubmit.

Then the Legates told them, That to keep the Order of ſpeaking of Matters of Diſcipline and Faith together, it was now neceſſary to begin with ſome Point of Faith: And the moſt proper was that of Original Sin. This was Oppoſed by Cardinal *Pucceco* a *Spaniard*, and ſome *German* Biſhops: But they were forced to yield. And Nine Articles were propoſed to be Examined: But the Divines, in the Congregation, agreed, that, to diſcuſs thoſe Articles, it was neceſſary not to proceed in that Order; but to reduce the whole to Four principal Heads. And Firſt to conſider, What the Sin in *Adam* was. Secondly, What it is that is derived from him to his Poſterity. Thirdly, After what Manner it is tranſmitted to his Poſterity. And Laſtly, After what Manner it is Remitted and Pardoned. As to the Firſt Point, they all agreed, That *Adam* being Deprived of Righteouſneſs, his Affections Rebelled againſt his Reaſon, which the Scripture uſeth to expreſs by ſaying, That the Fleſh rebelleth againſt the Spirit; and by one only Name, calleth his Defect, Concupiſcence. That *Adam* incurred the Wrath of GOD, and

and alſo Corporal Mortality which was threatned by GOD, together with the Spiritual Death of the Soul: And yet that none of theſe Defects can be call'd Sin, but Puniſhments that follow upon it; for *Sin is Formally the Tranſgreſſion of a Divine Precept.* And here many gave their Opinions, what this Sin of *Adam* was: Some ſaid, it was Pride; ſome, Gluttony; ſome, Infidelity; ſome, according to S. *Paul*'s Words, Diſobedience; and others, all thoſe Sins and many more.

Concerning the Second Point, *to wit*, What it was, that was derived from *Adam* to his Poſterity. There were Four Different Opinions in the Council. The Firſt was that of S. *Auguſtine*, who ſaid, It was Concupiſcence; in which he was followed by the Maſter of the Sentences and the old Schoolmen: And this was maintained by Two *Hermite* Friars. The Second was that of S. *Anſelm*, who ſaid, That Original Sin, being cancelled in the Baptized, could not be Concupiſcence, which ſtill remains; but the Privation of Original Righteouſneſs, which, in Baptiſm is renewed by Grace. *John Scot* of *Duns* having embraced this Opinion, the *Franciſcan* Friars were all for it. S. *Thomas Aquinas* and S. *Bonaventure*, endeavouring to reconcile theſe Two Opinions, ſaid, That, in our Corrupted Nature, there were Two Rebellions; one of the Soul, againſt GOD; and the other of the Senſes, againſt the Soul: That this, againſt the Soul, is Concupiſcence; and that, againſt GOD, Unrighteouſneſs. S. *Bonaventure* gave the Firſt Place to Concupiſcence, ſaying, That this is Poſitive; and the other, Negative. But S. *Thomas* ſaid, That Concupiſcence was the Material Part; and the Privation of Righteouſneſs, the Formal: Of this Opinion was the moſt Part of the *Dominicans*.

But they were more divided about the Third Point, *to wit*, How this Sin was tranſmitted from *Adam* to his Poſterity, and Succeſſively from Father to Son. Some approved of S. *Auguſtine*'s Modeſty and Opinion, who thought, That as the Body of the Son was derived from the Body of the Father, ſo the Soul of the Son was derived from the Soul of the Father: And that the Fountain being infected, the River muſt be defiled. Others maintained the Opinion of the School-Men, who ſaid, That every Soul being immediately Created by GOD, the Infection was principally in the Fleſh, contracted by our Fore-Fathers, in the Earthly Paradiſe, either from the Poiſoned Quality of the Fruit, or the Venomous Breath of the Serpent: And this Contamination is derived into the Fleſh of the Children, which is a Part of their Parents Fleſh; and is contracted by the Soul, in the Infuſion, as a Liquor contracteth the ill Quality of an infected Veſſel; and the Infection is cauſed, in the Fleſh, by the Luſt of the Firſt Parents, in the Generation. A great many other Bizarre Opinions were given upon this Article.

Then they proceeded to the Conſideration of the Fourth Article, *to wit*, How Original Sin was Remitted. And they all agreed, That it is cancelled by Baptiſm, and the Soul reſtored pure into the State of Innocency; tho' the Puniſhments, which follow Sin, be not removed, that they may be an Exerciſe for the Juſt. And this all of them expounded, by ſaying, That the Perfection of *Adam* conſiſted in an infuſed Quality, which adorned the Soul, made it perfect unto GOD, and exempted the Body from Mortality. And GOD, for the Merit of Chriſt, giveth unto thoſe, that are Regenerated by Baptiſm, another Quality, called Juſtifying Grace, which, wiping out every Blemiſh in

the Soul, maketh it pure, as was that of *Adam*; yea in ſome it worketh greater Effects than Original Righteouſneſs, but only that it worketh no Effect in the Body, whereby Mortality and other Natural Defects are not removed.

The Fathers, having fully Diſcourſed upon theſe Four General Heads, gave next their Opinions upon the following Nine Articles taken out of the Writings of the *Proteſtants*.

I. That *Adam*, by Tranſgreſſing the Precept, hath loſt Juſtice, and incurred the Wrath of GOD and Mortality. And tho' he be both impaired in Soul and Body; yet no Sin is transferred from him to Poſterity, but only Corporal Puniſhments. This Article was Condemned by all, as Heretical.

II. That *Adam*'s Sin is call'd Original, becauſe it is derived from him to Poſterity, not by Tranſmiſſion but by Imitation. This was likewiſe Condemned, as Heretical; notwithſtanding that *Eraſmus* had Wrote in Defence of it.

III. That Original Sin is Ignorance or Contempt of GOD; or want of Fear, without Confidence in His Majeſty, without Divine Love, and with Concupiſcence and bad Deſires: And Generally, a Corruption of the whole Man, in his Will, Soul and Body. This Article was Condemned, becauſe, in the Firſt Part of the Article, the Actions mentioned could not be Original Sin; ſeeing they are not in Children, nor alwiſe in thoſe of Ripe Age: So that to ſay, There was no Sin but that, was wholly to deny it. And, if the *Proteſtants* underſtood only, by theſe Actions, a Natural Inclination to Evil, and an Inability to Good, they ought to have ſaid ſo; and not to ſpeak or write, but ſo that others may underſtand them well. And as for the latter Part of the Article, they ſaid, That if the *Proteſtants* underſtood a Privative Corruption, the Opinion was tolerable. But, ſince they underſtood a Corrupted Subſtance, as if the proper Nature of Man were changed into another Form than that, in which it was created; they therefore thought fit to Condemn the Article Abſolutely, and Reprehend thoſe Catholics, who call Original Sin, a Privation of Juſtice, as a Fountain without Water: Whereas it is a Fountain, from whence Corrupted Waters do iſſue, which are the Acts of Incredulity, Diſtruſt, Hatred, Contumacy, an inordinate Love of one's Self and Worldly Things.

IV. That in Children there is an Inclination to Evil, proceeding from the Corrupted Nature, ſo that, after the Uſe of Reaſon, it bringeth forth a Loathing of Divine Things, and an Immerſion in Matters of the World; and that this is Original Sin. This Article was Condemned, becauſe that Inclination was but the Puniſhment of Sin, and not Sin Formally. And here the *Franciſcans* could not contain themſelves, but earneſtly urged, That it ſhould be Declared, That the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of GOD was exempted from this Law, by a ſpecial Privilege. The *Dominicans*, on the contrary, laboured to comprehend her, by Name, under the Common Law: But the Cardinal *de Monte* got this Controverſy waved for this time, ſaying, That they were Aſſembled to Condemn the Hereſies, and not the Opinions of the Catholics.

V. That Children, at the leaſt, born of Faithful Parents, tho' they are Baptized into the Remiſſion of Sins; yet they have no Sin, but by

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deſcending from *Adam*. This Article was paſt over, as Orthodox enough.

VI. That Original Sin is not cancelled in Baptiſm, but not only imputed, or ſo razed, that it beginneth to diminiſh in this Life, and is wholly Rooted out in that to come. This Article was Condemned, becauſe it ſuppoſes ſomething to remain, in the Baptized, worthy of Death.

VII. That the Sin, remaining in the Baptized, hindereth his Entrance into Heaven. This Article was Condemned, for leaving Remainders of Sin in the Baptized.

VIII. That Concupiſcence, which cheriſheth Sin, and remaineth after Baptiſm, is truly Sin. This Article was Condemned, for making Concupiſcence a Sin in the Baptized.

IX. That the Principal Puniſhment, due to Original Sin, is Hell-Fire, beſides Corporal Death and other Imperfections, unto which Man is ſubject. This Article cauſed great Diviſions and Heats amongſt them. For S. *Auguſtine* and *Gregory* of *Arimini*, had expreſly affirmed, That the Pains of Hell-Fire belonged even to little Children. Wherefore the *Auguſtine* Friars Pleaded, That tho' the Article was falſe, as they thought; yet that it ſhould not be Condemned as Heretical. *Ambroſius Catarinus*, a Friar, did, on the contrary, employ all his Rhetoric to have it Condemned, to repreſs (as he ſaid) the Boldneſs and Ignorance of ſome Preachers, who, to the great Scandal of the People, Publiſhed that Doctrine: And he aſſerted, That S. *Auguſtine* had ſaid ſo, only in Heat of Diſpute againſt the *Pelagians*; and not becauſe he thought ſo, or that it was his Opinion. The *Dominicans* ſaid, That Children, who Died, without Baptiſm, before the Uſe of Reaſon, remain'd after the Reſurrection in a *Limbo* and Darkneſs under the Earth, but without Fire. The *Franciſcans* affirmed, That they were to remain upon the Earth, and in Light. Others ſaid, That they ſhould be Philoſophers, buſying themſelves in the Knowledge of Natural Things, not without that great Pleaſure, which hapneth, when Curioſity is ſatisfy'd by Invention. *Ambroſius Catarinus* ſaid further, That they ſhould be Viſited and Comforted by the Holy Angels and Saints. At length the Article was Condemn'd, and a Third Place allowed for Children, that Died Unbaptized. None oppoſed the Condemning of thoſe Articles ſo violently, as *Ambroſius Catarinus*, who was alwiſe Anſwered by *Dominicus Soto*. And the Reaſonings of theſe Two Friars were ſo perplexing, that, when the Biſhops came to reſolve upon the Form of the Decree, they knew not what to think of the Eſſence of Original Sin. That of *Catarinus* was beſt underſtood, becauſe it was expreſſed by a Political Notion of a Bargain made by one for his Poſterity; which being Tranſgreſſed, they are all undoubtedly bound. Many of the Fathers were for this: But the Major Part were againſt it. They were clear likewiſe, that every one had Original Sin before Baptiſm, and are purged of it by Baptiſm: Therefore they Concluded, That this ſhould be Eſtabliſhed for Faith, and the contrary Condemned for Hereſy, together with all thoſe Opinions which deny Original Sin in what ſort ſoever. But what that Sin is, there being ſo many Differences amongſt the Divines, they ſaid, it was not poſſible to ſet down ſo circumſpectly, that it might ſatisfy all, and not condemn ſome Opinion which might cauſe a Schiſm.

Andreas Vega, a *Franciſcan* Divine, ſaid, That it was not convenient, nor ever uſed by any Council, to Condemn an Opinion as Hetetical, without Declaring Firſt, what was Catholic. That no true Negative hath in it ſelf the Cauſe of its Truth, but is ſo by the Truth of an Affirmative: Nor was ever any Propoſition Falſe, but becauſe another is True; neither can the Falſity of the one be known, but by him who knoweth the Truth of the other. Therefore, ſays he, the Opinion of the *Lutherans* cannot be Condemned as Heretical, until the Opinion of the Church be ſet down. For when it ſhall be read, that the Council of *Trent* hath Condemned the *Lutherans* for ſaying, Original Sin is Ignorance, Contempt, &c. Who is there that will not demand, What is it then? And, when he ſhall ſee the Opinion of *Zuinglius* Condemned, *viz.* That nothing is tranſmitted from *Adam*, but the Puniſhments of his Sin and the Corruptions of his Nature, will not ask, What elſe is then tranſmitted? And in a Word, he concluded, That the Council was aſſembled not only to Condemn Hereſies, but likewiſe to declare the Catholic Truths. *Marcus Viguerius*, Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, enforced theſe Reaſons by ſome others; and told them, That theſe Articles having been ſo often diſputed in the Diets of *Germany*, every one would expect from the Council a perſpicuous Doctrine, cleared from all Difficulties. *Jerome Seripand*, General of the Order of S. *Auguſtine*, told them, That the true Catholic Doctrine of Original Sin was contained in the Writings of S. *Auguſtine*; and urged, That the Fathers would ſpend ſome time in reading what he had Wrote upon that Head.

At length, after much Diſputing, the Prelates, Deputed to frame the Decree with the Aſſiſtance of the Divines, divided the Matter into Five Anathematiſms. The Firſt is againſt thoſe, who Confeſs not, That *Adam*, by Tranſgreſſing, hath loſt Sanctity and Juſtice, incurred the Wrath of GOD, Death, and Thraldom to the Devil, and is infected in Soul and Body. The Second is againſt thoſe, who averr, That *Adam*, by Sinning, hath hurt himſelf only; or hath derived, into his Poſterity, the Death only of the Body, and not Sin, the Death of the Soul. The Third is againſt thoſe, who affirm, That Sin, which is one in the Beginning, and proper to every one, and tranſmitted by Generation not Imitation, can be Aboliſhed by any other Remedy than the Death of Chriſt: Or deny, that the Merit of Chriſt is applied, as well to Children, as to thoſe that be of Ripe Years, by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, Miniſtred in the Form and Rite of the Church. The Fourth is againſt thoſe who deny, That Children newly Born ſhould be Baptized, tho' the Sons of Chriſtians: Or ſay, That they are Baptized for Remiſſion of Sins, but not becauſe they have contracted any Original Sin from *Adam*. The Fifth is againſt thoſe, who ſay, That the Grace of Baptiſm does not remit Original Sin: Or, ſay, That all is not removed, which hath the true and proper Nature of Sin; but that it is razed and not imputed, Concupiſcence ſtill remaining in the Baptized for an Exerciſe, which cannot hurt but him that conſenteth to it. The which the Council Declares to be no true and proper Sin: But is ſo call'd, becauſe it ariſeth from Sin, and inclineth to it. As for the Bleſſed Virgin, they do not comprehend her in the Decree: But they renew the Conſtitutions of *Siſtus* the IV. concerning her.

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After this, they formed the Decree of Reformation. And the 17th of *June* being come, the Day appointed for the Seſſion, the Council met. *Alexander Pichalomini*, Biſhop of *Pianza*, ſang Maſs: And *Marcus Laureus*, a *Dominican* Friar, Preached. When the uſual Ceremonies were ended, the Decree of Faith, which we have given an Account of, in the Five Anathema's, was read: Then the Decree of Reformation, which contain'd Two Parts, the one concerning the Lectures, and the other concerning the Sermons. For the Lectures, it was Ordered, That, in the Churches, where there is a Stipend alloted for Reading of Divinity, the Biſhop ſhould Provide, that the Holy Scripture ſhould be read by the Stipendiary, if he be fit; and not being fit, the Biſhop ſhould depute a Subſtitute to perform the Office: And for hereafter, the Benefice ſhould not be conferred but upon a ſufficient Perſon. That in the Cathedral Churches of Populous Cities and Collegiate Churches of great Caſtles, where no ſuch Stipend is aſſign'd, the Firſt Prebend, that falleth Void, ſhould be applied to that Uſe, or ſome ſimple Benefice, or a Contribution of all beneficed Men, to inſtitute the Lecture. That, in Poor Churches, there ſhould be at leaſt a Maſter, to teach Grammar, who ſhall enjoy the Fruits of ſome ſimple Benefice, or have a Stipend from the Capitular, or Epiſcopal Table; or the Biſhop ſhall find ſome other way to effect it. That, in the Cloiſters of Monks, there ſhould be a Divinity Lecture, if it may be; wherein, if the Abbots ſhall be Negligent, they ſhall be conſtrained to do it by the Biſhop, as the Pope's Delegate. That in the Convents of the Regulars, there ſhould be deputed Maſters of Sufficiency, to perform this Charge. That in Public Studies, where a Divinity-Lecture is not inſtituted, it ſhall be by the Charity and Piety of Princes and Republics; and be Reſtored, where Neglected. That none ſhall be made a Lecturer either in Public or Private, until Approved by the Biſhop, as fit for his Life, Manners and Knowledge; except thoſe that read in the Cloiſters of Monks. That the Privileges, granted by Law to Public Readers in Divinity and Scholars, for the enjoying of the Fruits of their Benefices in their Abſence, ſhall be preſerved.

Concerning Sermons, the Decree Orders, That all Biſhops and Prelates ſhould be obliged to Preach the Goſpel to their People, in Perſon: And, if they be hindered by Lawful Impediments, that they cauſe ſubſtitute Men of Sufficiency to ſupply their Place. That the Inferior Curates Preach Things Neceſſary to Salvation, either by themſelves or others, at the leaſt, on *Sundays* and ſolemn Feaſts; whereunto they ſhall be conſtrained, by the Biſhops, without any Exemption: And the Curates of the Pariſhes, ſubject to Monaſteries which are in no Dioceſs, ſhall be conſtrained to the ſame, by the Metropolitans, as Delegates of the Pope, in caſe the Regular Prelate ſhall be negligent. That the Regulars ſhall not Preach, except they be approved, for their Life, Manners and Knowledge, by their Superiors: And in the Churches of their Order, they ſhall demand the Benediction of the Biſhop, before the Sermon begin; but in other Churches, they ſhall Preach without the Biſhop's Licenſe, which ſhall be given them *gratis*. If the Preacher ſow Errors or Scandals, the Biſhop ſhall Prohibit him; if Hereſies, he ſhall Proceed againſt him, according to Law and Cuſtom. And, if the Preacher be a Privileged Perſon, he ſhall do it as Delegate; yet taking Care, that the Preachers be not moleſted by Falſe Imputations and Calumnies, and

have no Cauſe to Complain of them. That they permit not either Regulars, who live out of Cloiſters; or Prieſts, except they be known and allowed by them, to Preach, until an Account be given to the Pope. That the Pardoners ſhall not Preach, or cauſe any to Preach: And in caſe they do, they ſhall be compelled to Obey the Biſhop, notwithſtanding the Privileges.

The Decrees being pronounced by the Biſhop that ſaid Maſs, the Secretary of the Council read the Letters of the *French* King, in which he Deputed, for his Ambaſſador, *Peter Daneſius*, who made a Long and Eloquent Oration to the Fathers, upon the Zeal and many Favours the *French* Kings had ſhown to the Church, in all Ages; and particularly of his Maſter's Zeal for the Catholic Religion, and his Reſpect for the Council. He was Anſwered in their Name, by *Hercules Severollo*, their Proctor: And the 29th of *July* was aſſigned for the next Seſſion. In the mean time, the Pope and the Emperor Declared War againſt the *Proteſtants*.

The Day after the Seſſion, being the 18th Day of *June*, a Congregation was call'd, where, after the accuſtomed Prayers and Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, the Secretary read, in the Legates Name, a Writing framed by the Principal Theologues; in which, it was Propoſed, That, having by Divine Inſpiration Condemned the Hereſies concerning Original Sin, they ſhould next take to their Conſideration the *Proteſtant* Doctrines, concerning Juſtification and Grace. After ſome ſmall Oppoſition, Three Fathers and as many Divines, were Ordered to take out of their Writings, what they thought moſt Cenſurable, and to frame the Articles.

The next Congregation was held to Order the Matter of Reformation. The Cardinal *de Monte* made a long Speech of the many Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs, that aroſe in the Church, from the Non-reſidence of the Biſhops and Inferiour Clergy: And therefore earneſtly preſſed, that they would take that into their Conſideration. *James Corteſi*, a *Florentine*, Biſhop of *Vaiſon*, told them, in another Speech, That the Troubles in the Church had not ariſen from the Non-reſidence of the Biſhops, but from the Encroachments that had been made upon the Epiſcopal Authority, by which their Reſidence had become wholly unprofitable. For the Biſhops could not then preſerve ſound Doctrine amongſt the People, when the Friars and Pardoners had Authority to Preach againſt their Wills. That it was very well known, that the Innovations in *Germany*, had their Riſe from the Preachings of Friar *Luther* and ſome other Friars: And that the Reſiding Biſhop was not able to do any thing, but Fight with Diſadvantage, againſt thoſe, who were Armed with Privileges from *Rome*. Therefore he Concluded, that not only the Reſidence of the Clergy ſhould be reſtored, but the Epiſcopal Authority. The Prelates were all of them extremely pleaſed with this Propoſal: So both were Ordered to be Conſidered; and ſome Fathers were appointed to frame the Decree, that it might be Examined. The Deputies for collecting the Articles, having received the Extracts of the Propoſitions, noted by every one to be Cenſured, were divided in their Opinions. For one Part deſired, that Four or Six Fundamental Articles of the Doctrine of the *Proteſtants* ſhould be taken out and Condemned: But the Major Part were for having them at large; and ſo they were put down

in

in Twenty Five Articles. When theſe Articles were Publiſhed, they raiſed various Speculations and Diſputes. The principal of which were, Firſt concerning Juſtifying Faith; about which there were more than Fifteen different Opinions. For the Scripture attributing many Vertues to Faith, which ſeemed not applicable to one only, they did diſtinguiſh it into many Significations: Saying, That ſometimes it is taken for an Obligation, to keep Promiſes; in which Senſe, S. *Paul* ſaid, *That the Incredulity of the* Jews *made not vain the Promiſe of GOD.* Sometimes for the Vertue to do Miracles; as when it is ſaid, *If we have ſo much Faith as to remove Mountains.* Sometimes for Conſcience; in which Senſe it is ſaid, That *that Work, which is not conformable to Faith, is Sin.* Sometimes for a Truſt and Confidence in GOD, that His Majeſty will keep His Promiſes; ſo S. *James* willeth us to *Pray in Faith, without Doubting.* Sometimes for a Perſwaſion and firm Aſſent (tho' not evident) to the Things Reveal'd by GOD. *Dominicus Soto* ſaid, That there were but Two Significations of Faith: One, the Truth and Reality of Him, that affirmeth or promiſeth; the other, the Aſſent in him that heareth. That the Firſt is in GOD; and the Second is only in us: And of this laſt, all Places of the Scripture, which ſpeak of our Faith, are underſtood. And therefore, that the Opinion of *Luther* ought to be held as an undoubted Error, in ſaying, *That Juſtifying Faith is a Truſt and Certainty in the Mind of a Chriſtian, that his Sins for Chriſt are remitted.* For that Truſt could not Juſtify, becauſe it was Temerity and a Sin; for that no Man, without Preſumption, could aſſure himſelf, that he was in Grace, but ought alwiſe to doubt. *Ambroſius Catarinus* ſaid, That Juſtification proceeded not from that Truſt; yet the Juſt might, and ought, to believe by Faith, that he is in Grace. *Andreas Vega*, a *Franciſcan Spaniard*, ſaid, That it was neither Temerity nor a Certain Faith; yet one might have a Conjectural Perſwaſion without Sin. But all agreed, That Juſtifying Faith is an Aſſent to whatſoever is Revealed by GOD, or Determined by the Church to be Believed; which, ſometimes being joined with Charity, and ſometimes remaining without it, they did Diſtinguiſh into Two Sorts: One, which is found in Sinners, which the Schools call Unformed, Solitary, Idle, or Dead; the other, which is only in the Good, working by Charity, and therefore call'd Formed, Efficacious and Lively. Here another Controverſy aroſe; for ſome thought, That Faith (unto which the Scriptures aſcribe Salvation, Juſtice and Sanctification) was only the Lively Faith, and included the Knowledge of the Things Revealed, the Preparation of the Will and Charity, in which the Fulfilling of the whole Law is contained. And, in this Senſe, it cannot be ſaid, That only Faith Juſtifieth; becauſe it is not alone, but formed with Charity. *Antonius Marinarus*, a *Carmelite*, was not pleaſed with that Expreſſion, That Faith is formed with Charity; becauſe it anſwered not with that of S. *Paul*, *That Faith worketh by Charity.* Wherefore he thought, that Juſtifying Faith was Faith in General, whether Lively or Dead; becauſe they do both Juſtify after diverſe Manners, *viz.* either completely, as the Lively; or as the Beginning or Foundation, as the Hiſtorical Faith: And of this, S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, when he attributeth Juſtice unto it. The *Dominicans* ſaid, That Juſtification was contained in Faith in General, as Philoſophy is contained in the Alphabet, *that is*, as in a Baſis; which is as it were nothing, the

Principal remaining, that is to ſet the Statue upon it. But they all agreed in this, that to ſay, *Only Faith doth Juſtify*, was a Propoſition of many Senſes, and all Abſurd; for GOD and the Sacraments do Juſtify, as Cauſes in their ſeveral Kinds: The Preparation alſo of the Soul to receive Grace, is a Cauſe in its Kind.

After this, they Debated concerning Good Works. And moſt of them Cenſured *Luther* for ſaying, *That all Good Works, which go before Grace, are Sinful:* As likewiſe his Opinion, *That all Human Works, without Faith, are Sin.* Becauſe that many Actions of Men are indifferent, being neither Good nor Evil: And that there are others, that tho' they be not acceptable to GOD; yet are Morally Good, as the Honeſt Actions of Infidels, and Chriſtians which are Sinners. *Catarinus* maintained, That no Man, without the ſpecial Help of GOD, can do any Work, that is either Really or Morally Good; but Sinneth ſtill: That therefore the Works of the Infidels, who are not excited by GOD to Believe, and of the Faithful who are Sinners, before GOD ſtirreth them up to Converſion, tho' to Men they ſeem Honeſt, even Heroical; yet are truly Sins. For as S. *Thomas* ſayeth, That to do a Good Work, the Concurrence of all Circumſtances is neceſſary: But the Want of one only is ſufficient for an Ill. This Opinion was very ſharply impugned by *Soto*, who accuſed *Catarinus* of Hereſy: And ſaid, That there were Three Sorts of Human Actions. One, the Tranſgreſſion of the Law, which is Sin. Another, the Obſervation thereof, having Charity for the End, which is Meritorious and Acceptable to GOD. The Third, mixt, when the Law is obeyed for the Subſtance of the Precept; which Work is Morally Good and Perfect in its Kind, becauſe it accompliſheth the Law, making every Work Good according to Morality. But he moderated this great Perfection of our Nature, by adding, it was one thing to take Heed of any one particular Sin; and another, to beware of all together: For a Man may avoid any one Sin, but not all Sins. The *Franciſcans* urged the Doctrine of *Scotus*, who invented a Kind of Merit, which he attributed to Works, done by the Force of Nature, only ſaying, That, in *Congruity*, they deſerve Grace by a certain Law, and infallibly: And that a Man, by Natural Power only, may feel a Sorrow for Sin, which is a Diſpoſition and Merit of *Congruity* to aboliſh it; Approving a common Saying of his Times, *That GOD never faileth him, that doth as much as he is able.* The *Dominicans* did Confeſs, That S. *Thomas* was of this Opinion, when he was Young; but did retract it, when he was Old. And they maintained, that Two Kinds of Merit go before Grace, and that the Beginning ſhould be attributed to GOD.

For the Preparations there was little or no Difference amongſt them; for the moſt of them ſaid, That, when GOD doth ſtir us up, Fear and other Conſiderations of the Malignity, which is in Sin, do ariſe: And to think, that theſe Things were Bad, was Heretical; for GOD Exhorteth the Sinner, yea moveth him to theſe Conſiderations, and it cannot be ſaid, That GOD moveth to Sin. Yet *Antonius Marinarus* thought, that the Difference was only Verbal; and ſaid, That as paſſing from a great Cold to a Heat, one muſt paſs by a leſs Degree of Cold, which is neither a Heat nor a new Cold, but the ſame diminiſhed: So one goeth from Sin to Juſtice, by Terrors and Attritions, which are neither Good Works, nor new Sins, but old Sins extenuated. But he was compelled

pelled to Retract, for all were againſt him. As to the Works done in Grace, there was no Difficulty amongſt them, for they all ſaid, they were Perfect, and Merited Salvation, according to that of S. *Auguſtine*, who ſays, *That* GOD *Crowns His own Gifts, in Crowning the Merits of His Servants*: And that *Luther*'s Opinion, *That they are all Sins*, is Wicked and Sacrilegious. And that it was Blaſphemy to ſay, That the Bleſſed Virgin had committed the leaſt Venial Sin: But to ſay, That ſhe ſinned in every Action, would be undoubtedly Puniſhed with Damnation.

After this Debate, they took to their Conſideration, in what the Eſſence of Divine Grace conſiſted. It was a Common Conſideration, that the Word *Grace*, in the Firſt Signification, was underſtood for a Benevolence or Good Will, which, when it is in him that hath Power, neceſſarily bringeth forth a good Effect, *that is*, a Gift or Benefit, which is alſo called Grace. And whereas it was ſuggeſted, that the Divine Will, which is GOD Himſelf, had no greater Gift to beſtow upon Mankind, than His own Son, according to that of S. *John*, who, to ſhew the great Love of GOD towards the World, alledged nothing elſe, but that He had given us His Son: But, this being a Benefit common to all Mankind, they ſaid, That it was fit, that He ſhould beſtow a Particular Preſent on every one; and therefore He had given an Habitual Grace to every Juſt Man, in particular, which is a Spiritual Quality, Created by GOD, and Infuſed into the Soul, whereby it is made Grateful and Acceptable to the Divine Majeſty. Upon this Occaſion, much was ſpoken againſt the *Lutherans*, who will not have the Verb *Juſtificare* to be Effective, but Judicial and Declarative; Grounding upon the *Hebrew* Word, *Tſadak*, and the *Greek*, δικαιῶσαι, which ſignify to be pronounced Juſt; for which, a great Number of Paſſages were cited, taken out of the Old and New Teſtament, but eſpecially from the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*. *Soto* ſaid, That all theſe Paſſages, where S. *Paul* ſpeaks of our Juſtification, were to be underſtood in an Effective Senſe. Whereupon aroſe a great Diſpute between him and *Marinarus*, who ſaid, That one ſhould not Ground himſelf upon ſo light a Matter: And the Article of Habitual Grace could not be call'd in Queſtion, ſince it was not only the common Opinion of all the Theologues; but likewiſe had been Decided in a Council at *Vienna*. And to ſay, That S. *Paul*, when he is Writing to the *Romans*, where he ſays, *That* GOD *doth Juſtify us*, doth not mean Declaratorily, is manifeſtly againſt the Text, which maketh a Judicial Proceſs, and ſaith, that none can Condemn or Accuſe GOD's Elect, becauſe GOD doth Juſtify them; where the Judicial Words, to *Accuſe* and *Condemn*, do ſhew, that the Word *Juſtify* is Judicial alſo.

The *Franciſcans* approved of Habitual Grace, becauſe Charity it ſelf is an Habit. And here aroſe a ſharp Diſpute betwixt them and the *Dominicans*, Whether the Habit of Grace be the ſame with the Habit of Charity, as *Scotus* ſaid; or diſtinct as S. *Thomas* ſaid? And neither Party yielding, they debated likewiſe for a long time, Whether beſides this Grace or inherent Juſtice, the Juſtice of Chriſt alſo be imputed to the Juſtify'd, as if it were his own? Whilſt the Fathers of the Council were Diſputing concerning theſe Things, the Pope Publiſhed a *Jubile* in *Rome*, upon the 15th of *July*: And upon the 25th it was ſolemnly Publiſhed in *Trent*, in Preſence of the Legates and all the Council. And that they might apply themſelves to Faſtings and other Works of Pe-

nance, that GOD might Bleſs the Arms of the Emperor and Pope, the Seſſion was deferred, till it ſhould be intimated; and the Congregations intermitted for 15 Days.

In the Congregation of the 20th of *Auguſt*, it ſeeming that as much had been ſpoken upon the Twenty Five Articles, as was ſufficient to frame the Anathematiſms; it was Propoſed to Depute Fathers to Compoſe them. There were Named, for that End, Three Biſhops, and Three Generals, and the Cardinal *Santa Croce* to be their Preſident. After this, a hot Diſpute aroſe amongſt them, concerning the Certainty of Grace. *Seripandus*, *Vega* and *Soto* ſaid, That S. *Thomas*, S. *Bonaventure*, and generally all the School-Men were of the Opinion, that we could not be certain of our being in a State of Grace: And for this, they brought ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture, ſuch as that of *Solomon*, That *a Man knoweth not whether he be worthy of Hatred or Love:* And that of S. *Peter*, who adviſes us to *Work out our Salvation with Fear and Trembling:* S. *Paul* ſaid of himſelf, *Tho' my Conſcience Accuſe me not; yet am I not thereby Juſtify'd.* Beſides they ſaid, That the Doctrine of one's being Certain, that they are in a State of Grace, would raiſe a Spiritual Pride in Men: For he, who ſhould certainly know, that he were in a State of Grace, would be very apt to think himſelf a better Man than a Notorious Sinner. But *Catarinus* and *Marinarus* oppoſed this Doctrine with all their Might: For they ſaid, to as many, as it is read in the Goſpel, that Chriſt hath forgiven Sins, to all of them he ſaid, *Believe, that your Sins are forgiven.* That the Scripture bindeth us to give Thanks to GOD for our Juſtification, which we could not do, unleſs we know, that we had obtained it. That S. *Paul* confirmeth this, when he putteth the *Corinthians* in Mind, that *Chriſt is in them except they be Reprobates:* And when he ſaith, That we have received from GOD the Spirit, to know what is given us by His Divine Majeſty; and more clearly, that *the Holy Spirit doth bear Witneſs to our Spirit, that we are the Sons of GOD.*

At length, after a great deal of Diſtinctions about the Nature of this Certainty, the Cardinal *Sancta Croce* prevailed with them, to let it drop, and Examine the Doctrine of the *Lutherans* concerning Free-Will. Upon this, our Prelate, and ſeveral other Prelates, and Divines, were Ordered to Collect, what they thought Cenſurable, in *Luther*'s Works, concerning Free-Will. This they accordingly did, and reduced all to Six Articles, which were, I. GOD is the total Cauſe of our Works, Good and Evil: And the Adultery of *David*, the Cruelty of *Manlius*, and Treaſon of *Judas* are Works of GOD, as well as the Vocation of *Saul*. II. No Man hath Power to think Well or Ill, but all cometh from Abſolute Neceſſity: And in us is no Free-Will, and to affirm it, is a meer Fiction. III. Free-Will, ſince the Sin of *Adam*, is loſt, and a Thing only Titular: And, when one doth what is in his Power, he Sinneth Mortally; yea, that it is a thing feigned, and a Title without Reality. IV. Free-Will is only in doing Ill, and hath no Power to do Good. V. Free-Will, moved by GOD, doth, by no means, Co-operate, but followeth as an Inſtrument without Life, or as an Unreaſonable Creature. VI. That GOD Converteth thoſe only, whom He will, tho' they will not, and ſpurn againſt it.

The Two Firſt Articles were Unanimouſly Condemned, as Impious and Blaſphemous againſt GOD, and already Condemned by the Church.

But

But a Diſpute aroſe betwixt the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans*, Whether it was in a Man's Power to Believe or not to Believe? The *Franciſcans*, following *Scotus*, denied it, ſaying, That as Knowledge doth neceſſarily follow Demonſtrations, ſo Faith doth neceſſarily ariſe from Perſwaſions. On the contrary, the *Dominicans* ſaid, That Nothing is more in the Power of the Will, than to Believe: And, that by the Determination and Reſolution of the Will only, one may Believe the Number of the Stars is even. A great many Paſſages were cited, out of S. *Auguſtine*, for the Third Article. All theſe *Soto* endeavoured to elide, by ſaying, That the Word, *Liberty*, was Equivocal: For either it was derived from the Noun, *Libertas*, *Freedom*; or the Verb, *Liberare*, *to ſet free*. In the Firſt Senſe, it is oppoſed to Neceſſity; and in the Second, to Servitude. So that, when S. *Auguſtine* ſaid, Free-Will was loſt, he would infer nothing elſe, but that it was enſlaved to Sin and Satan. The Fourth Article was generally Condemned, as Abſurd; becauſe Liberty is underſtood to be a Power to both the Contraries. In Examining the Fifth and Sixth Articles, the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* were of diverſe Opinions. For the *Franciſcans* ſaid, That the Will, being able to prepare it ſelf, hath Liberty much more to accept or refuſe the Divine Prevention, when GOD giveth Aſſiſtance, before it uſeth the Strength of Nature. But the *Dominicans* gave the Firſt Place to GOD, and denied, that the Works, preceeding the Vocation, are truly Preparatory. And here the *Dominicans* ſplit amongſt themſelves. For *Soto* ſaid, That altho' Man cannot obtain Grace, without the ſpecial Preventing Aſſiſtance of GOD; yet the Will may ſome way Reſiſt and Refuſe it: And when it doth receive it, it is becauſe it giveth Aſſent, and doth will ſo; and if our Aſſent were not required, there would be no Cauſe, why all ſhould not be Converted. But Friar *Aloiſius Catanea*, ſaid on the contrary, That GOD worketh Two Sorts of Preventing Grace, in the Mind, according to the Doctrine of S. *Thomas*: The one, Sufficient; the other, Effectual. To the Firſt the Will may Aſſent or Reſiſt: But not to the Second, becauſe it implyeth Contradiction, that Efficacity can be reſiſted. But in Anſwer to this, *Soto* ſaid, That every Divine Inſpiration was only ſufficient: And that That, whereunto Free-Will hath aſſented, obtaineth Efficiency by that Conſent, without which it is Uneffectual, not by the Defect of it ſelf, but of the Man.

This Diſpute led them to Predeſtination and Election; therefore it was Determined by reaſon of the Connexion, to draw Articles, in this Subject, alſo from the Doctrine of the *Proteſtants*. Whereupon the following Articles were drawn out of the Writings of the *Zuinglians*. I. That Man doth Nothing, as to his Salvation or Damnation: But that all is in the Will of GOD. II. The Predeſtinated cannot be Condemned; nor the Reprobated, Saved. III. The Elect and Predeſtinated only are truly Juſtify'd. IV. The Juſtified are bound, by Faith, to Believe, they are in the Number of the Predeſtinated. V. The Juſtified cannot fall from Grace. VI. Thoſe that are Called, and are not in the Number of the Predeſtinated, do never receive Grace. VII. The Juſtified is bound to Believe by Faith, that he ought to perſevere in Juſtice to the End. VIII. The Juſtified is bound to Believe for certain, that, in caſe he fall from Grace, he ſhall receive it again. In Examining the Firſt of theſe Articles, there were Three different Opinions. The Firſt was,

That GOD before the Creation, out of the Maſs of Mankind, hath Elected, by His only and meer Mercy, ſome for Glory, for whom He hath Prepared effectually the Means to obtain it; which is called, To Predeſtinate: That their Number is Certain and Determined, neither can there be any added. The others, not Predeſtinated, cannot Complain; for GOD hath prepared for them ſufficient Aſſiſtance for this, tho' indeed none but the Elect can be Saved. The Second Opinion was of thoſe, who were directly oppoſite to this, ſaying, That it was Hard, Cruel, Inhumane, Horrible, Impious, and that it ſhewed Partiality in GOD, if, without any Motive or Cauſe, He Elected one and Rejected another; and Unjuſtice, if He Damned Men for His own Will, and not for their Faults, and had Created ſo great a Multitude only to Damn them. And that this would make Men altogether Careleſs and Indifferent about their Salvation: For, if they were Predeſtinated to Glory, they could not but be Saved; if to Damnation, they could not but be Damned. Here *Catarinus* ſtruck a Medium, for he ſaid, That GOD of His Goodneſs had Elected ſome few, whom He will abſolutely Save, for whom He hath prepared moſt Powerful, Effectual and Infallible Means: The reſt He deſired for His Part, that they ſhould be ſaved; and, to that End, hath provided ſufficient Means for all, leaving it to their Choice, to accept them, and be Saved; or refuſe them, and be Damned. Amongſt theſe are ſome, who receive them, and are Saved, tho' they be not of the Number of the Elect; of which Kind there are very many: Others refuſing to Co-operate with GOD, who wiſheth their Salvation, are Damned. The Cauſe, why the Firſt are Predeſtinated, is only the Will of GOD; why the others are Saved, is the Acceptation, good Uſe and Co-operation with the Divine Aſſiſtance, foreſeen by GOD; why the Laſt are Reprobated, is the Foreſeeing of their Perverſe Will, in Refuſing or Abuſing it. The Cenſure of the Second Article was according to the Three related Opinions: And all the other Articles were Cenſured with admirable Concord.

The Examination of the Divines, concerning Free-Will and Predeſtination, being ended, and the Anathematiſms, in thoſe Matters Framed, they were joined to thoſe of Juſtification, according to their fit Places. To this Oppoſition was made by ſome, in one Part; by others, in another, where there appeared any Word, that might prejudicate their Opinion. But above all, the Cardinal *Sancta Croce* took incredible Pains to make the Decrees; avoiding as much as was poſſible, to inſert any thing Controverted among the School-Men; and ſo Handling thoſe, which could not be omitted, as that every one might be contented. For, in every Congregation (there being many call'd on this Occaſion) he Obſerved what was diſliked by every one, and took it away, or Corrected it, as he was Adviſed: And he ſpoke not only in theſe Congregations, but with every one in Particular; whereby he informed himſelf of all their Doubts, and required their Opinions. Then he diverſified the Matter with various Orders, and changed ſometimes one Part, and ſometimes another; until he had reduced them to the Order in which they now are, and which they all unanimouſly approved of. In the mean time, ſome Days were ſpent about the Reformation: But what was done in both, will beſt appear by the Decrees themſelves, which after they had been approven of by the Pope and the Wiſeſt Men at

Rome,

Rome, were ſent back; and Two Congregations being ſpent in Reading them over again, ſome ſmall Matters were Corrected by the Advice of thoſe, who were not preſent at the Firſt. So all being pleaſed and ſatisfied, the Legates, accompanied with the Prelates, went to the Church, with the uſual Ceremonies, on *Thurſday*, the Thirteenth of *January*, and held the Seſſion; where *Andreas Cornarus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato*, ſang Maſs, *Thomas Stella*, Biſhop of *Salpi*, did Preach; and the Decrees of Faith and Reformation were read.

The Firſt contained Sixteen Heads with their Proemes, and Thirty Three Anathematiſms. After the Prohibition of Believing, Preaching or Teaching otherwiſe than is Conſtitute and Expreſſed in theſe Decrees, it is Declared, I. That neither *Gentiles*, by Natural Means; nor *Jews*, by the Letter of *Moſes*, have been able to free themſelves from Sin. II. Whereupon GOD ſent His Son to Redeem the one and the other. III. Who, tho' He died for all; yet thoſe only enjoy the Benefit, unto whom His Merit is communicated. IV. That the Juſtification of the Wicked is nothing, but a Tranſlation from the State of the Son of *Adam* into the State of the Adopted Son of GOD by Jeſus Chriſt; which, after the Publication of the Goſpel, is not done without Baptiſm or the Vow thereof. V. That the Beginning of Juſtification, in Men of Age, proceedeth from Preventing Grace, which inviteth to diſpoſe themſelves, Conſenting and Co-operating freely with it; which they do willingly, and might refuſe. VI. The manner of the Preparation is Firſt to Believe willingly the Divine Revelations and Promiſes; and, knowing one's Self to be a Sinner, to turn from the Fear of GOD's Juſtice to His Mercy, to hope for Pardon from Him, and therefore to begin to love Him, and hate Sin: And Finally, purpoſing to be Baptized, to begin a New Life, and keep the Commandments of GOD. VII. That Juſtification followeth this Preparation, which is not only a Remiſſion of Sins, but Sanctification alſo: And hath Five Cauſes, the Final, the Glory of GOD and Eternal Life; the Efficient, GOD; the Meritory, Chriſt; the Inſtrumental, the Sacraments; and the Formal, Juſtice given by GOD, received according to the Good Pleaſure of the Holy Ghoſt, and Diſpoſition of the Receiver, receiving with Remiſſion of Sins, Faith, Hope and Charity. VIII. When S. *Paul* ſaid, That Man is Juſtified by Faith and *gratis* or freely, it ought to be underſtood, becauſe Faith is the Beginning, and the Things, that preceed Juſtification, are not Meritorious of Grace. IX. That Sins are Pardoned to him, that vaunteth and repoſeth himſelf only in the Confidence and Certainty of the Remiſſion. Neither ought it to be ſaid, That Faith doth only Juſtify: But every one, as he ſhould not doubt of the Mercy of GOD, the Merits of Chriſt, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments; ſo, in regard of his own Indiſpoſition, he may doubt, becauſe he cannot know, by Certainty of infallible Faith, that he hath obtained Grace. X. That the Juſt are more Juſtified, by Obſerving the Commandments of GOD and the Church. XI. That it cannot be ſaid, That the Commandments of GOD are impoſſible to the Juſt, who, tho' he fall into Venial Sins, yet ceaſeth not to be ſo; that no Man ought to rely on Faith only, nor ſay, That the Juſt Sinneth in every Good Action; or committeth Sin, if he do any Thing for a Reward. XII. That no Man ſhould preſume, he is Predeſtinated, Believing, That the Juſtified can Sin no more; or Sinning, can promiſe himſelf Repen-

tance. XIII. That no Man can promiſe himſelf Abſolute Certainty, to perſevere unto the End: But ſhould put his Hope in the Aſſiſtance of GOD, who will continue, if Man fail not. XIV. That thoſe, who have fallen into Sin, may again receive Grace, being ſtirred up from above to recover it, by Repentance; which differeth from Baptiſm, becauſe it containeth not only Contrition, but Sacramental Confeſſion, Prieſtly Abſolution, at the leaſt, in Vow, and Satisfaction beſides for the Temporal Puniſhment, which is not alwiſe remitted altogether, as in Baptiſm. XV. That the Grace of GOD is loſt, not only by Infidelity, but by any Mortal Sin, tho' Faith be not loſt by it. XVI. The Juſt are exhorted to Good Works, by which, Eternal Life is gained; as Grace, promiſed by the Mercy of GOD, and a Reward due to Good Works, by the Divine Promiſe. And this Doctrine doth not eſtabliſh any Juſtice of our own, refuſing the Juſtice of GOD: But the ſame is ſaid to be ours, becauſe it is in us; and of GOD, being infuſed by Him, for the Merit of Chriſt. And Laſtly, to let every one to underſtand not only the Doctrine to be followed, but that alſo which is to be avoided, Canons are Denounced againſt thoſe, who ſay, I. That a Man may be Juſtify'd, without Grace, by the Strength of Human Nature and Doctrine of the Law. II. That Grace is given to live well with greater Facility, and to merit Eternal Life; as if Free-Will can do it, but with Difficulty. III. That a Man may Believe, Love, Hope or Repent, as he ought, without the Prevention or Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit. IV. That Free-Will excited by GOD, doth not Co-operate to diſpoſe us to Grace, nor can diſſent tho' it would. V. That, after the Sin of *Adam*, Free-Will is loſt. VI. That it is not in the Power of Man to do Ill: But as well Bad as Good Works are done, not only by GOD's Permiſſion, but by His own proper Working. VII. That all Works, done before Juſtification, are Sins: And that a Man Sinneth the more, by how much the more he Laboureth to diſpoſe himſelf unto Grace. VIII. That the Fear of Hell, which maketh us abſtain from Sin, and to fly to the Mercy of GOD, is Sin. IX. That the Wicked is Juſtify'd by Faith only, without Preparation, proceeding from the Motion of his Will. X. That Man is not Juſtify'd without the Juſtice, by which Chriſt did merit for us; or is Formally Juſt by that. XI. That he is juſtify'd only by the Imputation of the Juſtice of Chriſt; or only by Remiſſion of Sins, without inherent Grace and Charity; or that the Grace of Juſtification is only the Favour of GOD. XII. That Juſtifying Faith is nothing, but Confidence in the Mercy of GOD, who Remitteth Sins for Chriſt. XIII. That, for Remiſſion of Sins, it is neceſſary to Believe, that they are remitted, not doubting of one's own Indiſpoſition. XIV. That Man is Abſolved and Juſtify'd, becauſe he doth firmly Believe it. XV. That he is bound by Faith to Believe, that he is in the Number of the Predeſtinated. XVI. That one may be certain, that he hath the Gift of Perſeverance, without ſpecial Revelation. XVII. That only the Predeſtinated obtain Grace. XVIII. That the Commandments of GOD are impoſſible to the Juſt. XIX. That there is no other Evangelical Precept, but of Faith. XX. That the Juſt and Perfect Man is not bound to Obſerve the Commandments of GOD and the Church; or that the Goſpel is a Promiſe, without Condition of Obſerving the Commandments. XXI. That Chriſt is given for a Re-

Redeemer, not for a Law-Maker. XXII. That the Juſtified may perſevere without the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of GOD, or cannot with it. XXIII. That the Juſt cannot Sin, or can avoid all Venial Sins, without a ſpecial Privilege, as the Church holdeth of the Virgin. XXIV. That Juſtice is not preſerved and increaſed by Good Works, but that they are Fruits only or Signs. XXV. That the Juſt Sinneth Mortally or Venially, in every Work. XXVI. That the Juſt ought not to expect a Reward for his Good Works. XXVII. That there is no Mortal Sin but Infidelity. XXVIII. That Grace being loſt, Faith is loſt alſo; or that the Faith remaining is not true, or of a Chriſtian. XXIX. That Man, Sinning after Baptiſm, cannot be lifted up by the Grace of GOD, or may recover it by Faith only, without the Sacrament of Penance. XXX. That every Fault or Puniſhment is wholly Remitted to every Penitent Man, there remaining no Temporal Puniſhment to be endured, in this Life, or in Purgatory. XXXI. That the Juſt Sinneth, if he do Good only in Hope of an Eternal Reward. XXXII. That the Good Works of the Juſt are the Gifts of GOD, and are not withal the Merits of the Juſtified. XXXIII. That this Doctrine is Derogatory to the Glory of GOD and Merits of Chriſt, or that their Glory is not made more Illuſtrious by it.

The Decree for Reformation did contain in Subſtance, I. That the Council, being willing to amend the Depraved Manners of the Clergy and People, thought fit to begin with the Governours of the greater Churches; therefore truſting to GOD and his Vicar on Earth, that That Charge ſhall be given to Worthy Men, Exerciſed from their Youth in Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, it doth Admoniſh them to perform their Duty, which cannot be executed without Reſiding in the Place, where it is to be done; yet many, leaving the Flock and Care of the Lambs, wander in Courts, and apply themſelves to Secular Buſineſs: Therefore the Synod doth Revive all the Ancient Canons againſt Non-reſidents; and doth Conſtitute beſides, That every Governour of a Cathedral Church, of what Title or Preeminency ſoever, who ſhall remain Six Months together, out of his Dioceſs, without a Juſt and Reaſonable Cauſe, ſhall loſe the Fourth Part of the Revenues; and, if he perſevere Six Months more, ſhall loſe another Fourth Part: And, the Contumacy increaſing, the Metropolitan, upon Pain of not entring into the Church for three Months, ſhall delate him to the Pope, who, by his Supreme Authority, may inflict greater Puniſhment, or provide the Church of a more profitable Paſtor; and, if the Metropolitan ſhall likewiſe offend, the moſt ancient Suffragan ſhall be bound to denounce him. II. But others, inferior to Biſhops, ty'd to Reſidence, either by Law or Cuſtom, ſhall be compelled thereto by the Biſhops; Abrogating every Privilege, which giveth a perpetual Exemption from Reſiding: But Diſpenſations, granted for a time, for a Reaſonable Cauſe, true and proved before the Ordinary, ſhall remain in Force. And the Biſhop, as Delegate of the Apoſtolic See, ſhall take Care, that a ſufficient Vicar be provided for the Charge of Souls, with a convenient Portion of the Revenues, notwithſtanding of any Privilege or Exemption. III. Beſide that no Clerk by Perſonal Privilege, or Regular, Dwelling out of the Monaſtery by Privilege of his Order, ſhall be exempt from being Viſited, or if he Offend, from being Corrected by his Ordinary. IV.

Likewiſe that Chapters of Cathedral and other Collegiate Churches, ſhall not by Vertue of Exemption, Cuſtoms, Oaths and Agreements, be freed from the Viſitation of their Biſhops and greater Prelates, when there ſhall be need. Laſtly, It did Ordain, That no Biſhop might Exerciſe Pontifical Acts, in the Dioceſs of another, by Pretence of Privilege, without his Leave, but only over thoſe of his own. And the next Seſſion was appointed to be the Third of *March*.

After this Seſſion was over, *Dominicus Soto*, and *Catarinus*, who was newly made Biſhop of *Minori*, Publiſhed each of them a Book, in Defence of their Sentiments, concerning the Certainty of Grace: And both of them Dedicated their Books to the Council, as if the Council had Decided in their Reſpective Favours. Upon which, a Diviſion aroſe amongſt the Fathers, to know in whoſe Favours the Council had Decided. But our Prelate and a great many other Wiſe Men amongſt them, looking upon their Debate, as a Metaphyſical Whimſy, contemned it, as a Matter of no Import.

The Day after the Seſſion was over, a General Congregation was Aſſembled, wherein it was Agreed, That for Matter of Faith, they ſhould treat, in the next Seſſion, of the Sacraments in General, and of each of them in Particular. And that the Reformation might follow the Definition of Faith and Doctrine, the Abuſes, occurring in the Miniſter of the Sacraments, ſhould be put together; Ordaining a Congregation of Prelates and Canoniſts, to Diſcourſe of the Remedies, and to frame the Decrees, with Order, That, if they both hapned on the ſame Day, the Cardinal *Sancta Croce* ſhould be Preſident of the Theologues; and Cardinal *Monte*, of the Canoniſts; and both together, in the General Congregation: And, becauſe of the Promiſe to continue the Matter of Reſidency, ſome of the moſt Principal Articles thereof were to be Handled. Then Articles were framed, by the Deputies, concerning the Sacraments; and the Manner of ſpeaking of them, was preſcribed to the Divines, and communicated to all in a Sheet of Paper, with Order, That they ſhould tell, Whether they were all Heretical or Erroneous, and ought to be Condemned by the Council; and, if any Deſerved not that Sentence, they ſhould alledge their Reaſons and Authority, and after ſhould Declare, what was the Opinion of Councils and of the Holy Fathers in all thoſe, and which of the Articles have been Reproved already, and which remain to be Condemned: And if, in this Matter, any one ſhould find out ſome other Article worthy of Cenſure, he ſhould give Notice thereof, and avoid impertinent Queſtions in all, wherein one might Diſpute on both Sides, without Prejudice of Faith, and all other Superfluity, and Tediouſneſs of Words.

The following Fourteen Articles were taken out of the Writings of the *Proteſtants*, concerning the Sacraments in General. I. That the Sacraments of the Church are not Seven, but fewer, which may be call'd truly Sacraments. II. That the Sacraments are not Neceſſary: And that Men may obtain the Grace of GOD, without them, by Faith only. III. No Sacrament is more worthy than another. IV. That the Sacraments of the New Law do not give Grace unto thoſe, who do not reſiſt. V. That the Sacraments have never given Grace or Remiſſion of Sins; but only the Faith of the Sacrament doth. VI. That immediately after the Sin of *Adam*, the Sacraments were inſtituted by GOD; by means where-

whereof, Grace was given. VII. By the Sacraments, Grace is given to him only, who Believeth, That his Sins are Remitted. VIII. That Grace is not given alwiſe in the Sacraments, nor unto all, in reſpect of the Sacrament it ſelf, but only when and where it pleaſeth GOD. IX. That, in no Sacrament, a Character is imprinted. X. That a bad Miniſter doth not confer the Sacrament. XI. That all Chriſtians of what Sex ſoever, have equal Power in the Miniſtery of the Word of GOD and Sacraments. XII. That every Paſtor hath Power to make long or ſhort, or change, at his Pleaſure, the Forms of the Sacraments. XIII. That the Intention of the Miniſter is not neceſſary, and worketh nothing in the Sacraments. XIV. That the Sacraments have been Inſtituted only to cheriſh Faith. There were the following Seventeen Articles concerning *Baptiſm:* I. That, in the *Roman* Catholic Church, there is no true Baptiſm. II. That Baptiſm is Free and not Neceſſary to Salvation. III. That it is not true Baptiſm, which is given by Heretics. IV. That Baptiſm is Repentance. V. That Baptiſm is an External Sign, as the Red Mark in the Lambs, and hath no Part in Juſtification. VI. That Baptiſm ought to be renewed. VII. That true Baptiſm is Faith, which Believeth, That Sins are Remitted to the Penitent. VIII. That, in Baptiſm, Sin is not Rooted out, but only not Imputed. IX. That the Baptiſm of Chriſt and *John* have the ſame Vertue. X. That the Baptiſm of Chriſt hath not made void that of *John,* but hath added the Promiſe to it. XI. That, in Baptiſm, the Immerſion only is neceſſary; and all other things, being free, may be omitted, without Sin. XII. That it is better to omit the Baptiſm of Children, than Baptize them, while they do not Believe. XIII. That Children ought not to be Baptized, becauſe they have not proper Faith. XIV. That thoſe, who are Baptized in their Childhood, coming to the Age of Diſcretion, ought to be Re-baptized; becauſe they have not Believed. XV. That thoſe, who have been Baptized in their Infancy, when they come to Age, ought to be interrogated, Whether they will Ratify that Baptiſm? And, if they deny, ought to be left in Liberty. XVI. That Sins, committed after Baptiſm, are Remitted only by the Memory and Faith, that one hath been Baptized. XVII. That the Vow of Baptiſm hath no other Condition but of Faith, yea nullifieth all other Conditions. Concerning *Confirmation* there were Four Articles. I. That Confirmation is not a Sacrament. II. That it is Inſtituted by the Fathers, and hath no Promiſe of the Grace of GOD. III. That now it is an idle Ceremony; and formerly was a Catechiſm, when Children, coming to Age, gave an Account of their Faith before the Church. IV. That the Miniſter of Confirmation is not the Biſhop only, but any Prieſt whatſoever. Theſe Articles, which were taken out of the Writings of the different Sects of the *Proteſtants*, were thought ſufficient, as indeed they were, to be Debated for this Seſſion.

As to the Firſt Article, in the Congregations, all the Divines agreed, in Affirming the Number of the Sacraments to be Seven, and Condemning the contrary Opinion, as Heretical; becauſe it was the General Conſent of the Schools, ever ſince the Maſter of the Sentences his Time, who had ſpoken definitively thereof: It had been Determined by the Council of *Florence*, was agreeable to the Uſe of the *Roman* Church; and therefore they held it for an Apoſtolical Tradition, and an Article of

Faith. But upon the Second Part of the Article, there aroſe ſome Diſpute. For ſome of them ſaid, to Decide, That the Proper Sacraments are neither more nor fewer, doth preſuppoſe a Deciſion of the true and proper Eſſence, and a Definition of the Sacrament; which was a Thing of great Difficulty, in regard of the many Definitions, brought not only by the School-Men, but by the Fathers alſo: And that ſeverals of the School-Men had Queſtioned, Whether the Sacrament can be Defined? Whether it have Unity? Whether it be Real or Intentional? Therefore they thought it not Reaſonable, in ſuch Ambiguity, to ty Concluſions with ſo ſtrong a Bond. And here ſeveral Inſtances were brought from the Fathers, ſuch as that of S. *Cyprian* and S. *Bernard*, who accounted the Waſhing of Feet, a Sacrament. And S. *Auguſtine* made every Rite, by which GOD is Honoured, a Sacrament: But, in another place, taking the Word more ſtrictly, he makes only Two, *viz.* Baptiſm and the LORD's Supper. But others ſaid, That it was proper to eſtabliſh for an Article, That the proper Sacraments are neither more nor leſs, to repreſs the Boldneſs of the *Lutherans*, who make them ſometimes Two, ſometimes Three, ſometimes Four; as alſo of thoſe who exceeded Seven. And, if ſometimes a greater Number, and ſometimes a leſs be found in the Fathers, it was, becauſe then, before the Determination of the Church, it was Lawful to uſe the Word in a more large or more ſtrict Signification. And, for the more effectual removing of the Subterfuges of Heretics, it was Propoſed, that every one of the Sacraments ſhould be particularly Named. Afterwards another Eſſential Point for the Article was Debated, *viz.* to Determine the Inſtitutor of all the Sacraments. The *Dominicans* were clear to have it Determined, That Chriſt was the Inſtitutor of them all, in Oppoſition to the *Lutherans*, who aſcribe to Chriſt the Inſtitution of Baptiſm and the LORD's Supper only. But the Generality of the Fathers were for waving this Nicety, and to keep within the Bounds of the *Florentine* Council, and eſpecially, becauſe the Maſter of the Sentences held, That Extreme Unction was inſtituted by S. *James*; and S. *Bonaventure*, That Confirmation began after the Apoſtles; and the ſame *Bonaventure* and ſeveral other Catholic Divines make the Apoſtles, Authors of the Sacrament of Penance. And many have ſaid of Matrimony, that it was Inſtituted by GOD in Paradiſe; and Chriſt Himſelf, when He ſpake of it in a Place, fit to Name the Author, doth attribute the Inſtitution thereof, not to Himſelf, but to the Father in the Beginning.

In Examining the Second Article, concerning the Neceſſity of the Sacraments, ſome would not have the Firſt Part of it Condemned abſolutely; becauſe it is certain, that all are not abſolutely Neceſſary to every one; yea ſome of them are incompatible, as Holy Orders and Matrimony. But the Plurality of Voices were for Condemning it abſolutely, for Two Reaſons: The one was, becauſe the Neceſſity of one is ſufficient to make the Article Falſe, as it lieth; and the other, becauſe they are all Neceſſary in ſome Sort, ſome abſolutely, ſome by Suppoſition, ſome by Conveniency, and ſome for greater Utility. As to the Second Part of the Argument, many were of the Opinion, that it ought to be omitted, becauſe it was Defined in the laſt Seſſion, That Faith only was not ſufficient. And *Marinarus* ſaid, That the Diſtinction of the Sacrament in Vow, was uſed by the School-Men; but was unknown to

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Antiquity, and full of Difficulties. For, in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, when *Cornelius*, the Centurion, was inſtructed, the Angel ſaid, His Prayers were acceptable to GOD, before he knew the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and other Particulars of Faith: And all his Family, hearing the Sermon of S. *Peter*, received the Holy Ghoſt, before they had been inſtructed in the Doctrine of the Sacraments; and after receiving of the Holy Ghoſt, they were inſtructed concerning Baptiſm, by S. *Peter*: So that having no Knowledge of it, they could not receive it in Vow. And the Thief upon the Croſs, then only Illuminated by the Vertue of Chriſt, knew not the Sacraments, nor could make any Vow of them. And many Holy Martyrs, Converted in the Heat of Perſecution, by ſeeing the Conſtancy of others, and immediately put to Death, cannot be ſuppoſed to have known the Sacraments. But the Plurality of Voices were to the contrary; becauſe, altho' the Words of the Diſtinction were New and Scholaſtical; yet one muſt Believe, That the Thing ſignified was Taught by Chriſt, and is an Apoſtolical Tradition. And for the Examples of *Cornelius*, the Thief and Martyrs, it is to be underſtood, that there are Two Sorts of Vows in the Sacrament; the one Explicite, and the other Implicite: And at the leaſt, this Second is neceſſary, that is to ſay, tho' they had not the Vow actually; yet they would have had it, if they had been informed.

The Third Article was unanimouſly Condemned as Falſe; and it was Agreed to, That every Sacrament had its Dignity of Preference in diverſe Reſpects, thus: In regard of the Neceſſity and Utility, Baptiſm doth preceed; in regard of the Signification, Matrimony; in regard of the Dignity of the Miniſter, Confirmation; in regard of Divine Worſhip, the Euchariſt, &c.

The Fourth Article was likewiſe unanimouſly Condemned; and it was Agreed to, That Grace is gain'd by all thoſe Actions, that excite Devotion, which proceedeth not from the Force of the Work it ſelf, but from the Vertue of Devotion, which is in the Worker; and theſe are ſaid, in the Schools, to cauſe Grace *ex opere operantis*: And there are other Actions, which cauſe Grace, not by the Devotion of him that Worketh, or of him that Receiveth the Work, but by Vertue of the Work it ſelf; ſuch are the Chriſtian Sacraments, by which Grace is received, if there be no Bar of Mortal Sin to exclude it, tho' there be not any Devotion. Thus by the Work of Baptiſm, Grace is given to the Infant, whoſe Mind is not moved towards it; and to one Born a Fool, becauſe there is no Impediment of Sin. The Sacrament of Chriſm doth the like: And that of Extreme Unction, tho' the Sick Man hath loſt his Memory. But he, that hath Mortal Sin, and doth perſevere actually or habitually, cannot receive Grace, by reaſon of the Contrariety; not becauſe the Sacrament hath not Vertue to produce it, *ex opere operato*, but becauſe the Receiver is not capable, being poſſeſſed with a contrary Quality. But, tho' they all agreed in this; yet ſo hot a Diſpute did ariſe betwixt the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans*, about the Manner how the Sacraments do contain Grace, that the Legates were obliged to ſend for their Generals, that they might Order them, for the future, to proceed more calmly and diſcreetly. The *Franciſcans* ſaid, That it could not be conceived, How GOD, being a Spiritual Cauſe, can uſe a Corporal Inſtrument for a Spiritual Effect, as is Grace. And they did abſo-

lutely deny all Effective or Diſpoſitive Vertue in the Sacraments, ſaying, That they had no Vertue, but by the Promiſe of GOD, that, ſo often as they ſhall be Adminiſtred, He will give His Grace to them: Therefore it is ſaid, That they do contain it as in an Effectual Sign, not by any Vertue of their own, but by a Divine Promiſe of Infallible Aſſiſtance to the Miniſtery. On the other Hand, the *Dominicans* ſaid, That tho' Grace be a Spiritual Quality Created by GOD; yet it is an Inſtrumental and Effective Vertue in the Sacraments, which cauſeth a Diſpoſition in the Soul to receive it: And therefore it is ſaid, that they contain Grace, not that it is in them as in a Veſſel, but as the Effect in the Cauſe.

The Fifth Article was Condemn'd in the former Seſſion. But Friar *Bartholomew Miranda* put them in Mind, that *Luther*'s ſaying, That the Sacraments do not confer Grace, but by exciting Faith, made him likewiſe affirm, That the Sacraments of the Old and the Evangelical Law, are of equal Vertue, which was to be Condemned as contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers and the Church. This was accordingly done, after they had Debated about ſome Metaphyſical Diſtinctions.

The Sixth was Cenſured by the *Dominicans*, who ſaid, That it was proper to the Evangelical Sacraments to give Grace; and that the Old did not give it, but only by the Vertue of Devotion, according to the Determination of the *Florentine* Council, which ſays, That the Sacraments of the Old Law did not cauſe Grace, but did Figure, that it muſt be given by the Paſſion of Chriſt. But S *Bonaventure* and *Scotus* having maintained, That Circumciſion did confer Grace, *ex opere operato*; and *Scotus* adding, That immediately after the Sin of *Adam*, a Sacrament was Inſtituted, in which Grace was given to Babes by Vertue of it, that is, *ex opere operato*; the *Franciſcans* ſaid, The Article was True, and could not be Cenſured. And if, as S. *Thomas* ſaid, Children, before Chriſt, were ſaved by the Father's Faith, the State of Chriſtians is worſe; for now the Father's Faith doth not help the Children, without Baptiſm; and S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, That the Child, that is carried by the Father to be Baptized, if he die in the Way, is Damned: So that, if Faith only did then ſuffice, the Condition of the Sons of Chriſtians is now worſe. In theſe Difficulties many did Propoſe, that the Article, as Probable, ſhould be omitted. As to the leaving out the Seventh and Eighth Articles, there was a great Agreement.

The Ninth was Oppoſed by Friar *Dominicus Soto*, who ſaid, That the Character had a Foundation in the Holy Scripture, and hath ever been held in the Church for an Apoſtolical Tradition: And tho' the Name had not been uſed by the Fathers; yet the Thing Signify'd was moſt Ancient. Then a Metaphyſical Debate aroſe amongſt them, What this Character was? And where it was Situated? As to the Firſt, ſome ſaid, That it was a Spiritual Power; ſome, a Habit or Diſpoſition; ſome, a Spiritual Figure; ſome, a Senſible, Metaphorical Quality; ſome, a Real Relation; and others, a Fabric of the Mind. As to the Second, ſome placed it in the Eſſence of the Soul; ſome, in the Underſtanding; ſome, in the Will; and others in the Hands and Tongue. But all Agreed in this General, That Three Sacraments have the Character.

The Tenth Article was Condemned by the Council of *Conſtance*, amongſt the Errors of *John Wicklieff*.

The

The Eleventh Article was unanimouſly Condemned, as contrary to the Scripture-Tradition and Uſe of the Univerſal Church.

The Twelfth was likewiſe unanimouſly Condemned.

The Thirteenth had been already Condemned by the Council of *Florence*. But the Biſhop of *Minori* made a long Diſcourſe to them, wherein he ſhewed to them the many Inconveniencies of making the Efficacy of the Sacraments, depend upon the Intention of the Prieſt: And therefore Concluded, That GOD had provided againſt every Inconveniency, by Ordaining that to be a Sacrament, which is Adminiſtrated according to the Rite Inſtituted by Himſelf, tho' the Prieſt have another Inward Intention. This, he ſaid, was not againſt the Determination of the *Florentine* Council, which requireth Intention, becauſe the Inward Intention is not to be Underſtood, but that which is manifeſted by the External Work, tho' Inwardly it be contrary: And ſo all Inconveniencies are removed, which otherwiſe are Innumerable.

They had no Difficulty in Condemning the laſt Article, and the Two Firſt concerning Baptiſm. But the Third Article afforded great Matter of Diſpute: Yet at length, they all Agreed in this, That an Heretic doth truly Baptize, if he uſeth the Words, and hath the Intention of the Church. In Condemning all the reſt of the Articles, there was little or no Oppoſition.

While the forenamed Articles were diſcuſſed by the Divines, in the Congregation of the Canoniſts, aſſembled to Collect and Remedy the Abuſes concerning the Sacraments in General, and in particular of Baptiſm and Confirmation, a Decree was made by them, conſiſting of Six Heads. And tho' the Canoniſts did more eaſily Agree than the Theologues in their Diſcuſſions; yet ſome Difference was amongſt them. For Reſolution whereof, becauſe, after long Diſputation, they could not Agree, they put them in Form, and referred the Deciſion to the General Congregation: But the ſame Difficulties occurred there.

In the mean time, the Fathers Deputed to make the Decrees in Matters of Faith, conſidering the Opinions of the Divines, and the Concluſions in which they Agreed, leaving and diſtinguiſhing the Articles according to their Direction; and Ranging them in better Order, framed Twenty Four Anathematiſms concerning the Sacraments in General, Ten of Baptiſm, and Three of Chriſm. Theſe were Expreſſed in ſuch a Form, that no Catholic Opinion was Condemned, and all Parties Satisfied. But in Compoſing the Heads to expreſs the Doctrine, as was done in Juſtification, it was not poſſible to uſe the Terms of one Opinion, without diſpleaſing others. Whereupon the Legates ſent a Copy, of all that they had done, to *Rome*; and an Account of what Difficulties were ſtill remaining, as well in Matter of Faith, as in Reformation of the Abuſes. In the mean time, the Fathers moſt ſeriouſly took into their Conſideration the Matter of the Plurality of Benefices propoſed long before. In order to this, in the Congregation of the 15th of *January*, they began with that, which S. *Paul* requireth in Biſhops and Deacons; and ſeverals of the Prelates had long Diſcourſes concerning this Matter. In the Beginning of *February*, the Pope's Anſwer and Bull came from *Rome*: But it being too ample, did not only diſpleaſe the Fathers, but likewiſe the Legates, and therefore it was ſent back again to *Rome*.

When the Congregation was ended, the *Spaniſh* Prelates, to the Number of Twenty, Cardinal *Pacceco* Heading them, did repreſent, That, as the Congregations were carried, no firm Reſolution could be made. For all the Good, that was ſpoken, was either Diſſembled by him, who Governed the Actions, or Obſcured by Contentions; therefore that it was neceſſary to change the Manner, and to give their Demands in Writing, that ſo they may come to a Concluſion. They alſo made a Cenſure upon the Points Propoſed, conſiſting of Eleven Articles, and being put in Writing, preſented it to the Legates, in the Congregation held the 3d of *February*. Upon this, the Legates, not knowing where ſuch Procedures might end, ſent the *Spaniſh* Cenſure to *Rome*, and told thoſe Prelates, That what they Demanded, required ſome time to think on: But in the mean time, it was Proper to Conſider the other Abuſes, which required Reformation. At length, after various Conſultations, the Pope diſpatched his Advice to *Trent*, wherein he left it to the Diſcretion of the Legates, to Reſolve with their beſt Friends, what they thought fit to grant, according to Occaſions, either Part or All; or to deny All, in caſe they found themſelves able to do it; and that they ſhould hold the Seſſion in due time. However, the Pope was ſo troubled with the Proceedings of the Council, that he reſolved to Tranſlate them to *Bolonia*: And, for that end, he ſent a Private Gentleman of the Family of Cardinal *de Monte*, with Letters of Credit, to the Legates; Commanding him, not to arrive there before the Seſſion, and then to give them Authority to Tranſlate the Council to *Bolonia*, by vertue of the Bull ſent to them in *Auguſt* 1545. For which they ſhould give ſome Cauſe apparent, or already in Being; and to put it in Execution ſo quickly, that after the Enterpriſe was begun, they ſhould Conclude, before any Impediment could be interpoſed.

The News of the Death of *Henry* VIII. King of *England* came, in *February*, to *Trent*. For which, the Fathers gave Thanks to GOD, and Congratulated the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, upon the Account of his and the Kingdom's being freed from the Tyranny of a Cruel Perſecutor. The Pope's Letters being arrived, as we ſaid, the Cardinal of the *Holy Croſs* was of Opinion, that it was good to mollify the Prelates, by granting ſome of their Petitions: But the Cardinal *de Monte*, finding their Party conſiderably Strengthned by the Arrival of ſeveral *Italian* Biſhops, would not yield in the leaſt. Whereupon they cauſed the Decree to be made, conſiſting of Fifteen Heads, and propoſed it in the Congregation. At Firſt it met with ſome Oppoſition: But all their Difficulties, after a few Debates, being Anſwered, and the Third of *March* being come, and all things in Readineſs; the Prelates, according to their Uſual Order, Aſſembled in the Church to Celebrate the Seſſion. *James Coccus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Corfu*, ſaid Maſs; *Coriolanus Martiranus*, Biſhop of S. *Mark*, was appointed to make the Sermon, who, for being Diſobliged in the Congregation, feigned ſome Indiſpoſition, by which means there was no Sermon that Morning. Wherefore the Secretary very pleaſantly Noted in the Acts, That there was no Sermon, becauſe the Biſhop of S. *Mark* was Hoarſe. As if, in a General Council where ſo many Learned Men, and the Holy Ghoſt directing them, another could not have been found to ſupply his Place. When the Maſs and other Ceremonies were ended, the Two Decrees were Read. The Firſt, concerning Faith, contained

tained in Subſtance, That for completing the Doctrine Determined in the former Seſſion, it was meet to handle the Sacraments: And, the better to Extirpate Hereſies, the Council did, for the preſent, Conſtitute the following Canons, intending to add others afterwards, when time ſhould ſerve.

The Canons or Anathematiſms of the Sacraments in General were theſe: I. Againſt him, that ſaith, That the Sacraments of the New Law have not been all Inſtituted by Chriſt; or that they are more or leſs than Seven, or that any of them is not truly and properly a Sacrament. II. That they differ not from thoſe of the Old Law, but in the Ceremonies and Rites. III. That none of them is in any Reſpect more worthy than another. IV. That they are not Neceſſary to Salvation, and that the Grace of GOD may be gained by Faith alone, without them, or without any Purpoſe to receive them. V. That they are Ordained only to Nouriſh Faith. VI. That they do not contain in them the Grace ſignify'd, or do not give it to him that doth not reſiſt: But are External Signs of Juſtice, and Characters of a Chriſtian Profeſſion to diſcern the Faithful from Infidels. VII. That Grace is not alwiſe given by the Sacraments, nor unto all, tho' they be Lawfully received. VIII. That by Sacraments, Grace is not given in Vertue of the Adminiſtration of them, called, *opus operatum:* But that it ſufficeth only to Believe the Promiſe. IX. That in Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Order, no Indelible Character is imprinted in the Soul, for which Cauſe they can be received but once. X. That all Chriſtians have Power to Adminiſter the Word and all the Sacraments. XI. That in Miniſtering the Sacraments, the Miniſter's Intention, or at leaſt to do what the Church doth, is not Neceſſary. XII. That the Prieſt, who is in Mortal Sin, giveth not the True Sacrament, tho' he obſerve all things neceſſary. XIII. That the Uſual Rites, Approved by the Church, may be Deſpiſed, or Omitted, or Changed for others, by every Paſtor.

Concerning Baptiſm there were Fourteen Anathematiſms. I. Againſt him that ſaith, The Baptiſm of *John* hath the ſame Vertue with that of Chriſt. II. That True and Natural Water is not Neceſſary to Baptiſm. III. That, the True Doctrine of Baptiſm is not in the Church of *Rome*. IV. That Baptiſm, given by Heretics, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, with Intention to do what the Church doth, is not True Baptiſm. V. That the Baptiſm is free, that is, not neceſſary to Salvation. VI. That the Baptized cannot loſe Grace, tho' he Sin, ſo that he ceaſe not to Believe. VII. That the Baptized are bound only to Believe, and not to Obſerve the Law of Chriſt. VIII. That they are not bound to Obſerve the Laws of the Church. IX. That by the Memory of Baptiſm, all Vows made afterwards are of no Force, but derogate from Faith and Baptiſmal Profeſſion. X. That Sins, committed after Baptiſm, are Remitted or made Venial by Faith and Memory thereof. XI. That Baptiſm is to be Renewed in him, who hath denied the Faith. XII. That none ſhould be Baptized, but in the Age of Chriſt, or at the time of Death. XIII. Againſt him, who putteth not Children Baptized in the Number of the Faithful, or ſaith, That they muſt be Rebaptized, at the Years of Diſcretion, or that it is better to omit their Baptiſm till then. XIV. That Children Baptized, when they come to Age, ought to be required to ratify the Promiſe made in their Name;

and to be left to their Will, if they refuſe; not compelling them to a Chriſtian Life, but by denying them other Sacraments.

Concerning Confirmation there were Three Canons. I. Againſt him that ſaith, It is an idle Ceremony, not a Sacrament properly; or that it was formerly uſed, that Children might give a Public Account of their Faith. II. That to give Vertue to the Chriſm, is to wrong the Holy Spirit. III. That every ſimple Prieſt is the Ordinary Miniſter of Confirmation, and not the Biſhop only.

After this, the Decree of Reformation was Read, which in the Acts bears this Title, *A Canon concerning Reſidency*; and it contained in Subſtance, I. That no Biſhop be Created but of Lawful Matrimony, of Ripe Years, Learned and of good Behaviour. II. That none may have or keep more Biſhoprics than one, in Title, *Commenda*, or any other Way: And whoſoever hath now more than one, ſhall chooſe one and quit the reſt, within Six Months, if they be of the Pope's free Collation, or elſe within a Year; otherwiſe all ſhall be accounted Void, but the laſt. III. That other Benefices, eſpecially with Cure, be given to Worthy Perſons, able to take Charge of Souls; otherwiſe the ordinary Patron is to be Puniſhed. IV. That hereafter, whoſoever ſhall receive many Incompatible Benefices by way of Union, for Life, perpetual *Commenda* or otherwiſe, or ſhall keep thoſe, that he hath received, againſt the Canons, ſhall be Deprived of all. V. That the Diſpenſation of thoſe, who have many Benefices with Cure, or Incompatible, ſhall be ſhewed to the Ordinaries making Proviſion afterwards for the Cure of Souls, and other Obligations. VI. That perpetual Unions, which have been made within Fourty Years, ſhall be reviewed by the Ordinaries, as Delegates; and thoſe which are Unjuſt, ſhall be Nullify'd; and thoſe, who have not been Poſſeſſed, or ſhall be made hereafter, ſhall be preſumed to be ſurreptitious, if they be not made for Reaſonable Cauſes, and with Citation of all that be Intereſted, and nothing to the contrary of this ſhall be Declared by the Apoſtolic See. VII. That Benefices, with Cure United, ſhall be Viſited by the Ordinaries, every Year, and ſhall have Vicars aſſigned Perpetual or Temporal with ſuch a Portion of the Fruits, as to them ſhall ſeem meet, without Reſpect of Appeals or Exemptions. VIII. That the Ordinaries ſhall, every Year, by the Apoſtolic Authority, Viſit the Churches Exempted, Providing for the Care of Souls and other Duties, without Reſpect of Appeals, Privileges or Cuſtoms Preſcribed. IX. That Biſhops ſhall be Conſecrated, within the Time ſet down by the Law; and all Prolongations, for more than Six Months, ſhall be void. X. That the Chapters of Churches, in Vacancy of the Biſhopric, ſhall not grant Dimiſſories for Orders, but to him that is obliged to take them, becauſe of a Benefice. XI. That Licenſes to be Promoted by any Biſhop, ſhall be Void, if a Lawful Cauſe be not expreſſed, for which they may not be Promoted by their own Biſhop: And in that Caſe they ſhall be Promoted by a Biſhop that reſideth in his Dioceſs. XII. That Faculties, not to receive due Orders, ſhall not ſerve for longer time than a Year, but in Caſes expreſſed in the Law. XIII. That Men, preſented to Benefices by any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon whatſoever, ſhall not be Inſtituted before Examination made by the Ordinaries, except thoſe who are preſented by Univerſities, Colleges and General Studies. XIV. That, in the Cauſes of the Exempted, a certain Form ſhall be Ob-

Obſerved. And, where the Queſtion is of Reward, or concerning thoſe who ſue *in formâ pauperis*, the Exempted alſo, who have a Judge Deputed, ſhall be conveened before the Ordinary: But thoſe, who have no Judge Deputed, ſhall be conveened in all Cauſes. XV. That the Biſhops ſhall take care of the Hoſpitals, that they be well Governed by the Adminiſtrators, tho' Exempted, Obſerving a certain Form. And thus Concluded this Seſſion, and for the next was Appointed the 21ſt of *April*.

The ſame Day, that the Seſſion ended, the Pope's Meſſenger delivered to the Legates his Letters, and immediately went from *Trent* to *Iſpruc*, at which the Cardinal of the *Holy Croſs* was extremely perplext. But Cardinal *de Monte* ſaid, He ever knew the Pope to be a Wiſe Prince, and that he then ſaw, in him, the Height of Judgment: That it was neceſſary to do ſo, if they would preſerve the Authority of the Apoſtolic See; and therefore that it was fit to ſerve his Holineſs with Fidelity, Secrecy and Diligence. About this time, there were ſeveral Sick Perſons in the City: Whereupon the Legates cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that it was the Plague or Peſtilence, the Belief whereof was the more increaſed by the Death of one of the Biſhops, at whoſe Obſequies the whole Council aſſiſted. The next Day after the Seſſion, the Legates held a General Congregation, to digeſt what ſhould be Diſcuſſed concerning the Euchariſt; and, the Week following, the Congregations of the Divines did begin. But the Fame of the Peſtilence increaſing, the Cardinal *de Monte* gave Orders to *Hercules Severolo*, Proctor of the Council, to make a Proceſs concerning the Plague. The Phyſicians were Examined, and *Jerome Fracaſtorius*, amongſt others, who had the Title of Phyſician to the Council. This Proceſs was proſecuted till the Eighth Day, when the News came, that *Verona* would Traffic no more with them. Upon the Ninth Day a General Congregation was held concerning this, in which, the Proceſs was Read, and a Propoſition made, What Remedy might be found, that they might not be Confined with a Diſeaſe in their Houſes, and Deprived of Victuals and other Neceſſaries? Many Proteſted, That they would leave the Place. At length Cardinal *de Monte* Propoſed the Tranſlation of the Council, which he and the other Two Legates had Power to do by the Pope's Bull. This was ſtrongly Oppoſed by the *German* Biſhops, who, by this time, begun to ſuſpect the Legates.

The next Day, a Congregation being call'd to Conſult upon the ſame Matter, they found, that Eleven Prelates had already departed, and they began to ſpeak of the Place whither to go. All oppoſed *Germany*, and ſaid, It could not be in the State of any Prince, becauſe they had Treated with none: So there remained only the State of the Church, and the Legates propoſed *Bolonia*. Then the Decree was offer'd by way of Deliberation, Doth it pleaſe you to Declare, That this Diſeaſe is manifeſt, in regard of the Predictions and other Things alledged ſo Notoriouſly, that the Prelates cannot remain, in this City, without Danger of their Life, nor can be kept here againſt their Will, and becauſe of the Departure of many, and Proteſtations of others, by whoſe Abſenting the Council would be Diſſolved; and for other Cauſes, alledged by the Fathers, notoriouſly True and Lawful? Doth it pleaſe you to Declare, That, for the Security of the Prelates Lives, and Proſecution of the

Council, it ought to be Transferred to *Bolonia*, and is now Transferred; and that the Seſſion, Intimated for the 21ſt of *April*, ſhall be Celebrated, and all things Proſecuted there, until the Pope and Council ſhall think fit to Recal it into this or ſome other Place, by the Advice of the Emperor, the *French* King, and other Chriſtian Kings and Princes? This was Agreed to by the Plurality of Voices.

The following Day, the Seſſion was held, and the Decree Read: And tho' the Legates had managed this Affair with the outmoſt Dexterity; yet Cardinal *Pacceco*, and Seventeen other Biſhops oppoſed it. But there were Fourty Four Biſhops who conſented, amongſt whom was our Prelate, and only one of the Emperor's Subjects, *viz. Michael Saracenus*, a *Neapolitan* Arch-Biſhop of *Matera*. Then the Legates and Council departed with the Croſs, carried before them with Ceremonies and Prayers. But the *German* Biſhops were Commanded by the Emperor's Ambaſſador not to Depart, till his Majeſty were Informed, and gave them Order. The Emperor, upon Notice hereof, did in his Letters, commend them, and Ordered them to remain ſtill at *Trent*. After this, they Conſulted amongſt themſelves, Whether they ſhould do any Conciliary Act? And it was Uniformly Reſolved, That it would make a Schiſm, and therefore was not to be attempted.

However the 21ſt of *April* being come, the Day appointed for the Seſſion, the Biſhops at *Bolonia* went to the Council-Houſe, where a Decree was Read, bearing, That it being Reſolved, in *Trent*, to Tranſlate the Synod to *Bolonia*, and to Celebrate the Seſſion that Day, Publiſhing Canons in Matter of the Sacraments and of Reformation; yet Conſidering, that many Prelates of the Council were imployed in their Churches, by reaſon of the Holy Days of *Eaſter*, hoping they will return ere long, that all may be done with Honour and Gravity, the Synod hath deferred the Celebration of that Seſſion until the 2d of *June*, Reſerving Power to themſelves to abbreviate the Term. It was Decreed alſo to write Letters, in the Name of the *Holy General Synod*, to the Fathers remaining in *Trent*, Exhorting them to come to *Bolonia*, and to unite themſelves with the Body, from which being ſeparated, they cannot be call'd an Eccleſiaſtical Congregation, but do give much Scandal to Chriſtendom.

The Second of *July* being come, the Seſſion was Celebrated with the ſame Ceremonies, yet nothing was done, but the Seſſion Prorogued till the 15th of *September*. Upon the 14th, the Cardinal *de Monte* Aſſembled all the Prelates in his own Lodgings, where they all Agreed to the further Prorogation of the Council not to any determined time, but during their Pleaſure. The very ſame Day, the Prelates in *Germany* Aſſembled at the Diet of *Ausburg*, wrote to the Pope, Intreating he would bring back the Council to *Trent*, and Threatning to take other Courſes, if he did not. The Emperor alſo ſent the Cardinal of *Trent* and his Ambaſſador *Don Diego di Mendoza* to him, for the ſame End. The Pope Anſwered the Ambaſſador, That he ſhould acquaint the Fathers of the Council at *Bolonia*, of the preſſing Inſtances of the Emperor for their returning to *Trent*, and would be Ruled by their Determination. Accordingly the Pope wrote a Letter to Cardinal *de Monte*, wherein he told him, That he was for their remaining ſtill in *Bolonia*, but the Emperor was very urgent to have them return to *Trent*: Therefore he deſired,

that

that, aſſoon as might be after the Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, he ſhould lay all before the Fathers; and when he had got their Opinion, he ſhould write back to him, what it was.

The Legate, having Aſſembled the Fathers, declared the Commiſſions, and gave his own Voice Firſt, which all the others followed. The Voices being Collected, the Cardinal, by the Conſent and in the Name of the Council, wrote to the Pope, the Reaſons why they could not return to *Trent*, and Intreated his Holineſs, that he would not compel them to that, which would be againſt the Honour of GOD and Liberty of the Church. The Pope, having received this Anſwer, when the Maſs was ended, on S. *John* the Evangeliſt's Day, returned to the Chamber of the Robes with the Cardinals, and Communicated the Council's Anſwer to them, which they approved. Then calling for *Mendoza*, he acquainted him of it, which he was ſo diſpleaſed with, that he was going to Proteſt againſt their being a Lawful Council, had he not been prevailed with by Cardinal *Trani*, Dean of the College, and ſome other Cardinals, to delay till he knew what the Emperor's Mind was. The Pope, conſidering this Action of *Mendoza*, and dreading this Buſineſs might make ſome Difference between him and the Emperor, in which Caſe, he thought it not fit to have the Prelates of *Germany* ill Affected to him; therefore he wrote a ſmooth Letter to them, with the Council's Anſwer to him.

The Emperor being Informed, by his Ambaſſador, of all that had paſſed, and the Pope's Reſolute Anſwer, ſent to *Bolonia*, *Francis Vargas* and *Martino Velaſco*. Theſe, coming into the Council, the 16th of *January*, preſented the Emperor's Letters, which were thus Addreſſed, *Conventui Patrum* Boloniæ, *To the Conventicle of Fathers at* Bolonia. Theſe being read, and *Vargas* beginning to Speak, Cardinal *de Monte* interrupted him, and ſaid, That, tho' the Holy Synod was not bound to hear him, in regard the Letters were not Addreſſed to it, becauſe it was not a Conventicle, but a Council; yet they refuſed not to give him Audience, with *Proteſtation*, That it ſhould not Prejudice them, or give Advantage to others: And that it ſhould remain Free to the Fathers, to continue the Council, and to go on, and to Proceed againſt the Obſtinate and Rebellious, by Inflicting the Puniſhments of the Laws. *Vargas* required, That an Inſtrument ſhould be made of the *Proteſtation* before the *Propoſition* was Underſtood. Then he Pray'd the Fathers, in the Name of all Chriſtendom, to proceed with Equity: Becauſe perſiſting in their Opinion, not Wiſely and Maturely Embraced, it muſt needs end with ſome great Public Calamity; but yielding to the Emperor, all would ſucceed well. He went about to ſhow, How Dangerous an Error it would be, not to change their Determination, and how well the Emperor was Affected to the Service of GOD and the Church. At theſe Words, he was interrupted again by Cardinal *de Monte*, who ſaid, I am here Preſident of this moſt Holy Council, and Legate of *Paul* the Third, Succeſſor of *Peter*, and Vicar of Chriſt on Earth, together with theſe moſt Holy Fathers, to proſecute, for the Glory of GOD, the Council Lawfully Transferred from *Trent*. And we pray *Cæſar* to change his Opinion, and to aſſiſt us herein, and to Curb the Perturbers of the Council, in regard that his Majeſty knoweth, That he, who hindereth Holy Councils, of what Degree ſoever he be, incurreth moſt Grievous

Puniſhments of the Laws. And we are Reſolved, that whatever happeneth, we will not care for any Threats, nor will be wanting to the Honour and Liberty of the Church, of the Council and our own.

Then *Valaſco* read the Proteſtation, which he had Written in his Hand, wherein the Emperor Proteſted againſt their Procedures, or that any of their Decrees ſhould have the Force of a Law. And he and *Vargas* demanded a Public Inſtrument of whatſoever was handled by them, and to have the Emperor's Mandate and their Proteſtation inſerted in the Acts of the Pretended Congregation. *Valaſco*, after the Proteſtation, preſented the ſame Writing, which he had in his Hand, and required again, That it ſhould be Regiſtrate. The Cardinal *de Monte*, with the Conſent of the Council, did moſt gravely Proteſt, That they would rather die than ſuffer ſuch an Example to be brought into the Church, That the Secular Power ſhould call a Council: That *Cæſar* was a Son of the Church, not Lord or Maſter: That himſelf and his Colleague are Legates of the Holy Apoſtolic See, and refuſe not to render an Account, to GOD and the Pope, of their Legation: And that they would Anſwer, within a few Days, the Proteſtation read unto them. *Mendoza* at *Rome*, having got Orders likewiſe to Proteſt againſt the Pope, came into the Conſiſtory, and Kneeling before the Pope, read the *Proteſtation*, which he held Written in his Hand: And then turning to the Cardinals, he ſaid, That the Pope refuſing to take Care for the Peace of Religion, Uniting of *Germany*, and Reformation of Manners, if they alſo will be Negligent, he made the ſame *Proteſtation* againſt them; and leaving the Writing, which he had in his Hand, he departed. The Pope, Conſidering the Proteſtation of *Mendoza*, and Adviſing of the Buſineſs with the Cardinals, ſaw he was in a Strait: And that to be taken for a Party, and to have the Contention turned againſt him, was much againſt his Reputation. Neither was there any Remedy, but by finding a Way to make himſelf Neutral, and Judge between them who Approve and Oppugn the Tranſlation. To do this, it was Neceſſary to Decline the *Proteſtation*, that it might ſeem not to be made againſt him, but, before him, againſt thoſe of *Bolonia*. So he reſolved to lay to the Ambaſſador's Charge, the Tranſgreſſing of his Maſter's Mandate; thinking that the Emperor, ſeeing his Dexterity in blaming his Miniſter, that he might not break with his Majeſty, would imitate him, and proceed as if he had Proteſted againſt thoſe of *Bolonia*, acknowledging the Pope for Judge.

Therefore on *Wedneſday* the 1ſt of *February*, calling *Mendoza* into the Conſiſtory, he made a very long Anſwer to his Proteſtation. And as concerning the Tranſlation, Whether it was Lawful or not, he called the Cauſe to himſelf: And Deputed Four Cardinals, *viz. Paris*, *Burgos*, *Pool*, and *Creſcentius*, to hear it; Commanding every one, That, until it was ended, they ſhould attempt no Novelty; giving the Term of a Month to the Fathers of *Bolonia* and *Trent*, to produce their Reaſons. And he cauſed this Decree to be Written by the Secretary of the Conſiſtory, in the Accuſtomed Judicial Form of the Court; Inhibiting the Prelates of *Bolonia* and *Trent* to innovate any thing, whilſt the Cauſe depended. Yet *Mendoza*, notwithſtanding of this, made a New *Proteſtation* againſt the Pope, ſaying, That he had a ſpecial Mandate of the Emperor for it. The Pope's Inhibition being received in *Bolonia*, and no more Aſſemblies of Biſhops, or Congregations of Divines being made, all departed one by

by one to their own Countries, except thoſe who had an immediate Dependence upon the Pope. Thoſe of *Trent* moved not according to the Emperor's Will, that they might keep there ſome Show of a Council.

The Pope cauſed his Anſwer, given to *Mendoza*, come to the Knowledge of the Fathers of *Trent*, and expected, within Fifteen Days, ſome Overturewould be made by him or them, that he ſhould be Judge, as he deſigned: But, ſeeing that nothing ſucceeded, he wrote a Brief to Cardinal *Pacceco*, and the Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops of *Trent*, in manner of a Citation, which he cauſed to be affixed on the Church-Door, that it might bind them all, as if it had been Intimated to every one of them. The Pope alſo ſent to thoſe of *Bolonia*, to intimate the ſame, and they immediately returned an Anſwer to *Rome*.

Cardinal *Pacceco* and the other *Spaniards* in *Trent*, who were in Number Thirteen, having Firſt ſent to know the Emperor's Mind, upon the 23d of *March*, wrote a Letter to the Pope, wherein they very ſubmiſſively Excuſed themſelves. The Pope, having received this, ſent it to the Cardinals, to whom the Cauſe was committed; and by them it was ſent to the Proctors of the Council at *Bolonia*, who returned a long Vindication of themſelves. After this, there was no further Proceeding in the Cauſe, the Deputed Cardinals not knowing how to Conclude; for to Pronounce the Tranſlation Lawful, in the Abſence of the Contradictors, was to make a Schiſm, having no Means to enforce them to receive the Sentence, and they ſaw much leſs to force them to Aſſiſt in the Cauſe. So that the Pope likewiſe ſeeing no Way to Compoſe the Difficulty, without Form of Judgment, there was nothing done in it, during his Life. And upon his Death, which hapned Two Years after, Cardinal *de Monte* went from *Bolonia* to be at the Election of the New Pope; and all the other Prelates retired to their Houſes, and our Prelate went ſtraight to *Paris*, where he Died in the Year 1551.

His Death and Character.

This Learned and Worthy Prelate, is very Honourably Mentioned and Characterized by a Number of Learned Men, who Flouriſhed in the laſt Century: But I ſhall only mention a few of them, by which the Reader may Judge of the Character, that he has ſo juſtly acquired, and ſtill will have in the Common-Wealth of Learning. Biſhop *Leſly* (c) ſays, That he Died at *Paris*, upon the 4th of the Ides of *November*, being not only an Honour to his own, but the Admiration of other Nations. For tho' he was Born Blind; yet by the Strength of his Genius and Study, after he had acquired the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, he taught Theology Publicly at *Paris*, with ſuch Applauſe, that few exceeded him, and with ſuch Multitudes of Diſciples, that none had more. But ſince this neither exceeds our Belief, nor raiſes our Admiration, becauſe being Blind, his Mind might be the more adapted to the Contemplation and Study of thoſe Abſtruſe Matters; yet this ſeems rather to have been by a Divine Aſſiſtance than by Human Induſtry. And ſuch was his Judgment in Secular Affairs, that few of his Age came near him, either for Pacifying of Parties, or quick Diſpatch, or a Prudent Deciſion in Buſineſs; as may appear from his Legations from Pope *Paul* and *Julius* III. with whom he was moſt familiar, and ſent by them to the Emperor, and Kings of *France*: In all which he acquit himſelf ſo well, that every one admired his Wit, Judgment and Experience. Then he tells

(c) Vid. Leſly de Geſt. Scot. Lib. 10. ad An. 1551.

us of his Labours in *Ireland* amongſt the Barbarous Natives there, to whom he Preached, Three or Four times a Day.

Sir *James Ware*, in his Hiſtory of the Biſhops of *Armagh* (*d*) gives this Account of our Prelate, "It is not to be omitted, (ſays he) that, "during the Life of *George Dowdal*, who was in Poſſeſſion of the See of "*Armagh*, by Donation of King *Henry* VIII. Pope *Paul* III. conferred "the ſame upon *Robert Wauchop* or *Venantius* a *Scots* Man, who, tho' he "was Blind from a Boy, had yet apply'd himſelf to Learning with ſo "much Aſſiduity, that he proceeded Doctor of Divinity at *Paris*. He "was preſent at the Council of *Trent*, in the Firſt Seſſion, in the Year "1545, to the Eleventh, in 1547. He was ſent Legate *a latere* from "the Pope to *Germany*, from whence came the *German* Proverb, *A Blind* "*Legate to the Sharp Sighted* Germans. By his Means the *Jeſuites* came "Firſt into *Ireland*. He died at *Paris*, in a Convent of *Jeſuites*, the "Tenth of *November* 1551.

Arch-Biſhop *Spotiſwood*, ſpeaking of ſome Learned Men of our Country, who Flouriſhed about this time, ſays of our Prelate (*e*), "To thoſe I "ſhall add our Country-Man, *Robert Wauchop*, tho' he Lived and Died "an Adverſary to the Truth; ſeeing, by his Vertue and Learning, he "Purchaſed both Credit and Dignity in Foreign Parts. And, which al-"moſt exceedeth Belief, being Blind from his very Birth, only by "Learning the Leſſons and Conferences of Learned Men, he grew to "ſuch Knowledge, as in the Univerſity of *Paris* none of the Doctors "was held more Learned, nor had a more frequent Auditory. Being "afterwards promoved to the Arch-Biſhopric of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, he "was employ'd in diverſe Legations to the Emperor and King of *France*, "by Pope *Paul* III. which he diſcharged with ſuch Prudence, as he "came to be greatly Eſteemed with all the Princes, to whom he was "known. At laſt, in his Return Homeward from *Rome*, in the Year "1551, he Died at *Paris*, much Lamented of all that Univerſity.

George Con, in his Book *De duplici Statu Religionis apud* Scotos, ſpeaking of him, ſays (*f*), "*Robert Wauchop*, tho' he was Pore-Blind and Weak "Sighted; yet he had ſuch an excellent Genius, that, by his own Me-"rits, he acquired all that commonly contributes to the Uſe or Splendor "of Human Life. He was Doctor of Theology, and a moſt Eminent "Profeſſor of it at *Paris*. In tranſacting of Affairs of Moment, there "were few in his Age, who were comparable to him. He performed "his Legations, from Pope *Paul* and *Julius* to the Emperor and King "of *France*, with great Expedition and Happily. In the Arch-Biſhop-"ric of *Armagh*, to which he was promoted, he proved a moſt Vigilant "Paſtor, inſtructing them in the Duties of a Chriſtian Life, by an In-"terpreter, (for he had not the *Iriſh* Language) Three or Four times "every Day. In the Council of *Trent*, he acquit himſelf as a Pious "and Learned Prelate, and Died much Lamented by all that knew him. Much to the ſame Purpoſe, is what is ſaid of him by Cardinal *Pala-vicini* (*g*), *Surius* (*h*), *F. Labbe* (*i*), *Dempſter* (*k*), *Sleidan* (*l*), *Matthæus Raderus* (*m*), and ſeveral other Learned Men.

And here I cannot but take Notice of Father *Paul*'s Character of our Prelate, "Of the Arch-Biſhops, ſays he (*n*), Two were Titular "only,

(*d*) De Præſul. Hiber. (*e*) Hiſt. of the Church of Scot. lib. 2. pag. 98. (*f*) Lib. 2. (*g*) Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, Book 1. (*h*) Append. ad Naucleri Chron. (*i*) Hiſt. Concil. lib. 10. (*k*) Hiſt. lib. 19. (*l*) Lib. 17. (*m*) Vi-rid. Sanct. cap. 3. (*n*) Hiſt. of the Council of Trent.

" only, never ſeen in the Churches from which they had their Name, " which the Pope gave them only to do them Honour. The one was " *Olaus Magnus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Upſala* in *Gothland*: The other *Robert* " *Venantius* a *Scots* Man, Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, who, tho' he " were Pore-Blind, was commended for his Vertue; and to Ride Poſt, " the beſt in the World. Theſe Two Men, having been relieved cer- " tain Years in *Rome* by the Pope's Alms, were ſent to *Trent* to increaſe " the Number, and to depend on the Legates. By this, it appears, how ill this Learned Man has been informed of our Prelate's Circumſtances and Parts; ſince what I have ſaid of him, is taken from Authentic Documents, and ſufficiently refutes this mean Character, that he gives him.

I ſhall now proceed to give the Catalogue of his Works, as they are given us by *Dempſter*. And tho' I have never ſeen any of them; yet we have no Reaſon to call *Dempſter*'s Authority in Queſtion, as to the Writings of the Authors he ſpeaks of, either in this Century, or that he lived in. And it is highly Probable, from what F. *Paul* has Obſerved, That our Prelate wrote ſome Memoirs concerning the Council of *Trent*; for he ſays, That the moſt of the Prelates, who were there, did ſo.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *De Legitimo Concilii* Tridentini *Conſenſu*, *Lib.* 1.
II. *Ejuſdem Concilii Acta*, *Lib.* 1.
III. *De Autoritate Papæ*, *Lib.* 1.
IV. *Collecta Canonum*, *Lib.* 1.

THE

LIFE of *GEORGE WAUCHOP*, Profeſſor of the Civil Law at *Caen* in *Normandy*.

His Parentage, Birth and Education.

THIS Gentleman is another Illuſtrious Branch of the Family of *Nidree*; and was Born, in the Troubleſome Times of the Reformation, with all the Good and Happy Qualities which can be wiſhed. For when a Child (*a*), his Parents finding that he had a ſurpriſing Vivacity of Wit, ſent him very Young over to *France*; and

(*a*) Vid. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Gent. Scot. lib. 19. pag. 671. Geo. Wauchopi Obſerv. ex Hiſt. omn. Gent. Dr. Howel's General Inſt. of Hiſt. &c.

took Care to have him inſtructed by excellent Maſters, at the Univerſity of *Caen* in *Normandy*. There he made ſuch a Wonderful Progreſs in the *Belles Lettres*, Philoſophy and Law, that, about the Age of Twenty Five Years, he wrote his Excellent *Treatiſe concerning the Ancient People of Rome*, where, in a very Compendious and Accurate Manner, he Diſcourſes of the Grandeur and Privileges of the Ancient *Romans*: Afterwards he illuſtrated this Work by another of moſt Excellent Obſervations, taken out of the moſt Authentic Hiſtories, that Treat of the *Roman* Laws and Cuſtoms. And, where he has but ſlightly hinted at, I ſhall give a clear and diſtinct Account from others.

He writes Two Books concerning the Ancient People of *Rome*.

An Account of theſe Books.

This Book is Divided into Twenty Nine Sections, in the Firſt whereof, he Writes of the Foundation of *Rome*, which was by *Romulus* in the Eighteenth Year of his Age, on the Eleventh Day before the Calends of *May*, (which Anſwereth to the Fourth of *October*, after the *Julian* Account) betwixt the Hours of Two and Three; (the Sun being in *Libra*; the Moon, in *Taurus*; *Jupiter*, in *Piſces*; *Saturn*, *Venus*, *Mars* and *Mercury*, in *Scorpio*, according to the Computation of *Tarcutius* a Famed Mathematician) in the Year of the World, according to the Seventy Interpreters, 4580; according to the *Hebrews*, 3214; according to *Origen* and *Euſebius*, 4450; in the Firſt Year of the Seventh *Olympiad*; after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, 433; and before the Nativity of Chriſt, 751. The Day, on which it was Founded, was Obſerved as a Solemn Feaſt, and call'd *Palilia*, as *Ovid* ſays (*b*).

Urbi Feſtus erat, dixere Palilia *Patres*,
Hic primus cœpit Mœnibus eſſe Dies.

The Circuit of the City-Wall, at the Firſt Building thereof in Mount *Palatine*, could not be fully one Mile; for the Hill it ſelf, as it is Obſerved by *Andreas Fulvius* (*c*) a Citizen and Antiquary of *Rome*, hath no more in Circuit. Yet with Time and Fortunate Succeſſes, *Rome* ſo increaſed, that, in *Aurelianus* his Time, the Circuit of the City-Wall was Fifty Miles, as *Vopiſcus* hath Recorded. The Number of the Inhabitants at Firſt, was ſcarcely 300 Horſe and 3000 Foot: But, to increaſe them, *Romulus* opened a Sanctuary to all Malefactors and Diſcontented Perſons, who reſorted to him in great Numbers. In the Time of *Marius*, which was before the receiving of Foreign Cities and Countries into the Participation of the Freedom of *Rome*, the Number of the Free Citizens, who only came into the Cenſe, was found to be 463000: But, if their Wives, Children and Servants were taken in, *Lipſius*, with great Probability, thinks (*d*), that they would amount to Four Millions. *Romulus* divided the People into Three Tribes; every Tribe, into Ten *Curiæ*; and every *Curia*, into Ten Parts or *Decuriæ*: Over all which he appointed Officers. According to the Number of the *Curiæ*, he Divided the Ground into Thirty Parts, excepting one Part for Public Uſe, and another for their Superſtitious Worſhip.

In the Second Section, he treats of the other Diſtinctions, that *Romulus* made amongſt the People. The Firſt of which was according to Honour and Dignity: Giving to the Better Sort, the Name of *Patres* or Fathers, either for that they were Elder, had Children, or for the No-

(*b*) Lib. 4. Faſt. (*c*) De Magn. Rom. lib. 3. cap. 7. (*d*) Lib. 2. Antiq. Rom. cap. 3.

Nobility of their Stock. But if we may believe others, they were Named *Patricii*, becauſe they alone could ſhew their Fathers; the other Multitude being a Rabble of Fugitives, who had no Free and Ingenuous Parentage. Wherefore, when an Aſſembly of the People was call'd by the King, the Patricians were, by the Crier, cited by their own Fathers Name: But the Inferior Sort or Plebeians were gathered together by the Sound of Ox-Horns. *Romulus*, having diſtinguiſhed his Subjects into theſe Two Ranks, Ordered, what each ſhould do: The *Patricii* were to take Care of their Superſtitions, bear Offices of Magiſtracy, Adminiſter Juſtice, and Govern the Common-Wealth together with the King; the Plebeians, to Till the Fields, Feed Cattle, and Exerciſe Trades. And, to bind each to other, he commended to the Patricians, certain of the Plebeians whom they ſhould Protect and Countenance; Liberty being given to the Common Sort, to make Choice of whom they would for their Patrons. This Cuſtom of Patron and Client, was very Ancient in *Greece*, eſpecially amongſt the *Theſſalians* and *Athenians*. The Uſe of Patronage by *Romulus*'s Conſtitution was very profitable to both. For the Patrons, by him, were Ordered to Adviſe their Clients concerning Law, of which they were Ignorant; and take Care of them, as well Abſent as Preſent, as their own Children, in what concerned Money and Contracts; undertaking Suits for them, when Oppreſſed; and procuring them Quiet, both as to Public and Private Buſineſs. On the other hand, it was the Duty of Clients to help their Patrons with Money in the Marriage of their Daughters, if need ſhould be; or Redeem them and their Sons, if taken Captive; to bear the Charges of Private Suits or Public Fines, and that at their own Coſt, in way of Gratitude; to aſſiſt them with their Purſes, in defraying the Charge of the Magiſtracy or Honourable Employments. This was common to both, that neither ought to Accuſe the other, nor give any Teſtimony or Suffrage againſt each other, or to be reckon'd amongſt his Enemies; which if any one did, or was, he was held Guilty of Treaſon by *Romulus* his Law, *de Proditoribus*, and it was Lawful for any one to Kill him. By this means for many Ages, Patronage continued in Force; and was as effectual for Love and mutual Help, as Conſanguinity or Alliance: And it was the Glory of the Nobility to have many Clients, devolved upon them from their Anceſtors, and obtained by their own Vertue. And not only the Plebeians of the City found themſelves ſecured by this Patronage: But in Proceſs of time, all Colonies, Aſſociate Cities, and ſuch as were ſubdued by War, had their Patrons, to whom many times the Senate would remit ſuch Controverſies, as were brought before them from the ſaid Cities or Common-Wealths, and Ratify their Judgment. Hereby, ſuch Firm Concord followed, that for 730 Years, tho' many and great Conteſts aroſe betwixt the Nobility and Commons about the Common-Wealth; yet it never came to Blood and Slaughter: But by mutually yielding and granting to one another, all Controverſies were compoſed by Civil Expoſtulations, till *Caius Gracchus*, Tribune of the People, overthrew the Peace of the City.

After this, *Romulus* chooſed a Senate to aſſiſt him in the Government, which he did thus: He ſelected, from the Patricians, 100; and out of them he made Choice of one particular Man, to whom, when he was conſtrained to be Abſent in the Wars, he committed the Govern-

ment of the City. Then he commanded every Tribe to chooſe Three Men, ſuch as were eminent for Birth and Wiſdom, and every *Curia* to Elect Three out of the Patricians. This Number he call'd a Senate, either from their Age, or Vertue ; or becauſe, as *Feſtus* will have it, nothing was done without their Permiſſion, the Senate being Named *a ſinendo*. And perceiving he ſtood in need of a Guard for his own Perſon, he cauſed the *Curiæ*, by their Suffrages, to chooſe him out 300 Young Men, Ten out of each, whom he call'd *Celeres*, from their Readineſs to execute his Commands, or, according to *Valerius Antias*, from their Captain, whoſe Name was *Celer*, under whom were Three Centurions and other inferior Officers. This Company, with their Spears, Defended the King in the City, and received his Orders, beginning the Fight Firſt, and Retreating laſt.

In the Third Section our Author Treats of their Duties. For, Things being thus appointed, *Romulus* afterward limited to all of them their Work and Honours, *viz. The King's* Duty *was to take Care of their Superſtition, to look to the Preſervation of their Laws and Cuſtoms either Natural or Written, to Decide the moſt Weighty Cauſes between Man and Man, and refer thoſe of leſſer Conſequence to the Senate, into which he was alſo to have an Inſpection. He was to call together the Senate, Aſſemble the People, Firſt to ſpeak his Opinion, and Ratify what was Approved by the Major Part.* This was the King's Work at Home, *who in the War had Abſolute Authority.* To the *Senate* this Honour and Power was given, *viz. To Debate and Reſolve about ſuch Things, as the King propounded, which were Decreed by the greater Number of Voices.* To the *People* he committed Three Things, *viz. To Create Magiſtrates, to make Laws, and Reſolve about War, what was propounded by the King.* The whole Multitude gave not their Votes, but the *Curiæ* apart ; and whatſoever ſeemed Good to moſt, was referred to the Senate. Theſe Privileges were afterwards taken both from the Senate and People, and Transferred upon the Emperors, by the *Lex Regia*. Lawiers have Diſputed very much about this Law : But it is ſufficient to Obſerve here, That a Law may be ſo called, either becauſe a King made or preferred it, or becauſe it was made and enacted concerning King or Kingly Power. In the Firſt Senſe, ſuch Laws, as were made by *Romulus* and his Succeſſors the Ancient Kings of *Rome*, are by Lawiers call'd *Leges Regiæ*, whereof *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* hath Recorded many ; and in the *Code* (*f*) is yet extant a Law, call'd *Lex Regia* concerning the Burying of a Woman with Child, ſo call'd, becauſe it was enacted by ſome Ancient King. But in the later Acceptation, is to be underſtood that Law, mentioned by *Juſtinian* in his *Inſtitutions* (*g*), *by which an Abſolute Power was conferred upon the Emperor* Auguſtus *by the* Roman *People.* For this, the Reader, if he pleaſes, may Conſult the Learned Doctor *Howel* in his *Inſtitution of General Hiſtory* (*h*).

In the IV. Section our Author lays down the Method, that he is to take in the reſt of his Book. Which is, Firſt to treat of the Senate and Senators, next of the *Equites* or Knights, then of the Plebeians, and laſtly of the *Nobiles* and *novi homines*.

In the V. Section, he treats of the Number of the Senators and the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen. *Romulus*, as we have ſaid, choſe 100 out of the Firſt Planters, then added 100 more out of the moſt Noble of the

(*f*) Tit. de mortuo inferendo, lib. 2. (*g*) Lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Jur. Nat. &c. (*h*) Vol. 1. Book 4. chap. 1. pag. 788.

the *Sabines*, who were call'd *Patres Conſcripti*. *Tarquinius Priſcus* added 100 more, call'd *Patres minorum gentium*, and choſen out of the moſt Valorous and Wiſeſt of the People. This Number continued, till the Tribunſhip of *Caius Gracchus*, who cut the very Sinews of the Senate, which hapned thus, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* Son to one of the ſame Name by *Cornelia* an Excellent Woman, Daughter of *Africanus* the Elder, being *Quæſtor* to *Mancinus* II. in *Spain*, had an Hand in the Diſhonourable Peace made by him; for which being Reflected on by the Senate, he, in Revenge, reſolved to make himſelf Popular with the Commons, at their Expences. So having procured himſelf to be choſen Tribune, he Preferred a Law, Forbidding any Man to poſſeſs above Five Hundred Acres of the Public Grounds, and Ordering the Overplus to be Divided amongſt the Poor. For ſuch Grounds, as the People of *Rome* took from their Enemies, were wont, if Arable, to be Divided among their own Citizens; if not Arable, then the *Cenſors* let them out to Farm to the *Italians*, or the ordinary Sort of *Romans*, on Condition, That if they Plowed them, they ſhould pay the Tenth Part of the Corn, and the Fifth of other Fruits; and if they bred up Cattle, they were charged with a certain Rent. But it came to paſs, that by the Incredible Avarice of the Rich, the Husband-Men were outed of their Ancient Poſſeſſions, which, by Purchaſing and other Ways, they got wholly into their Hands: So that the Public was defrauded of their Revenue, and the Poor of their Livelyhood; therefore, to reſtrain this Avarice, the *Lex Licinia* and *Sempronia* were enacted. *Gracchus* added to the former, That, leſt the Law ſhould be wreſted, Half ſhould be given to the Children, and the reſt Divided to ſuch Poor as had nothing: And, if any went about to enlarge their Portion by Purchaſe, the *Triumviri*, or Three Men, ſhould be appointed Yearly to Judge, what Ground was Public, what was Private. This nettled the Senators, who, by Vertue of this Law, were to part with their Inheritances: And one of his Colleagues, *Octavius*, Oppoſed it, for which he ſo handled him, that he was glad to quit his Place, into which *Gracchus* choſe *Q. Mummius*, one of his own Faction. This Severity, being without Precedent, much alienated even the Minds of the People from him; which he perceiving, offered a Law for Diſtributing the Money, which *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* had left, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. The Senate being Aſſembled to Conſult what was to be done, and all being of Opinion, that *P. Mutius Scævola*, the Conſul, ſhould Defend the Common-Wealth by Arms; he refuſed to do any thing by Force. Hereupon *Scipio Naſica*, taking up his Gown under his Left Arm, held up his Right Hand, deſiring every one that loved the State, to follow him; and then away he goes unto the Capitol, being Accompany'd by moſt of the Senate, many *Equites* or Knights, and ſome Commoners; where finding *Gracchus* ſpeaking to the People, and endeavouring to be choſen Tribune for the following Year, they fell upon him and his Hearers, whereof they kill'd Three Hundred, and amongſt them, himſelf. This was the Firſt Blood, which, in a Seditious Way, the *Romans* drew from one another, being the 621 Year from the Building of the City.

The Patricians, to Diſtinguiſh them from the Plebeians, had either the Letter *R*, or the Form of a Half Moon, upon their Shoes, both referring to their Firſt Inſtitution: The Letter *R* ſignifying *Romulus*;

and the C or Half Moon, a Hundred, which was the Number of the Firſt Senators. The Patricians were made ſometimes by the Kings, ſometimes by the People, and ſometimes by the Emperors: The Kings, who made Patricians, were Firſt *Romulus*, who, as we have ſaid, made 100 *Sabines*, Patricians. *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the Third King of *Rome*, having declared War againſt the *Albans*, upon their Extirpation, the *Julian*, *Geganian*, *Metellian* and *Quintilian*, all *Alban* Families, were made Patricians. *Ancus Martius*, who Succeeded *Tullus*, made *Lucumon* an *Hetruſcan*, a Senator, who Succeeded him in the Kingdom, under the Name of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and made, as we have Obſerved, 100 Senators out of the Plebeians. We have only one Inſtance of a Patrician, made by the People, which was that of *Appius* or *Actius Clauſus*, an Eminent Man amongſt the *Sabines*. The Emperors made Patricians frequently. Thus the People of *Rome* made not only their own People, but likewiſe thoſe of other Nations, Patricians and Senators, contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Corinthians* and *Thebans*: And they alſo Aſſociated the Nations they Subdued, to the Privileges of the City. Now for underſtanding the Relations of other Places to the City of *Rome*, it is neceſſary to know, that there was a *Jus Civitatis*, a *Jus Municipii*, a *Jus Coloniæ* and a *Jus Latii*. The *Jus Civitatis* was Freedom of the City: And this, *Paterculus* tells us, was *cum Suffragio & ſine Suffragio*, with and without Suffrage. The *Jus Municipii* was alſo a Freedom of the City; for the *Municipes* were alſo call'd *Cives Romani*, and were Named *Municipes a Muneribus capiendis* or *capeſſendis*: There was alſo, as appeareth from *Gellius*, a *Jus Municipii* with and without Suffrage. The *Jus Civitatis* and the *Jus Municipii* therefore ſeemed to have differ'd little: The former was larger, reſpecting ſingle Perſons ſometimes abſolutely conſidered, without Relation to any Place that was Related to *Rome*, as a *Municipium*. For ſingle Perſons, (Ambaſſadors or others) have had the Freedom of the City beſtowed on them primarily, without Reſpect to any Place at all. And tho' *Gellius* calls the Employment of the *Municipes*, *Munus honorarium*; yet it was not Titular. For, by the Right of Suffrage, they had Power to Aſſemble in the *Comitia*, and Vote in their Tribes, Centuries and *Curiæ*, as Occaſion required; and conſequently were capable of Honourable Offices. The *Jus Coloniæ* is thus Diſtinguiſhed by *Gellius* (*i*) from the *Jus Municipii*. *But of Colonies*, ſays he, *there is another Relation or Alliance. For they do come extrinſically into the City, neither do they ſtand on their own Roots; but are as it were Begotten by the State, and have Laws and Inſtitutions not of their own, but thoſe of the* Roman *People. Yet this Condition, altho' it be more obnoxious and leſs free, is accounted better and more excellent for the Amplitude and Majeſty of the* Roman *People, whereof theſe Colonies ſeem to be certain Images and Reſemblances. And alſo becauſe the Rights of the* Municipia *are obſcure and obliterated, which by reaſon of Ignorance the Owners cannot uſe.* From this it appears, that Colonies were free of the City. In which Reſpect, *Paterculus*, giving an Account of the ſeveral Colonies that were Planted to the Time of *Marius*, mixeth with them ſuch Places, as to which Freedom was given, making it as it were the ſame thing. Laſtly, as for the *Jus Latii*, *Suetonius* (*k*) diſtinguiſheth it from the *Jus Civitatis*; for ſpeaking what *Auguſtus* did to ſeveral Cities, he hath this Expreſſion amongſt the reſt, *Lati-*

(*i*) Lib. 1. cap. 14. 15. (*k*) Cap. 47. in Auguſt.

Latinitate vel Civitate donavit. *Spartianus*, in the Life of *Hadrian*, ſaith, *Latium multis Civitatibus dedit.* And *Tacitus* ſaith of *Nero*, *eodem Anno* Cæſar *Nationes* Alpium *Maritimarum in Jus* Latii *tranſtulit.* The *Latines* were ever counted of the Kindred of *Rome*, the *Romans* having deſcended from them: And, upon this Account, there was a ſtricter League and Alliance with them, than any other People which enjoyed not the Freedom of the City. *Aurelius Victor* Writes, That in his Time the Freedom of *Rome* was promiſcuouſly given to all, or that all thoſe, who were Subjects of the Empire, were made Free *Roman* Citizens. Others Write, That this was done by an Ordinance of *Pius*. Others aſcribe it to *Hadrian*. And our Author ſays, It begun to be Firſt Sold under *Claudian*.

In the VI. Section he ſhews, That Plebeians could be Adopted by Patricians, as in the Inſtance of *M. Brutus*, who was a *Plebeian*, and adopted by *Quintus Cæpio* a Patrician, and call'd *Quintus Cæpio Brutus*. For thoſe, who were Adopted, beſides the Name of their own Family, aſſumed that of thoſe who Adopted them. Yet thoſe thus Adopted, were not call'd Patricians; for they had no *Gens* or Family, whereas all Patricians were of a Family. And *Scævola* defines the *Gentiles* to be thoſe, who had the ſame Name, Born of a Free and Ingenuous Parentage, and whoſe Predeceſſors were never Slaves or Manumitted. So that by this likewiſe, neither the Free-Men, who had been Manumitted, nor the Libertines, whoſe Fathers had been Manumitted, could be Patricians; tho' a Libertine might be Adopted by a Patrician, as *Sabinus* acknowledges. But for the better Underſtanding of this, the Reader muſt know, the *Romans* had a Cuſtom of Manumitting of Slaves, who, as *Juſtinian* the Emperor diſtinguiſheth, were either made or Born ſuch. The former Sort were either taken in War, and properly call'd *Mancipia*; or as ſuch Bought of the Public or of ſome Private Man: The later were thoſe, that were Born, either of both Parents being ſuch, or of the Mother only. At Firſt they obtained their Liberty *gratis*; ſome, by well deſerving ſome way of their Maſters; ſome, by Payment of Money earned by their Honeſt Labours, they having a certain *Peculium*, tho' all was ſaid to belong to their Maſters. But in Proceſs of time, when the *Romans* Degenerated from their former Glory, ſome by Robberies, others by Breaking of Houſes and other Villanies, got Money, whereby they got their Freedom; ſome, by helping their Maſters in theſe things, obtained Liberty, as a Reward; others, on Condition to let them enjoy the Monthly Allowance of Corn, out of the Public Purſe, or other Largeſſes conferred by Princes upon poor Citizens. Sometimes they were Manumitted thro' the Levity and Vain Glory of their Lords: Some, having by their Teſtaments, ſet at Liberty all their Slaves, to obtain a Fame of Clemency, after their Death, and to have their Funerals Celebrated by a great Train of ſuch, as wore Caps upon that Occaſion. In which Pomp, ſays Dr. *Howel*, a Thouſand Rogues have been ſeen, who much better deſerved Hanging.

In the VII. Section our Author ſhews, That, as ſome were Adopted out of the Plebeians amongſt the Patricians, ſo ſome of the Patricians were Adopted by the Plebeians. Thus *Cæſar Octavianus*, the Adopted Son of *Julius*, went Firſt to the People, and then returned by Adoption to the Patricians. *L. Minutius Augurinus* and *P. Cornelius Dolabella* from

Patricians, became Plebeians. *Publius Scipio*, a Patrician, was Adopted by *Q. Metellus* a Plebeian; and *Pub. Clodius* by *M. Fronteius*. Long after the Eſtabliſhment of the Patrician Order by *Romulus*, it was a Diſgrace for a Patrician, either to Marry or be Adopted amongſt the Plebeians; and, if they were, they loſt all the Senatorian and Patrician Privileges. Thus *P. Clodius*, out of Malice to *Cicero*, ſeeking for the Tribunſhip, which, by his being a Patrician, he was uncapable of, procured himſelf, as we have ſaid, to be Adopted by *M. Fronteius* a Plebeian; and ſo, with the Loſs of his former Dignity, obtained it. Then did he Prefer a Law, *That, whoſoever had put to Death any* Roman *Citizen Unheard, Water and Fire ſhould be forbidden him*; which was Equivalent to Baniſhment. And he ſet *Cicero* a Day of Appearance, for putting to Death *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, and others of *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy, unheard. *Cicero*, who was wont to Defend others, with ſuch incomparable Eloquence and Bravery, became ſo Timorous in his own Cauſe, that he fled the City in the Night time. Upon which, *Clodius* Baniſhed him, by a Decree of the People, Four Hundred Miles from *Italy*, demoliſhed his Villages and his Houſe, on the Plot whereof he Built a Temple to *Liberty*. But towards the latter end of the Republic, thoſe Patricians, who were Adopted by Plebeians, neither loſt the Dignity of their Families, nor their Honours, nor the Right of Magiſtracy, (as *Paulus* the Lawier (*l*) tells us) nor the Right of being capable to ſerve in any other Honourable Employments in the Common-Wealth; Dignities being then Augmented, and not Diminiſhed by Adoptions, as we learn from *Papinian* (*m*) a Lawier. To whom Dr. *Howel* gives this Character (*n*), "His Name, ſays he, is as Fragrant "as Violets or Roſes, the *Sicilian* and *Afric* Flowers, ſweeter than Ho"ney or the moſt delicious Nectar. A Name ſo Noble, ſo Pleaſant, "ſo Delicate, as the moſt Beauteous Words and Flouriſhes of Rhetoric "cannot reach it. How have all Ages been Enamoured with it? How "have all others envy'd the Happineſs of that, which alone enjoy'd him "in his Perſon? A Lawier, who lived not fully Seven and Thirty "Years: But a Lawier ſo Learned, and every way Accompliſhed in his "Profeſſion, that as before him the World never ſaw the like, neither "ever hereafter is like to ſee. He alone was of ſuch Authority, that "in a Difference of Opinions, his Judgment was commonly preferred "before that of any other Doctor. In the Number of Sentences, his "Voice by Order of *Juſtinian* was to go for Two. And in Reſpect to "his Eminency and the Excellency of his Writings, as the Students in "Arts, with us, of the Third Year, are called *Sophiſtæ*; thoſe in Law, "of the Third Year, bore the Name of *Papinianiſtæ*. And as the *Syracuſians* of old, in Gratitude to *Marcellus*, ordained a Feaſt to his "Memory; by this Emperor's Command, the Name and Memory of "*Papinian* was preſerved in the Schools, in the ſame manner every "Third Year.

In the VIII. Section, our Author Treats of the Place, where the Patricians lived. And tho' during the Reigns of the Firſt Five Kings of *Rome*, it is not certain, where they reſided; yet it is probable, that it was in the *Palatine* Mount, nigh to the King. But *Servius Tullius*, their Sixth King, aſſigned to them a Street, which had its Denomination from them, and was Commanded by the *Eſquiline* Hill, on which he lived him-

(*l*) Lib. Digeſtor. Prim. Tit. de Adoptionibus. (*m*) Lib. Digeſt. 50 Tit. ad Municip. (*n*) Vol. 1. pag. 930.

himself. For he had come to the Throne against the Will of the Senate, and had highly displeased them by Dividing the Public Lands amongst such, as were forced to preserve themselves, by Daily Labour, in other Mens Grounds. Afterwards, in the Times of the Emperors, they lived in Palaces thro' the City, as we Learn from these Verses of *Ovid* (*o*).

Hac iter est Superis ad magni Tecta Tonantis,
Regalemque Domum: dextrâ lævâque Deorum
Atria Nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.
Plebs habitat diversa locis: a fronte potentes
Cœlicolæ clarique suos posuere Penates.
Hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,
Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia Cœli.

Our Author, having thus Written of the Patricians, doth, in the IX. Section, treat of the Power, that was given to the People by *Romulus*, of which we have given an Account already.

In the X. Section, he treats of the time, that was allowed the Senators to be Absent from *Rome*. At First, they were not permitted to go from the City, without asking Leave. This was Ordered by *Numa Pompilius* their Second King, says *Lucan* (*p*).

Rus vacuum, quod non habitet nisi nocte coactâ
Invitus, questusque Numam *jussisse, Senator.*

But the time was unlimited till the Consulship of *Cicero*, in which he did limit them to a Year at furtheſt. But when *Augustus* got the Empire, he made a Law, That no Senator should go out of *Italy*, unless it were to *Sicily* and the *Provincia Narbonensis*, because of their Vicinity, and that the People were Unarmed.

In the XI. Section, our Author treats of the Institution of the Senate by *Romulus*, of which we have likewise given an Account, and here shall only add, that these First Senators, as says *Isidore*, were call'd *Patres Conscripti*, because *Romulus* wrote down their Names in Tables of Gold before the People.

In the XII. Section our Author gives an Account of the various Sorts of People that were admitted into the Senate. At First, they consisted only of Adult Patricians. Afterwards Plebeians were admitted amongst them, as also amongst the *Equites* or Knights. And tho' every Patrician was a Senator by Birth; yet he had not the Liberty to Sit in the Senate, or was declared such, till he was full Thirty Years of Age. Now when *Servius Tullius* was made King, as *Romulus* distinguished the People into Tribes and *Curiæ*; so *Servius*, making every one give an Account, how much he was Worth, did, according to their Riches, divide them into Six Ranks or *Classes*. The First and Highest of these consisted of such, as were worth 110000 *Asses*. The next Four decreased in Value, a Fourth Part. And in the last, were all those, whose Estates were of little or no Value. He did also Subdivide the *Classes* into Centuries, making in all 193. His Design herein, being to know certainly,

(*o*) Met. lib. 1. (*p*) Lib. 7.

how many were fit to bear Arms, and what Treasure might be for Wars or other Occasions. He also First Ordained the *Lustrum* (so Named, saith *Varro* (*q*), *a luendo*, from *Paying*) which was Celebrated thus: On a certain Day after the Valuation was over, all the Citizens, every one in his several *Classis* or Century, met in their Armour in the *Campus Martius*, where the City was Expiated or Lustrated by a Sacrifice, call'd *Solitaurilia*, (or rather *Suovetaurilia*,) because a Hog, a Sheep and an Ox were Sacrificed, as we read in *Quintilian* (*r*). These things being performed, the *Lustrum* was finished; which, because of continual Change of Men's Estates, he Ordained to be re-iterated every Fifth Year; and then the Tribute or Tax, call'd *Census*, was paid, for which, as we have Observed, it was call'd *Lustrum*. But here it is necessary to take Notice, how *Joseph Scaliger* has Observed, That the Old *Roman Lustrum* must be distinguished from the latter, or *Julian Lustrum*, which is only a System of Four *Julian* Years, whereof the last Year consisteth of 366 Days absolutely, without any Overplus of Hours. Whereas, the Old and Proper *Lustrum* contained Five Years complete, as is plain from what is cited by *Cicero* (*s*), concerning the Censors out of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, *Let them*, says he, *be Two, let them obtain the Magistracy for Five Years*. And therefore this *Lustrum*, does not, as severals have Erroneously conjectured, answer to an *Olympiad* properly so called. As to the Patricians, some of them were of the Senatorian Rank, others of the Equestrian, and others of the Plebeian. All these were esteemed of the Plebeian Rank, who were not able to pay the *Census* or Tax of an *Eques* or Knight: And what that was, we may Learn from *Horace* (*t*).

Si quadringentis, sex, septem millia desunt,
Plebs eris.

After the Constituting of the *Lustrum*, Inferior Magistrates had the Liberty of going into the Senate, and Declaring their Opinions, but this did not make them Senators. *Atinius* the Tribune, by a *Plebiscitum*, Order'd, That all Tribunes, for the Future, should be made Senators. In the Year of the City 692, *M. P. Piso*, and *M. Val. Messala* being Consuls, the Censors were made Senators. *Pompey* the *Great* having put an End to the *Piratic* War, *Manilius* Preferred a Law, *That all the Armies, the* Romans *had any where, with the Government of all* Asia, *and the War, against* Mithridates *and* Tygranes, *might be committed to him.* By this Law and the Success of his Arms, he attained to a surprising Greatness; and made a Law to the Vanquished, *That none should be capable of the Magistracy, or being of the Senate, but those that had attained to the Age of* 30, *after which they were capable of both.* For it was a Custom amongst the *Romans* to impose, upon the Nations they Subdued, such Laws as were agreeable to their own Constitution. *Julius Cæsar*, having no other Way to Gratify several Persons, to whom he had promised great Rewards, admitted into the Senate, without Distinction, Persons of all Ranks, whether Soldiers, Libertines, or Servants. So that in his Time, the Number of the Senators arose to Nine Hundred: But of these Senators, some were *Senatores honorati*; and others, *non honorati*: The *Senatores honorati* were those, who were carry'd to the Senate in the Curule Chair; or accor-

(*q*) De Ling. Lat. lib. 5. (*r*) Lib. 1. cap. 5. (*s*) De Leg. lib. 3. (*t*) Epist. lib. 1. Epist. 1.

according to *Gellius* (*u*), they were Drawn in a Chariot to it, in which was a Chair whereon they Sat: And this (from the Chariot or *Currus*) was call'd *Curulis*. But others think, That both the Orthography of the Word, and the Dimenſion of the thing croſs this Derivation; and ſay, It was call'd *Curulis*, from *Cures* a Town of the *Sabines*, The Form of this Chair upon old Coins, repreſents that of *Spaniſh* Chairs uſed by Princes, as Chairs of State; and it had Crooked Feet, as *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Marius*, deſcribeth it. There were ſeveral Aſcents to it, and it was covered with Ivory, as ſundry Authors ſhew; and Carved or Engraven, according to *Ovid*. The *non honorati* went to the Senate on Foot.

In the XIII. Section, our Author gives an Account of the Number of the Senators; what their Number was in the Times of *Romulus*, *Tarquinius Priſcus* and *Julius Cæſar*, we told before. In *Cicero*'s Time, they were 415. And *Suetonius* tells us, That, before *Auguſtus* his Time, the Number of the Senators was rude and deformed, being above a Thouſand. Some of them moſt Unworthy, as being, after the Death of *Cæſar*, taken in for Favour or Reward; and therefore by the Vulgar they were call'd *Orcini*, or, ſays our Author, *Abortivi*. But *Auguſtus* reſtored the Senate to its Ancient Luſtre, not by reducing them to their Primitive Number of 300, but by ſtriking a Medium, making their Number 600. And to prevent the Abſence of the Senators, he appointed certain Days, in every Month, on which it ſhould be neceſſary for all, obliged by the Laws, to be preſent. And that no juſt Excuſe might be pretended, he took Order, that no Judicial Proceedings, nor any other thing ſhould hinder them. He alſo determined, what Number ſhould be preſent at paſſing of Decrees, according to the Nature of the *Senatus conſulta*. And again he increaſed the Mulct, impoſed upon ſuch as abſented themſelves without a Cauſe. But, as uſually it happens, the Multitude of Offenders ſeeming to plead for the Remiſſion of the Mulct; therefore he Commanded, That, when many Offended, every Fifth Man, as it fell by Lot, ſhould be certainly Puniſhed. To be ſure, he Publiſhed, in a Liſt, the Names of all the Senators, which Cuſtom continued till the Time of *Dion Caſſius*.

In the XIV. Section, our Author treats of the Power of the Senate, which was very Great. By the *Lex Sempronia*, they had the Power of giving Provinces to Conſuls, Prætors, Proconſuls and Proprætors, to remove the Magiſtrates, to ſend Commanders to the Army, (yet *Licinius Lucullus* entred in a War without their Permiſſion;) to ſend all Sorts of Supplies to the Army, ſuch as Corns, Clothes, Pay, &c. to approve or diſapprove of the Acts, Councils and Propoſals of the Emperors; to take out of the Treaſury, what Sums they pleaſed, for the Public Uſe, for their Games, Public Buildings, Aqueducts, Mines, Temples, Gardens, &c. to Determine all Controverſies, to appoint Judges to Determine either Public or Private Debates, to Puniſh all Sorts of Crimes, to Reprove and Correct Cities fluctuating in their Fidelity, to ſend Auxiliaries to their Allies and Provinces; to reconcile all Differences, by their Legates, betwixt Diſſenting Kings, Common-Wealths and Provinces; to give Laws to the Conquered Nations; to appoint the Commanders of their Armies; to Anſwer the Demands of the Emperors or Commanders, to Judge of their Actions, and accor-

(*u*) Lib. 3. cap. 18.

dingly to grant or deny them Solemn Triumphs; to Anſwer the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Nations, and to ſend Ambaſſadors to Foreign Nations, either to Denounce War, or require Repetition for Damages done, to Expoſtulate for Breach of Faith, and to make Leagues with them.

In the XV. Section, our Author ſhews, by what Ways and Means the Senate loſt its Power, which came about thus:

The Senate, after a long War, having open'd the Courts of Juſtice, the Plebeians or Commons Alledged, That they were not able to pay their Debts, by reaſon of their Loſſes ſuſtained in the late Wars, thro' Want of Tillage, and Plundering of their Cattle by the Enemy. Their Creditors Reply'd, That theſe Loſſes had alſo befallen them, which made the Remiſſion of the Debts impoſſible. Hereupon neither Party yielding, many Tumults were raiſed, wherein they did not abſtain from Blows. And at length the Commons, after frequent Meetings in the Night time, told the Conſuls, That they would not take up Arms, till ſuch time as they ſhould have a Relaxation from their Burdens. This putting the Senate to a Stand, *Appius Claudius* told them, That nothing was to be granted to the Rabble; and urged, that a Dictator might be choſen. The Senate conſented to this, and moſt of them looked upon him as the fitteſt Man. But the Conſuls were of another Mind, and made Choice of M. *Valerius*, the Brother of *Publius* and Son of *Voleſus*, a Popular Man; being perſwaded, that the Terror of the Office alone would do the Work, and that a Man of a Mild Temper would beſt manage it. The Dictator told the People, If they would freely follow him, they ſhould have not only what they juſtly required concerning their Debts, but other Rewards alſo. By this means, he liſted Ten Legions againſt the *Volſci*, *Æqui* and *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms; who being brought under, he divided amongſt his Soldiers, ſome Grounds taken from the *Volſci*: But requeſting of the Senate, that his and their Promiſe might be made good, he was checked for his Love to the Multitude; and being unfit, as he ſaid, to Contend, becauſe he was an Old Man above Seventy, he laid down his Office. The People were ſo enraged at this, that they kept private Meetings, and Conſulted, How to ſeparate themſelves from the Patricians: Which when the Senate perceived, they gave Order to the Conſuls not to Disband the Armies, pretending that the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had Conſpired againſt *Rome*. The Soldiers, being Bound by their Oath taken at their Liſting, (called by them *Sacramentum*, and ever ſtrongly Obſerved) could not forſake their Standards: But, the Conſuls having their Camps near to each other, they all went into one by the Advice of *Sicinius Bellulus*, and taking away the Enſigns from the Conſuls, departed to the Mount call'd afterwards *Mons ſacer*, lying Three Miles from the City, beyond the River *Aniene*, now call'd *Taverone*.

Notice hereof being brought unto the City, all Places were fill'd with Tumults. The Patricians were in great Fear, leſt War ſhould be made upon them. The Plebeians grew exceeding high, and many Flocked to the Army. The Fathers had alſo great Strife amongſt themſelves, while ſome pleaded for the Multitude, and others would hear of nothing, but carrying the Matter thro' with a ſtrong Hand. But the former Sort prevail'd to ſend a Meſſage to the Armies, deſiring them to return Home,

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Promiſing, That, for the Future, all things ſhould be forgot; and the Senate would be ready to Reward their Faithfulneſs and Service done to their Country: Withal the Ambaſſadors had it in Charge, to know the utmoſt of their Deſires. To which they returned nothing, but Diſdainful Words and high Complaints, mixed with Threatning Language. Andn ow ſuch, as they had hitherto retained, by their Authority and Intereſt in the City, would not be withholden from going into the Army. The time, for Creation of New Conſuls, being at hand; the Old ones appointing the *Comitia*, no Candidates (ſo called, becauſe they appeared in White Garments) would ſtand for the Office, nor any accept of it; till at length the Conſuls appointed, by their ſole Authority, *Poſthumius Cominius* and *Sp. Caſſius*, who had Born it before, and were equally in Favour with the Nobility and Commons. They, having enter'd on the *Calends* of *September*, (ſooner than uſual) in the Seventy Second *Olympiad*, Firſt of all Conſulted the Senate about the Return of the Commons. *Agrippa Menenius*, a Man of great Wiſdom and Temper, being Firſt asked his Opinion; Exhorted them, by all means poſſible, to make an Agreement with the People; and *that they would ſend Meſſengers, with full Power, to Treat and Conclude what they ſhould find convenient, without any more Conſulting the Senate.*

After *Menenius*, ſpoke *M. Valerius*, who upbraided the Senate, for not giving him Credit when he foretold theſe Diſtempers; and fell foul upon *Appius* for his Rigour, and raiſing a Faction; and highly Approved of the Advice of *Menenius*, which he deſired them to put in Execution with all ſpeed, ſo as whatever the Commons required, might be granted. *Appius*, a Man of an High Spirit, moſt Studious of the Patrician Dignity, and alſo of a Sober and Venerable Carriage, being asked his Opinion next, in Excuſe of himſelf Recriminated *Valerius*. With great Animoſity, he noted the Ambition and Senſeleſneſs of the Multitude; admiring, that any of the Fathers ſhould be ſo abſurd, as having denied Remiſſion of Debts to them when Friends, would grant it to them now when Enemies, who would not reſt here, but require alſo a Communication of Honours, and what not? So that at length, the Power would come into the Hands of the Rabble, and the Common-Wealth Degenerate into a Democracy. He leſſened or rather endeavoured to remove the Danger, which was Threatned either from the Army's Revolt, or the Hoſtility of Old Enemies. He endeavour'd to perſwade them, that they were able enough to Reduce them by Force, having their Wives and Children in the City: Alledging, for further Confirmation of this, that the Multitude were without any Perſons of good Conduct: Whereas the Patrician Order abounded with Experienced Commanders. And then Concluded with this Advice, *Neither to ſend any Meſſage to them, nor Remit them their Debts, nor do any other thing which might ſhew the leaſt Fear or Trouble. If they would lay down their Arms, and, returning into the City, ſubmit to the Senate, then moderately to Determine concerning them. Seeing that all Fools, eſpecially the Vulgar, are Inſolent againſt ſuch as Condeſcend; but Cowardly towards thoſe, that reſolutely Demean themſelves.*

This Wiſe Speech of *Appius* ſo inflamed thoſe of his Party, eſpecially the Younger Sort, that Nothing could be Determined for the Heat of Contention. Upon which, the Conſuls diſmiſſed the Senate for that time; Admoniſhing the Younger Sort, to carry themſelves more Reſpect-

fully and Modeſtly for the time to come, or elſe they would neither uſe them as Adviſers or Judges, but Prefer a Law for Limiting a certain Age for Senators: The Graver Men they Exhorted alſo to Concord, letting them know, they had a Way to End the Controverſy, by referring the Matter to the Deciſion of the People, which had Right to Judge of it, as a Caſe about Peace and War.

At the next Meeting, the Ancient Men were of the ſame Opinion as formerly: But the Younger modeſtly referred themſelves to whatſoever they ſhould Determine. So that the Major Part by far, being wearied more with the Cries and Solicitations of thoſe, who had Relations in the Army, rather than any Reaſon, notwithſtanding that *Appius* ſtuck cloſe to his former Reſolution, did follow the Advice of *Menenius*, who, with Nine others, was Commiſſionated with full Power, both by Senate and People, to Compoſe the Difference. At Firſt, the Offers of the Commiſſioners could not be heard thro' the Inſtigation of Two Cunning and Turbulent Fellows, *Sicinius* and *L. Junius Brutus*. *Menenius*, to give full Satisfaction, Promiſed to ſuch, as were unable to pay their Debts, That they ſhould be Diſcharged both from Obligation and Impriſonment: And, for the time to come, Matters of this Nature ſhould be Ordered by the Joint Conſent both of People and Senate. And Concluded with this, *That he would Lead them Home without Delay.*

Little wanted of their Departure, without any other Security than the bare Word of the Commiſſioners. But *Brutus* withheld them, ſaying, That they were gratefully to acknowledge the Kind Offers of the Senate; but, whereas ſome Men of Tyrannical Spirits might reſerve their Anger to a convenient Opportunity, the Commons wanted ſuch good Security, for the time to come, as might defend them from the Unreaſonable Malice of Great Ones. And he moved, That they might have certain Officers (who were call'd Tribunes of the People) Created Yearly out of their own Body, whoſe Power ſhould only be, *to give Relief to ſuch Plebeians as were Injured, and ſuffer none to be Defrauded of their Right:* And therefore not to reſiſt the Conſuls, as ſome thought. This, being received by the Multitude with great Approbation, was inſiſted on to *Menenius* and his Fellow-Commiſſioners, who, not thinking it fit to admit a Matter of ſuch large Conſequence, without Leave from the Senate, demanded time to know their Pleaſure about it. The Conſuls Reporting the Matter, *Valerius* thought, that this Favour ſhould be granted to the Commons. And tho' *Appius* oppoſed it earneſtly, crying out, and calling their Gods to Witneſs, and truly foretelling, what Calamities they would bring upon the Common-Wealth; yet the Major Part inclining to Peace, it was carried for them. And the Commiſſioners were ſent back with the Reſolution of the Houſe. The Commons, by the Advice of *Menenius*, Firſt ſent to take from the Senate a Religious Confirmation of this Privilege: And afterwards, in the Aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, elected *L. Junius Brutus* and *C. Sicinius Bellutus*, to whom they afterwards joined *C.* and *P. Licinius* and *Sp. Icilius Ruga*. This was the Firſt Stroke, that was given to the Power of the Senate, and by which it was conſiderably Diminiſhed.

The next Attempt upon their Power, was by the *Agrarian Law* preferred by *Sp. Caſſius* the Conſul. This Man, aiming at the Sovereignty, and knowing that the ordinary way to it, was to gain the Favour of the People

People by some great Act of Kindness, resolved upon that Course; and First to divide, amongst them certain Public Grounds, which, thro' the Neglect of the Magistrates, had been seised on, and Possessed by the Rich. The Success might have been Dubious, had he staid here: But he would also have the *Latines* into the Lot with the *Hernici*, that he might procure the Favour of these Nations. And having obtained a Triumph, the Day after, he call'd together the People, according to Custom; and, in a long Speech, told them of the many Services he had done them; and Concluded to do more for the Commons, than any Man ever did who was most in Favour, and that should presently appear. The Day following, he called together the Senate, who were very much troubled at his Speech, and told them, That, because the Common People were very Useful, both in Procuring Dominion and Defending Liberty, it was convenient to divide to them those Public Grounds, which were most impudently held from the State, by some Patricians; and pay the Money back out of the Treasury, that they had laid out for that Corn, which, being given freely to the City by *Gelon* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, ought to have been Divided amongst the Inhabitants. The Fathers heard him with great Disdain, and rejected the Motion. His Colleague *Virginius* grievously accused him, as Seditious. For several Days after, *Cassius* Discoursed of this to the People; and *Virginius* held the Senate, Consulting how to withstand him. The Tribunes of the People at length, either for that they were jealous of some Design, or Displeased that they themselves had not Proposed this thing, withstood it, Alledging, It was an unjust thing, that what they had Purchased so dearly with their Labour and Blood, should be common to Strangers as well as themselves. As this raised some Dislike, so *Cassius* again drew them to his Party, by Propounding, That the Grounds might be Divided amongst such as had most need; and by Urging, That it was better to have a little, than, by expecting much, to be frustrated of all. As the People were thus Perswaded to and fro, *C. Rabuleius*, one of the Tribunes, found out a Way, which for the present ended the Dispute. *Virginius* pretending, that he was for a Division of the Grounds, but not unto Foreigners, and *Cassius*, being both for Citizens and Strangers, took them both at their Words: For the one and the other yielding, there should be a Division, he bad the People accept of that; and defer that, wherein they dissented, to another time. *Cassius*, for some Days after, kept his House, pretending Sickness, and studied how he might cause his Law, call'd *Lex Agraria*, to pass by Force. For this Purpose, he sent for the *Latines* and *Hernici* to be present at the *Comitia*, that he might carry it by the greater Number of Voices, so as the City was filled with them. *Virginius* hereupon made Proclamation, That all such, as dwelt not in the City, should depart within a short time prefixed: And *Cassius* caused it to be Proclaimed, That all such as were Free, should stay till the Matter were Determined. No End of the Contention appearing, the Fathers feared it might come to Blows or further Inconvenience; and therefore Assembled, to make some Effectual Provision for the Public Peace.

After a little Debate, they came to this Resolution, That Ten Men of Consular Dignity should be Created to Survey the Grounds, and Declare how much of them was to be let out to Farm, and how much Di-

vided to the People. That it ſhould be Declared, That foraſmuch as it was Inequitable, for the New Aſſociates or Denizons to expect Part in ſuch Lands, as were Gained to the State before their Admiſſion; if any afterward ſhould be got by their Aſſiſtance, to each ſeveral People ſhould be aſſign'd its Portion, according to the League. That for the Choice of the Ten Men and the Diſtribution of the Ground, the ſucceeding Conſuls ſhould make Proviſion. This Decree, being Publiſhed to the People, Appeaſed all, and fruſtrated the Deſign of *Caſſius*.

In the Year following, being the 269 from the Building of *Rome*, *Q. Fabius* and *S. Cornelius* were Conſuls. Now Two moſt Noble Young Men, *Cæſo Fabius* the Brother of the Conſul, and *L. Valerius* the Grandſon of *Poplicola*, being Quæſtors, and thereby having Authority to Aſſemble the People, ſet a Day to *Caſſius* the late Conſul, to Anſwer in the *Comitia*, to the Charge of Affected Tyranny: And, in a full Aſſembly, they laid open all his Actions, and Accuſed him of a great many Crimes. To theſe the People giving Credit, notwithſtanding of his Premeditate Orations, and his Three Children, who, with many Friends and Clients, accompanied him in Mourning Habit, and Interceeded for him, and notwithſtanding all his Services, and the Honour obtained by them, they would not at all pity him: But, out of extreme Hatred to Tyranny, Condemned him to Death, leaſt, being Baniſhed, he ſhould procure the State ſuch Trouble and Danger, as *Martius* had lately done. Therefore Judgment being paſſed, the Quæſtors preſently led him to the Rock, near to the *Forum*, and thence caſt him Down Headlong, in Sight of the People, this being the then Ordinary Kind of Puniſhment; his Eſtate was Confiſcated, and his Houſe Razed. Some would have had his Sons alſo put to Death: But the Senate refuſed to uſe ſuch Severity. And at *Rome* the Children never Suffered for their Father's Fault, altho' for High Treaſon, till the *Marſian* War.

By the Death of *Caſſius* a Stop was put to the *Agrarian Law*, till the Firſt Year of the Seventy Seventh *Olympiad*, wherein *L. Æmilius Mamercus* the Third Time, and *Vopiſcus Julius* were Conſuls. In their Time, *Cn. Genatius*, Tribune of the People, required them to Divide the Grounds, formerly decreed to the People by the Senate. They denied, That it belonged to them, to execute what had been Decreed in the Conſulſhip of others: And Alledged, That a *Senatus-conſultum* was not of Force, but for one Year. *Genatius*, finding that he could not compel his Superiors, ſet the Day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the laſt Years Conſuls, to Anſwer before the People, why they did not Divide the Grounds; pretending ſome Reaſons, why they ought to be Queſtioned more than others, tho' it was now Twelve Years ſince the paſſing of the Decree; and Alledging, That except the preſent Magiſtrates were quickned by Senſe of Puniſhment inflicted upon others, they would never ſet upon the Work. The Patricians, being exceedingly ſtartled at ſo bold and impudent an Attempt, reſolved by Force of Arms, if fairer Means would not prevail, to Protect the Accuſed. And the City might have been in Blood, had not *Genatius* died ſuddenly, that very Morning, no Sign of Violence appearing on the Body. After this, there was no more heard of the *Agrarian Law*, till the 297 Year of the City, according to *Cato*; or the 298, according to *Varro*; in which Year, the Conſuls were *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius*. Hitherto the Tribunes only Reigned in the

the Aſſemblies, neither taking upon them to call together the Senate, nor give their Voices therein. But now they ventured to Aſſemble the Fathers, by the Procurement of *Icilius* an Induſtrious and Eloquent Man, who preſumed to make a further Innovation in the State; requiring the *Aventine* Mount for the People to Build upon, which being a Mile and an Half in Circuit, was not as yet fully Inhabited, but Public and full of Wood. The Tribunes moving the Conſuls, to Procure a Decree of the Senate for this New Project, and they deferring the Matter, an Apparitor was ſent from the College of the Tribunes, to cite the Conſuls before it, who applying himſelf to one of the Lictors, was beaten and ſent back. This ſo inraged the Tribunes, that, apprehending the Lictor, they led him to the *Tarpeian* Rock; yet they did not put the Man to Death, giving his Life to the Graver Sort of the Patricians, leſt that Order ſhould be driven, by juſt Indignation, to Attempt ſomething extraordinary. The Senate having then Aſſembled, the Conſuls ſharply reprehended them. But *Icilius* Excuſed them in a Premeditated Oration, and when he had ſeemed ſufficiently to have Anſwered, what was laid to their Charge, he Preferred a Law, *That what Private Men were poſſeſſed of, and was juſtly gotten, ſhould remain unto them. What Ground, by Force or Fraud, was already Furniſhed with Buildings, the Expence of Building being conſidered by Arbitration, ſhould be recovered to the Uſe of the People; and what was yet Public, be divided amongſt them.* He ſhewed, That this Law would be exceeding Profitable for the Suppreſſion of all Agrarian Seditions; foraſmuch as the Commons would be ſatisfy'd with Poſſeſſions at Home. No Man Diſſenting, except *C. Claudius*, a Decree of the Senate paſſed for it. Accordingly the next Year, *T. Romulius* and *C. Veturius* were choſen Conſuls; and greater Stirs than ever were raiſed about the *Agrarian Law*, to which another was added of *Equal Right*, which, the former Year, could not be paſſed. For the Tribunes, having with an Oath Promiſed to Prefer theſe Laws, appointed a Day for the *Comitia*; wherein, having Firſt themſelves ſpoken largely, ſeveral others related, what Good Service they had done for the Common-Wealth; and laboured to ſhow, how Unworthy a thing it was for them, to be defrauded of thoſe Grounds, which, by their Labour and Danger, they had gained, and admitted to no Part of Reward. The Multitude gladly hearing ſuch Diſcourſes, none did more affect Mens Minds than *L. Siccius Dentatus*, a Man of Admirable Shape, Fifty Eight Years Old, and furniſhed with Military Eloquence for a Seditious Attempt. He told them, That, in Fourty Years time, he had Fought One Hundred and Twenty Battles, received Fourty Five Wounds, all Before and none Behind; whereof Twelve, that Day, wherein he Fought againſt *Herodonius*, who ſeiſed upon the Capitol. As for Rewards, after the ſeveral Battles, he had obtained Fourteen Civic Crowns, (which, ſaith *Gellius*, were beſtowed upon him, who had preſerved the Life of a Citizen, and were made of Oak, becauſe the moſt Ancient Meat was thought to be the Fruit of that Tree) Three Mural Crowns, (which were given, by the General, unto him who Firſt Mounted the Walls, and Entred a Town, being adorned with an Image of the Battlements) and Eight Golden Crowns, beſides Eighty Three Golden Chains, Sixty Golden Bracelets, Eighteen Pure Spears (which were Spears having no Iron at the Ends of them, being alſo call'd *Haſtæ donaticæ* and *Haſtæ gramineæ*) and Twenty

Three Horſe-Trappings, whereof Nine were for Killing Enemies that he had Challeng'd to Single Combates. To this Relation of *Dionyſius*, *Gellius* addeth a Crown called *Obſidionalis*, (which was given to one, who had freed the Preſenter from a Siege) and increaſeth the Number of Bracelets to above One Hundred and Sixty; that of Spears, to Twenty Two; and the other of Horſe-Trappings, to Twenty Five: And calls him *L. Sicinius Dentatus*, and that, for his Incredible Atchievements, he had the Appellation of *Achilles Romanus*. *Siccius* proceeded in his Diſcourſe, ſaying, That tho' he had Fought ſo many Years, Served in ſo many Expeditions, received ſo many Wounds, and helped to gain ſuch large Territories for the *Roman* People; yet neither he, nor his Fellow-Soldiers, Partakers with him in the ſame Dangers, had received any Portion in thoſe Lands, being Poſſeſſed by others, who could neither ſhew Title nor Merit for them: Then he Accuſed the Patricians of ſeveral Crimes. The Aſſembly was ſo moved with his Speech, that they ſeemed Impatient of any thing to be ſaid againſt it. But *Icilius* riſing up, after he had extolled the Worth of the Man, ſaid, It was neither Juſt nor agreeable with the Cuſtom of the City, to hinder any one from ſpeaking againſt the Law, eſpecially ſuch an one as aſſerted Right, and oppoſed Violence. Then he Adjourned the *Comitia* till the next Day, and Commanded all to be preſent, who had any thing to ſay againſt it. The Patricians, meeting at the Conſul's Houſe in the Evening, Reſolved, if they could not by Words, to hinder the paſſing of the Law by Deeds; and, early in the Morning, took up the *Forum*, ſpreading themſelves all over, to hinder the Uniting of the Commons. The *Comitia* being full, thoſe that ſpake could not be heard; ſome encouraging, and others interrupting them with great Clamours. The Conſuls Proteſted againſt this Carriage, and that, if any Violence ſucceeded, the Commons were the Procurers of it: And the Tribunes Anſwered, That they had heard long ſuch Diſcourſes, as they were now making. The Day being far ſpent, the People required the Ballots. But then the young Patricians hindered them from Uniting in their Tribes; and ſnatched away their Pots and Ballots, beating out of the *Forum* the Officers attending for the gathering of the Suffrages; the Tribunes crying out, and caſting themſelves into the Throng, they gave Way to them wherever they went, but hindered ſuch as would have followed, and thereby rendered their Office Unſerviceable. At length the Patricians prevail'd againſt the Paſſing of the Law, by the Means of Three Families eſpecially, *viz.* the *Poſthumii*, *Sempronii* and *Clælii*, moſt Eminent for Nobility, Riches and Clients; who alſo chiefly hindered the Confirmation of the *Agrarian* by a *Plebiſcitum*.

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were become Odious of late, in that, for Money, they had acquitted *Aurelius Cotta*, *Salinator* and *M. Aquilius*, Perſons Capitally Guilty of Corruption. And 'tis ſaid, That he Boaſted, That, by this Law, he had cut the Sinews of the Senatorian Rank. And ſo he did, for the *Equites*, by the Authority of Judicature, paſſed Sentence upon *Roman* Citizens, *Italians* and Senators, noting them with Ignominy, Baniſhing or putting them to Death at pleaſure, till ſuch time as their Power was abated. For, in the *Comitia* or Aſſemblies, they Conſpired with the Tribunes; and, obtaining thereby what they pleaſed, had all things in their Power, and Flouriſhed with Riches: Whereas nothing remained to Senators, but a vain Show of Dignity. The Senators indeed prevail'd with *Servilius Cæpio*, when Conſul, to make themſelves Partakers of the Power of Judging by a Law, which he got preferred. Yet ſtill the *Equites* had the better, for Three Hundred Senators only were added to them, who were in Number Six Hundred. By the Laws of *Livius*, *Druſus*, *Sylla* and *Cotta*, their Power was further abated. *Druſus* making it but equal in Judgment with that of Senators, *Sylla* transferred it wholly to the Senators; and *Aurelius Cotta* communicated the Power of Judging to Three Sorts, *viz.* Senators, *Equites*, and the *Tribuni Ærarii*. But the *Equites* alone were wont to Farm the Cuſtoms of the Cenſors, for Five Years; and thence, from their Farming the Public Revenue, had the Name of Publicans. In *Julius Cæſar*'s Time, the Senate loſt all their Power; for having no other Way to Gratify thoſe, to whom he had promiſed great Matters, he admitted many into the Senate, without any Diſtinction, whether the Man was a Soldier or a Libertine by Original: So that the Number of Senators, by this means, aroſe to Nine Hundred. Many alſo he brought into the Ranks of Patricians, Conſulars, and of thoſe who had born other Offices, which became a Cuſtom with thoſe, who were afterwards Emperors. So that the Poet had Reaſon to ſay of his Time,

----Non tunc regnare pudebat,
Nec color Imperii, nec frons erat ulla Senatus.

Yet, in *Auguſtus*'s Time, they had ſome Shadow of Power; for as we have ſaid, he appointed certain Days for the Senate to meet on, and, if it hapned, that ſo many did not meet together, as was needful, (for when the Emperor came thither, the Liſt was alwiſe Call'd over, and moſt commonly on other Days) they, that were preſent, Conſulted Matters before them: And what they Reſolved, was written down; but it did not obtain the Force of a *Senatus-conſultum*, but was call'd the *Authority of the Senate*, ſhewing only what the Opinion was of thoſe that met. The ſame Courſe was Obſerved, when they ſuddenly Aſſembled, either in a Place, or at a Time not Uſual nor Lawful; or call'd by ſome Edict, that had no Authority to back it; or, if the Tribunes of the People contradicted. For tho' in ſuch Caſes no *Senatus-conſultum* could be made; yet the Senate would not have its Opinion conceal'd, which afterwards, being, in due Form, Ratify'd, obtained the Name and Force of a *Senatus-conſultum*. This Cuſtom was Obſerved in thoſe Days, tho' in the time of *Dio*, he ſaith, It was in a manner Aboliſhed; as alſo what *Auguſtus* ordain'd concerning Prætors, to whom he gave Liberty of Voting in the Se-

Senate. But *Auguſtus*, before he Enacted theſe things, cauſed them to be Written down, and expoſed in the Senate; giving Liberty to any Two, that came in to read them, to find what Fault they could, and propound other Rules. *Suetonius* (*x*) tells us, That *Auguſtus*, by Two Scrutinies, reſtored the Senate to its Ancient Luſtre. In one of which, one Man choſe another amongſt themſelves; and the Second was made, at the Choice of himſelf and *Agrippa*, at which time, it was thought, he wore a Breaſt-Plate under his Robe, and had Ten of the moſt Valiant Senators, all his Friends, ſtanding about his Chair. *Cordus Cremutius* wrote, That, at that time, no Senator was admitted but alone, and his Robe being Firſt ſearched. Some he compell'd to Excuſe themſelves; but to ſuch he granted the Senatorian Mark in their Habit, the Right of ſitting to behold Sports in the *Orcheſtra*, and of Feaſting Publicly. That ſuch as were Choſen and Approved, might, more Religiouſly and with leſs Trouble, execute their Offices, he Ordain'd, before any ſat down in the Senate, he ſhould Firſt Supplicate at the Altar of that God, in whoſe Temple they met, with Wine and Frankincenſe: As alſo, that a Legitimate Senate ſhould be held but Twice in one Month, *viz.* on the *Calends* and on the *Ides*. That in the Months of *September* and *October* (Months of Vintage) it ſhould not be neceſſary, that any ſhould be preſent, but ſuch as were Choſen by Lot, being a ſufficient Number to do the Work. Moreover he Procured that the Acts of the Senate ſhould not be Publiſhed.

Under the Succeeding Emperors, the Senate, for the moſt part, continued in this Settlement. But was ſometimes ſtraitned and other whiles enlarged, eſpecially by the Emperor *Arcadius*, as the Humour of the Reigning Prince inclined, who being Abſolute, and having all the Authority both of Senate and People in his Hands, their Power was in effect but Precarious. But, if we might believe *Claudian*, the Flatterer of *Stilico*, it was he, that reſtored the Senate to its Ancient Splendor: For he ſays,

Neglectum Stilico *tot jam per ſecula Morem*
Rettulit, ut Ducibus mandarent Prælia Patres,
Decretoque Togæ fælix Legionibus iret
Teſſera, Romuleas *Leges remeâſſe fatemur,*
Cum Procerum Juſſis famulantia cernimus Arma.

But long before this, the Emperor *Theodoſius* I. *viz.* in the Year of our Lord 382, added not a little to their Dignity by a new Law, which he made, for keeping of good Order and Decorum amongſt the People. For, before this time, the Senators, Officials and Slaves were wont, by Promiſcuous Uſe of Garments, to make themſelves differ little in Appearance, both from other Perſons and amongſt themſelves. To Remedy which, *Alexander Severus* purpoſed to aſſign, to all Ranks and Degrees, their ſeveral Habits, that they might thereby be known and diſtinguiſhed; eſpecially to put a Mark of Diſtinction upon Slaves, to prevent all Sedition by reaſon of them, and that they might be diſcerned from Perſons of Quality and Ingenuous Condition. But the Project did not pleaſe *Ulpian* and *Paulus*, the great Lawiers of that Age, who Alledged,

(*x*) In Octav. cap. 35, 36.

That it would give Occaſion to Quarrels, if Men were, by ſuch Marks, made liable to Affronts. Whereupon that Emperor contented himſelf, with cauſing thoſe of the Equeſtrian Rank to be diſtinguiſhed, by the Kinds of their *Clavus* or Stud; and permitting Old Men, to make uſe of the *Penulæ* or Cloaks only proper for a Journey, or bad Weather: But forbad the Women to wear them in the City, tho' in Travelling, they might do it, with Allowance. But *Theodoſius*, having no Regard to the Conſideration of theſe Two great Lawiers, and Conſidering how Undecent a thing it was, that a Foot-Man ſhould not be known from his Maſter, or a Kitchen-Wench from her Lady, made a Law, as we have ſaid, about Apparel. It was grown a Faſhion now, for Senators and Gentlemen, to wear the *Chlamys* or Soldier's Coat in the City, either that they thought it more Genteel or leſs Cumberſome than the Gown. But foraſmuch as it was the Military Habit, he Commanded it to be left off; and that, in the City which was the Metropolis or Head of the Empire, in a time of Peace, the Robe of Peace and Civil Habit, *viz.* the Gown or other Civil Garment ſhould be worn, as well in the Morning as other Times of the Day. Tho' the Senators thought, they might, when they went to give the Emperor Good-Morrow, appear in that Sort of Garb. But, by this Law, he doth not infringe their Liberty of wearing the *Chlamys* out of the Town, together with the Gown. He diſtinguiſhed the Senators, by the *Colobium* and *Penula*. The *Colobium* was a ſhort Coat without Sleeves, or elſe ſuch as reached not to their Elbows, which, as well as Shoes, it was not Lawful for Slaves to wear; and beſides it was Studded or wrought with Purple. The *Penula* was a Sort of Cloak-Mantle or great Coat with an Hood or *Capuche*, made of courſer Cloth, and fit only for Cold or Rainy Weather, as the *Colobium* for Fair and Serene. And therefore within the City, the Emperor permits them the Uſe of it: But, in the Senate and Places of Judicature, they were obliged to wear the Gown. In former Ages all *Romans* were known by the Gown, it was a *Gens Togata:* But they became weary of it, by Degrees; and Senators would often appear, in the Senate-Houſe, in their Purple *Penulæ*. *Adrian* endeavoured to bring both Senators and *Equites* to appear alwiſe in Public, in their Gowns, except they came from Supper. But Foreign Faſhions and New Dreſſes got ſuch Ground, that *Theodoſius* was well content, if, in the Senate-Houſe and Courts, he could but reſtore this Grave and Ancient Habit, which was Obſerved, not only in Old but New *Rome* or *Conſtantinople*; and, as we have ſaid, contributed not a little in raiſing their Character amongſt the Vulgar.

In the XVI. Section, our Author gives an Account of the Places, where the Senate was wont to Aſſemble, which was alwiſe in ſome Conſecrated Place; as in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, of *Jupiter Stator*, erected over againſt that of *Veſta* at the Foot of the *Palatine* Mount; that of *Concord*, near the Capitol; of *Tellus*, or the Earth; of *Apollo*; and *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. To Foreign Ambaſſadors, the Senate was wont to give Audience in the Temple of *Bellona*, without the Walls; as alſo to ſuch Magiſtrates, as returned from the Provinces, expected a Triumph, and were not yet to enter the City, before ſomething was performed. Sometimes the Senate Aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, and in other Places: But theſe were alſo Inaugurate and Conſecrated, at leaſt ordinarily it could not Aſſemble, but in ſuch; and the Place was called *Senaculum*.

In

In the XVII. Section, our Author treats of the time, when the Senate was wont to Aſſemble. Of old, they met on any Day, but, by the *Lex Pupia*, they could not meet upon the *Dies Comitiales*, becauſe then the *Comitia* of the People being held, the Senators could not be Abſent from them, nor were not to be hindred from giving their Suffrages. It was not Cuſtomary for them to Aſſemble in the Night-time. Yet *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the Third King of *Rome*, Aſſembled them once in the Night-time, which was occaſioned thus: A War breaking out betwixt the *Albans* and *Romans*; the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who had been overcome by *Romulus*, and ſubmitted to the Obedience of *Rome*, thought, that this time preſented them, with a fit Opportunity to ſhake off their Yoke: So gathering together at *Fidenæ*, they were ready, (when the *Albans* and *Romans* ſhould, in Battle, have Weakned each other) to fall upon both. This Plot, being diſcovered, wrought ſo upon both the Captains, that they came to a Conference, wherein much being alledged for the Juſtice and Right of both Parties, at length it was Agreed, That Three Perſons on each Side ſhould, by Combate, decide the Quarrel; and the City whoſe Champions ſhould have the better, obtain Preeminence and Command over the other. Whilſt every Officer deſired to be One of the Three, *Suffetius*, the *Roman* Captain, bethought himſelf of Two Ternions of Brothers, who were moſt fit, as he thought, to take it upon them. One *Seguinius* of *Alba* had Two Daughters, one whereof he Married to *Curiatius* his Fellow-Citizen; and the other to *Horatius*, a *Roman*. It hapned, that both being with Child, at the ſame time, brought forth each of them Three Sons at the Firſt Birth, whom their Parents Educated as the Hope of their Families. To theſe it was, that *Suffetius* thought the Combate, concerning Principality, was to be committed, being of equal Years Strength and Courage. The Motion was Embraced by both Parties, who diſpenſed with their Private Affection, now that the Honour and Welfare of their Country was concerned in the Combate. Two of the *Horatii* were Slain Firſt, and the Third left to deal with Three Adverſaries, Spirited afreſh by the great Advantage they had of him. But he warily Retreating, ſo as he might have but one of them upon him at a time, Slew them all; and *Rome* in him remain'd Conqueror.

Hoſtilius dealt moderately with the *Albans*. But *Metius Suffetius*, thinking his Credit impaired by the Event of the Combate, ſought, how he might Betray the *Romans*; and therefore dealt underhand with the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who now, call'd to an Account for their double Dealings, broke out into open Rebellion, as I ſaid before, and, by Promiſe of Aſſiſtance, Encouraged them in their Enterprize. And when the *Romans* and the other came to Engage, *viz.* the *Albans*, he reſolved to ſtand Neuter, till he ſaw which Party had the better, intending then to cloſe with it. The *Romans* were Diſcouraged, to ſee their Friends ſtand aloof, ſuſpecting the Treachery; which *Tullus* alſo apprehending, gave out, That it was by his Order, as meaning, by ſome Stratagem, to ſurprize the Enemy. Upon which Report, the *Fidenates* and their Companions were Diſcouraged, and at length by the *Romans*, who reſumed their Courage, put to the Rout. After the Victory, *Hoſtilius* called the *Albans* together, and laying open the Treachery of *Suffetius*, they tore him into Pieces; having before hand ſent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*,

who Razed the City, and Tranſlated the Inhabitants thereof to *Rome*, after it had ſtood about 487 Years, according to the Account of *Dionyſius*. To this End came *Alba* thro' the Power of its own Colony, having Flouriſhed with Riches, Numbers of Inhabitants and been the Mother of Thirty *Latin* Towns.

Another Inſtance of the Senate's being called in the Night-time, was in the Conſulſhip of *A. Poſthumius*, who, when the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were making War with *Rome*, about the 290 Year of the City, Conveened the Fathers in the Night-time, and a *Senatus-conſultum* was made before Day. Neither could the Senate meet on Unlucky Days, becauſe then no Sacrifices could be Offered, which were requiſite, whenever they met; nor could they meet, when it Thundred, or when Winds and Tempeſts Raged; nor when both Conſuls were abſent from the City, at leaſt till the Ninth Day from their Abſence. And ſome ſay, That, becauſe the *Comitia* were diſſolved, if any were taken with the Epilepſie, (from thence call'd the *Comitial Diſeaſe*) the ſame was Obſerved in the Meeting of the Senate. *Auguſtus* Ordain'd, That they ſhould only meet Twice in a Month, in the Beginning and the Middle: But the *Romans*, alotting the Month of *February* for giving Audience to Foreign Embaſſies, met not in that Month, unleſs the Hearing of the Ambaſſadors was over, or delayed to another time.

In the XVIII. Section, our Author treats of thoſe, who had the Authority of Calling the Senate together; and theſe were, according to the various Mutations in their Government, the following Magiſtrates; their Kings, the *Interreges*, the Conſuls, the Dictator, the *Decemviri*, the *Tribuni Militum* with a Conſular Power, the Prætor of the City in the Abſence of the Conſuls, the Emperor, the *Triumviri*, and the Præfect of the City. All theſe had the Power of Calling the Senate together, and of gathering their Suffrages, in what they Conſulted about. For the Underſtanding of which, and of ſeveral other things after to be mentioned, it will be neceſſary to ſhow, how the *Roman* Government came to Change into theſe Various Shapes.

At Firſt, as we have already Obſerved, they were under the Government of Kings, whoſe Authority and Power we have likewiſe ſhown. But *Lucius Tarquinius Superbus* having, by his Tyrannical and Imperious Carriage, Incenſed the People againſt him; his Son, *Sextus Tarquinius*, by his Inſatiable Luſt, not only contributed to his Father's Ruin, but to the Extirpation of the *Roman* Monarchy, which hapned thus, as *Titus Livius* and *Aurelius Victor* relate. The Courtiers Drinking in the Camp before *Ardea*, and with them *Tarquinius Collatinus*, *Sextus Tarquinius*'s Kinſman, each of them fell a Praiſing of their own Wives: So falling into a Diſpute, *Collatinus* ſaid, There needed not many Words about that; for they might ſee, within a few Hours, how far his Wife *Lucretia* excelled them all; and he deſired them to Ride to the ſeveral Places, and Judge according as they ſhould find. So being well Heated with Wine, they agreed to this Motion, and away they Rode. They found not *Lucretia*, idlely ſpending her Time, as the other Court-Ladies were accuſtomed to do, but late at Night, and hard at Work amongſt her Maids: So that, by Conſent of all, ſhe far excell'd the reſt; and *Collatinus*, Nobly entertaining his Gueſts, returned with them to the Siege. But *Sextus Tarquinius*, being Inflamed with a Luſtful Deſire after *Lucretia*, be-

becauſe of her Beauty; within few Days, without the Knowledge of her Husband, accompany'd only with one Servant, he returned to *Collatinus*'s Houſe, where, being kindly entertained by *Lucretia*, he was brought to his Bed-Chamber. But when he thought all aſleep, having Obſerved where ſhe lay, with a Naked Dagger, he went to her, and, laying his Hand on her Breaſt, threatned her with Death if ſhe offered to ſtir. He mixed Threats with fair Words: But yet could not prevail, till he told her, he would Firſt Kill her, and then his Slave, whom laying by her Side, he would Report, it was for having ſurpriſed her in Adultery with him, whereby obtaining his Prey, in the Morning he departed. When he was gone, ſhe ſent for her Father from *Rome*, and her Husband from the Camp, (or, as ſome ſay, ſhe went her ſelf to the City) deſiring, That they would call together ſome Friends, for that a Matter of great Importance had befallen her. With *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, and with *Collatinus*, *Junius Brutus* ; who finding her, in her Chamber, in a ſad and afflicted Condition, ſhe told them the whole Matter, refuſed to admit any Comfort ; and, intreating them to Revenge her Cauſe upon the Author of her Sorrow, Stabbed her ſelf to the Heart, before them, with a Knife ſhe had kept cloſe about her, for that Purpoſe. While her Husband and Friends were Lamenting over the Dead Body, *Brutus* told them, That it was not time now to Weep, but to Study how to Revenge the Injury: And finding every one ready, he ſaid, That there was no need of Words or Promiſes, but real Deeds, if they meant to perform any thing, and that he would Firſt begin. Then he went to the Dead Body, and, taking the Bloody Knife in his Hand, he Swore, by *Mars* and the reſt of their Gods, to caſt out *Tarquinius Superbus* with his Wicked Wife and Progeny, to Proſecute them and their Friends with Fire and Sword, or any other way; and never after that, to ſuffer the *Tarquins*, or any other to Reign in *Rome*. He made them all ſucceſſively to take the ſame Oath: Then, for the Way how to bring the Matter about, he told them, That the Gates of the City ſhould be ſafely kept, that the King might not hear the leaſt Word, till he, who was Prince of the Sacrificers, ſhould, as he might by his Place, Aſſemble the People, to which the Dead Body being Exhibited, and *Lucretius* and *Collatinus* deploring their Condition, they might procure the Baniſhment of *Tarquin* by a Public Decree, that ſhould be preſently diſpatched to the Army for its Concurrence.

But, before *Tarquinius* ſhould be removed, they thought it Wiſdom to Conſider, what Magiſtracy was fit to ſucceed his. Some were for the Continuation of Monarchy in ſome other Noble Family; others, for Ariſtocracy or the Rule of the Senate; and others would have the whole Power put into the Hands of the People. But *Brutus* his Propoſal prevailed, who ſaid, That, becauſe ſome Men made a great Matter of very Names, he thought, That of a *Kingdom* was to be left off, and the other of *Common-Wealth* to be Aſſumed; and that, for the Title of *King* or *Monarch*, ſome more Modeſt and Popular was to be invented. Then the Regal Power, he Judged not ſafely, to be intruſted with a ſingle Perſon; but that Two were to be Choſen, who ſhould Govern with equal Command and Authority, and ſo be a Counterpoize each to other. Of all Royal Enſigns and Ornaments, ſuch, as procured the Envy and Grudge of the People, were to be laid aſide, *viz.* Sceptres, Golden

Crowns and Purple Robes of Cloth of Gold, except upon Feſtival Days, and in Triumphal Pomps; which rare Uſe of them would not be at all ſpoken againſt: But as for the Ivory Chair, in which they ſat in Judgment, with the White Robe Edged with Purple, called *Prætexta*, and the Twelve Lictors or Serjeants bearing Rods and Axes, they were to be continued. He Added, That the main thing, to keep theſe Magiſtrates in Order, was to prevent their perpetual Power, which would keep them from giving an Account of their Actions. Wherefore he thought fit, their Magiſtracy, after the Manner of *Athens*, ſhould be Annual, that ſo each one might learn, as well to be Subject as to Govern. Laſtly, That the Name of King might not intirely Periſh, he would have the Title given to one, who ſhould be call'd *Rex Sacrorum*, having this Honour for his Life, with Immunity from Warfare, and ſhould meddle with nothing elſe, but their Superſtitious Rites, of which the Kings had Charge before.

All this ſucceeded to their Hearts Deſire; and *Tarquin* and all his Offſpring was Driven into Exile; and it was Declared Capital for any one to Speak or Act for their Return. This hapned in the Year of the World 3496, and in the 244 Year of the City according to *Cato*, and the 245 according to *Terentius Varro*. During the time of the *Roman* Monarchy, they had their *Interreges*, who, upon the Death of the King, was Choſen, and had the Abſolute Power in his Hand, for Five Days. But the Kingly Office being Baniſhed, *L. Junius Brutus* and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus* were Choſen according to *Brutus*'s New Model of the Government, whoſe Power at Firſt was the ſame with that of the Kings, allayed only by Plurality of Perſons, and Shortneſs of Time: So that *Cicero* calleth it *Regium imperium* and *Regia poteſtas*. We Learn from *Livy*, that they were Firſt called Prætors, then *Judices*, and then Conſuls. And *Cicero* giveth the Etymology of all theſe Offices thus (*y*), *a præeundo, judicando, conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules appellantur*. *Valerius* having Preferred a Law, by which the Power of Life and Death was taken away from the Conſuls, and all Conſtrained by an Appeal to the People, ſo that no Man could be forced to the War; it ſeemed neceſſary to Create a Magiſtrate, who, for Six Months, ſhould Rule, as Abſolute, above the Laws, and from whom ſhould ly no Appeal. Thus having Renounced Monarchy, they had again Recourſe to it, which ſhows as well the Neceſſity, as Excellency of that Government. This Supreme Officer was called *Dictator*, either for that he was *Dictus*, or Named by the Conſul according to *Varro* (*z*); or rather from Dictating or Shewing and Commanding what was to be done, as *Dionyſius* will have it (*a*). He was alſo call'd *Magiſter Populi* (*b*), and *Prætor maximus* (*c*).

Romulius the Conſul having Perſwaded the Senate to ſend Ambaſſadors, to the *Greek* Cities in *Italy* and *Athens*, to bring Home ſuch Laws as they thought moſt excellent and befitting the Common-Wealth; after their Return they agreed, That Ten Men, out of the Chief of the Senate, ſhould be Elected, whoſe Power, continuing for a Year, ſhould be the ſame with that of the Kings and Conſuls; and all other Magiſtracies ceaſe, till they might be renewed according to Law. In the mean time, theſe Ten Men, or *Decemviri*, were to Adminiſter Juſtice to Private Men, and Model the Common-Wealth.

Our

(*y*) De Legib. lib. 3. (*z*) De Ling. Latin. lib. 4. (*a*) Lib. 5. (*b*) Varro, quo prius. (*c*) Lex Antiqua.

Our Author, in his Historical Observations upon the *Decemviri*, gives us this brief Account of the First Rise and Formation of the *Roman* Laws. First, *Romulus* made several of them, whereof most were Unwritten. He Ordain'd, in reference to Marriage, That the Wife should be Partaker of all that was her Husband's, when Chast and Modest: If he Died Intestate, she was his Absolute Heir; and if he left Children, equally with them. When she Offended, she was left to his Disposal for Punishment, who admitted her Kindred to Judge, with him, concerning the Fault, if she either violated Chastity or Drank Wine, which *Romulus* utterly Condemn'd as an Incentive to Wantonness. So effectual became this Constitution to the Preservation of the Conjugal Knot, that for 520 Years there hapned not any Divorce in *Rome*. He gave to Fathers Absolute Power over their Sons, and that, for all their Lives, either to Imprison, Beat, carry away Bound to Rustic Labours, or Kill, altho' the Son bore the greatest Office in the Common-Wealth, or were Publicly Commended and Honoured. He compelled Parents to Educate all their Male-Children and their Eldest Daughters. He permitted a Child, Younger than Three Years, to be made away, if it was Born Defective in some Member, or Monstrous: And yet then was it not to be Exposed, without Approbation of the Five next Neighbours; if any one broke this Law, he, besides other Punishment, Forfeited Half of his Goods. The Father was permitted to Sell his Son, and that Three times over, if it hapned that he recovered his Liberty; a greater Power than was had over Slaves, who, if once made Free, thenceforth so continued. All sordid Arts, and such as were subservient to Luxury, he forbad; which, being left to Slaves and Strangers for a long time, the *Romans* scorned to meddle with. Two Courses of Life only he enjoined them, Warfare and Husbandry; allowing a Mercat once in Nine Days. He Divided, equally amongst them, the Grounds, Slaves and Money taken from the Enemy. Concerning Injuries, he presently Decided all Controversies, or Referred them unto others; Inflicting Punishment according to the Crime. And seeing the People to be, by Fear, best Retained in Order, he set up his Judgment-Seat in the most conspicuous Place of the *Forum*, where his Guard of 300 *Celeres*, and 12 Lictors carrying Rods and Axes, and, in the View of all Men, either Beating or putting to Death Malefactors, made a Terrible Show. *Sextus Papyrius* having Collected these Laws and the Laws of the Succeeding Kings, this Collection was call'd *The Papyrian Civil Right*: But the Authority of the Kings being Abolished, they likewise Abolished their Laws, by the Authority of the *Lex Tribunitia*. After this, the *Romans*, for a long time, followed particular Customs: But since the Right of Customs was much more uncertain, than that of Laws, they made Choice of Ten Men, as we have said, to make a Collection of the Best Laws, that had been brought out of *Greece*. These Laws they caused to be exposed to the View of all Men, in Ten Tables, that any one might make Exceptions; Liberty being given to Private Persons to Inform the Law-Makers, who Consulted much with the Nobility about the Work. When all Approved of them, a *Senatus-consultum* passed, *Nemine contradicente*, for Ratifying of these Laws: And the Question being put to the People, in the *Centuriata Comitia*, they were Confirmed most Religiously, in Presence of the *Pontifices*, Augurs and Priests. Then

were they Engraven in Braſs, according to *Dionyſius*; but in Ivory, according to *Pomponius* the Lawier; and expoſed to the Public View, in the moſt conſpicuous Part of the *Forum*. The Year after, the *Decemviri* added Two Tables of Laws to the Ten, that were made the Year before, and from this Accident they were call'd *The Laws of the Twelve Tables*. And of theſe Laws, *Cicero*, Diſputing under the Name of *Craſſus*, gives this Encomium (*d*), *If Diverſity of Studies pleaſes any, in the Twelve Tables there is a great Image of Antiquity; becauſe the Ancient Uſe of Words is known, and certain Kinds of Actions declare the Life and Cuſtom of our Anceſtors. If any look at Polity, you ſhall find it all in the Twelve Tables, which deſcribe all the Intereſts and Parts of the State: Or if any one be taken with this Glorious Philoſophy, I will ſpeak more Boldly, theſe are the Fountains of all his Diſputes contained in the Civil Law and Laws. Tho' all be diſpleaſed, I will ſpeak what I think: That little Book of the Twelve Tables alone, in my Opinion, excelleth the Libraries of all the Philoſophers, (if one view the Heads and Fountains of Laws) both in Weight of Authority, and Copiouſneſs of Advantage.* In another Place, he Writeth (*e*), *That when he was a Boy, they were wont to Learn the Twelve Tables, as ſome Neceſſary Poem.*

A Collection of the Fragments of theſe Tables we have out of the moſt Approved Authors, by *Baldwin*, *J. Criſpinus* and others. But notwithſtanding of this great Encomium of *Cicero*'s; yet ſome of them were hard even in the Judgment of the beſt Lawiers. And that Law, which permits the Body of the Debitor to be cut in Pieces, and Divided amongſt his Creditors, for want of Payment, is not only Cruel but Barbarous: And *Baldwin* himſelf cannot Quote it without Exclamation (*f*).

The Diſputes, that aroſe afterwards about the Senſe of theſe Laws, obliged them to have their Recourſe to the Lawiers; and this Diſputation or Unwritten Law, framed by the Learned, was not call'd by any peculiar Name, but by the Common one of *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*. Almoſt about the ſame time of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, were Compoſed certain Caſes or Actions, wherein Lawiers conteſted one with another; and this Part of Law was call'd *Actiones Juris*, or the *Actions* or *Caſes at Law*. Thus almoſt at the ſame time, theſe Three Sorts of Laws aroſe, *viz. The Laws of the Twelve Tables*, from theſe Flowed *the Civil Law*, and from the ſame were Compos'd *Caſes at Law*: But the Knowledge of Expounding of all theſe, and the Caſes themſelves, were kept by the College of *Pontifices*, who appointed Yearly thoſe, that Judged Private Perſons; which Cuſtom the People uſed almoſt One Hundred Years. Afterward, when *Appius Claudius* had Propounded and Reduced theſe *Caſes* into Form; *Gnæus Flavius*, his Scribe and the Son of a Libertine, (or of one, whoſe Father was once a Slave) ſtole the Book, and gave it to the People, who accepted ſo Thankfully of the Gift, that he was made Tribune of the Commons, a Senator and *Ædilis Curulis*. This Book was Called *Jus Civile Flavianum*; as the other, *Jus Civile Papyrianum*, altho' *Flavius* added nothing of his own to the ſame. The City increaſing, and there being as yet wanting certain Caſes, not long after *Sextus Ælius* Compoſed other Caſes, and gave a Book, to the People, call'd *Jus Ælianum*. After this, when the Plebeians or Commons came to Diſagree, and ſeparate from the Patricians, they appointed Laws of their own making, which they call'd *Plebiſcita*. After their Return, there

(*d*) Lib. 1. de Oratore. (*e*) De Leg. lib. 2. (*f*) Com. de Leg. 12. Tab. cap. 46.

there being a great Controversy about these, it was thought good to receive them also for Laws; and so it was Enacted, by a Law Preferred by *Hortensius* the *Dictator*. So tho' there was a Difference in the Form of making a Law, called *Lex*, and a *Plebiscitum*; yet the Authority was the same. The *Romans* finding, that it was difficult for the People often to meet, because of their Multitudes, Necessity it self devolved the Care of the Common-Wealth upon the Senate. So the Senate began to interpose, and whatsoever it Resolved, was Observed; and that Law was called *Senatus-consultum*. At the same time, the Magistrates or Prætors also Administrated Justice; and that the People might know, what they would Determine concerning any thing, and to Fore-arm themselves, they Published Edicts, which Edicts of the Prætors constituted the *Jus Honorarium*, so Named from the Honour and Authority of the Prætor. And the Emperor *Hadrian* caused *Salvius Julianus*, one of his Counsellors and an Eminent Lawier, reduce them into Order. But *Justinian*, in his Preface before the *Digests* to the Great Senate, says, That it was the Emperor himself that did it, saying, That what things were every Year Published, by the Prætors in their Edicts, he comprised in one little Book, taking in Excellent *Julian* to that Enterprize; and this was call'd a *Perpetual Edict*, or the *Edictum perpetuum*, and Ordered from henceforth to be a Certain Body of Standing Law, and consisted of One Hundred and Ninety Chapters, and was Confirmed both by Prince and Senate, and afterwards Illustrated by the Commentaries of *Paulus* and *Ulpian*, Two Excellent Lawiers.

The Factions of *Sylla*, *Marius*, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, having changed again the *Roman* Government into a Monarchy, the Authority of the Senate, by Vertue of the *Lex Regia*, passed to the Person of the Emperor, and all that they Ordered, were call'd *Imperial Constitutions*. These Constitutions, which had the Force of Laws, augmented infinitely in the space of 500 Years, that's to say, from the time of *Augustus* till the time of *Justinian*; and at length they, with the Answer of the Lawiers, compleated the *Roman* Law. For, before *Tiberius*'s time, the Lawiers Answered, without any Authority, to the Questions Proposed to them. But after, none had Liberty to give their Responses, but those, who obtain'd it from the Prince; and their Responses, which served as Decisions, make, at this Day, a Part of the Written Law. In the Days of *Diocletian*, and about Ten Years before *Constantine* the *Great*, as some conjecture, there appeared a Collection of these *Imperial Constitutions* in the *Gregorian* and *Hermogenian Codes*: And, they were of great Moment, as it appears by the Use made of them in After-times, tho' they be now lost. All these Constitutions being made by Pagan Princes, the Emperor *Theodosius* II. Compiled his *Code*, in which were Collected such Constitutions as had been made, by the Christian Emperors, from the time of *Constantine* the *Great*. In the *Novel*, which he Published, upon the 15th of *February*, in the Year of our LORD 438, for the Confirmation of his *Code*, he tells us, That the Great Loss, that the Professors of the Law were at, how to Regulate their Studies, was the great Motive to this his Undertaking. For the Books of the Law were so Voluminous, that they knew not where to Begin or Fix; and that proved so great a Discouragement, that he complains, how few in his Time were Eminent in this Study: And therefore he Abolishes all the Laws, that were not con-

tained in it, and Diſcharged all Judges, in their Deciſions, to walk by any other Rules, than what was there, which marvellouſly facilitated the Study of the Law. This *Code* was Univerſally Received and Eſtabliſhed in all the Nations, that were under the Dominion of the *Roman* Empire, till it was Aboliſhed by *Juſtinian*, who made a New Collection and Reformation of the Laws. Theſe Laws of *Juſtinian* are Principally reducible to Two Heads, the *Pandects* and the *Code*: Whereof the Firſt contains the Opinions of Learned Lawiers; and the other, the Decrees of the *Roman* Emperors. As to the *Inſtitutes*, they uſually go along with the *Pandects*, and are only a Compendium, or Uſeful Introduction to Young Beginners: And the *Novels* are a Supplement to the *Code*. The *Pandects* or *Digeſts*, are Written in ſuch a Purity of Language, that ſeveral Critics have ſaid, If the *Latin* Tongue were loſt, it might be found in the Book of *Pandects*. And *Laurentius Valla*, who, of all our Modern Critics, was as able to paſs his Cenſure, in Point of Elegancy and good *Latin*, as any other whatſoever; and whoſe Rigidneſs that way is very handſomely expreſſed in the following Epigram, which was made upon him after his Death,

Nunc poſtquam Manes defunctus Valla *petivit*,
Non audet Pluto *verba* Latina *loqui*.
Juppiter *hunc Cœli dignatus honore fuiſſet*;
Cenſorem Linguæ ſed timet ipſe ſuæ.

Cenſorious *Valla*'s gone to th' *Stygian* Shore,
And *Pluto* dares in *Latin* ſpeak no more.
He had been *Cenſor* to the Gods above,
Had it not been for Fear he'd Cenſur'd *Jove*.

This Critic, I ſay, who had made himſelf ſo Formidable, gives us this Character of the *Pandects*. " I lately read over, ſays he (*g*), Fifty " Books of *Digeſts*, taken out of moſt of the Writings of Lawiers; and " I did it both willingly and with great Admiration. Firſt, becauſe it " is hard to ſay, whether they excel in Diligence or Gravity, Prudence " or Equity, Various Knowledge or Excellency of Language. In the " next Place, every one of thoſe Perfections do ſo abound in all of them, " that it is hard to ſay, in whom they moſt prevail. And this increaſeth the Wonder, that they lived ſome of them, ſome Ages diſtant, " altho' all of them after *Cicero*; and therefore, in ſome Words, they differ " from him, as all do who Wrote after *Virgil* and *Livy*. Of S. *Sulpitius* and *Mutius Scævola*, nothing is extant, altho' of a latter *Scævola* " there be ſomething. As for the moſt Ancient Lawiers therefore, how " Eloquent they were, we cannot Judge, having nothing left us, to " Read, of all they Wrote. But to ſpeak of theſe Writings, that are " come to our Hands, in my Opinion, nothing can be Added or taken " from them, not only in Reſpect of Eloquence, which yet that Subject " doth not greatly bear, but alſo of the Purity and Elegancy of the " *Latin* Stile, without which all Learning is Blind and Illiberal, eſpecially in the Civil Law. Thus much doth *Valla* Write in behalf of their Language. As for their Matter, and the Excellency of that Reaſon, con-

(*g*) De Elegantiis Ling. Lat.

contained in their Writings, the Practice of the Chriſtian World bears Witneſs to it. Yet ſeverals have blamed *Tribonian*, whom *Juſtinian* Employed Principally in this Work, for want of Care, and being too haſty, and not Digeſting, with that Accuracy, a Work of ſo great Import. For, whereas in his Time, the Books of the Law had ſwelled to 2000 Volumes, ſo that they could not be eaſily Read in ſome Years, much leſs Compared, Digeſted and Reconciled; yet *Tribonian*, with his few Aſſiſtants, overcame all theſe Difficulties, and, in Three Years Time, Finiſhed the *Digeſts* and *Inſtitutes*, then Added to the Firſt Draught of the *Code*; which laſt, in all Probability, having been Compoſed too haſtily, was forced to undergo an Emendation, and to come forth in a Second Edition. And doubtleſs the *Digeſt* might likewiſe have been more Correct, had it coſt more Years, and had had *Tribonian*'s Second Care. The Emperor himſelf ſeemed Surpriſed with the Diſpatch; for, before it was undertaken, he Stiles it an Infinite Work, ſuch as none of the former Emperors had Ventured to undertake, or thought poſſible: So, after it was Finiſhed within the Compaſs of Three Years, he plainly owns, that he did not imagine, That it could have been Effected in leſs than Ten. What the Faults are, that are to be found, both in the *Pandects* and *Juſtinian*'s *Code*, the Reader will find in a Learned Preface, and more Learned *Prolegomena* to the *Theodoſian Code*. But this Noble Work of *Juſtinian*'s kept its Ground but a ſhort time, *viz.* To the Reigns of *Baſilius* and *Leo*. For as *Juſtinian* had taken the Liberty, to Abridge and Reform the Laws, that were before him; ſo theſe Emperors Abridged and Reformed his Laws: And their Laws obtained, in the Eaſt, under the Title of the *Baſilic Conſtitutions*, till the Diſſolution of that Empire, as the *Theodoſian Code* had done in the Weſt. At length *Irnerus*, who lived about the Year 1130, having found, by Accident, ſome Fragments of *Juſtinian*'s Books, and having Taught them in the Univerſity of *Boulogne*, where he was Profeſſor, with great Applauſe, was thereby excited to ſearch for the Reſt of them: And having, after a great deal of Enquiry, found the Intire Body of *Juſtinian*'s Laws, as we have them at this preſent, the Emperor *Fredric*, at the Deſire of the Univerſities, Ordered them to be Taught in the Schools; and afterwards Diſcharged any other to be followed. *Italy* and *Germany* ſubmitted to this Ordinance, and afterwards the moſt of the Nations in Chriſtendom. In the mean time, the *Theodoſian Code* could not be found, till, by the great Induſtry and Search of *Cujatius*, it was got and Publiſhed.

We ſhall now proceed to give an Account of the other Magiſtrates, that our Author mentions, as having Power to call the Senate. The Plebeians, having obtained the Magiſtracy to be Communicated to their Body, as we have formerly Obſerved, when they had their Deſire, were Glutted with it, and changed into the other Extreme. For many Plebeians ſtanding for the Office, and uſing their utmoſt Endeavours to be Preferred, they thought none of them Worthy of that Honour, but beſtowed it upon Eminent Patricians only, who appeared as Candidates. This Change of Government hapned in the 310 Year from the Building of the City of *Rome*; and theſe New Magiſtrates were call'd *Tribuni Militum*. At Firſt, they were but Three in Number, afterward aroſe to Six, and at length to Eight. *Pomponius* the Lawier, Writeth, That ſometimes they were Twenty, and ſometimes more, which ſeems Incre-

dible, no other Author agreeing with him: So that *Budæus* (*b*), with Reaſon, believes the Place to be Corrupted from *ſeni* to *viceni*. Theſe Magiſtrates had both the Power and Enſigns of Conſuls: But, in the Hundred and Eighty Eighth Year of the City, they were quite caſt off.

The next Magiſtrate, mentioned by our Author, is the *Prætor*, who was Inveſted in the Magiſtracy, upon this Occaſion. *Camillus* the *Dictator*, having overthrown the *Gaules* at the River *Aniene*, at his Return to *Rome*, was received with Fierce and Impatient Conteſts, betwixt the Senate and Commons, about the Conſulſhip; and retaining his Power, that thereby he might ſerve the Intereſt of the Nobility, an Officer was ſent from the Tribunes, to pull him down from his Seat in the *Forum*, and bring him before them. His Attendants repelling the Officer, ſuch a Noiſe and Tumult followed, as never before had been known, the Multitude crying out, *Pull him down.* Yet he laid not down his Office, but departing to the Senate-Houſe, had a Serious Debate, with the Fathers, about the Matter. And, after great and various Contention, that Party Prevailed, which granted to the Commons, That one of the Conſuls might be Created out of their Body. For this they defired, and obtained of the Commons, to have a *Prætor*, Created Yearly out of the Patrician Order, for Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the City. By this Agreement, a good Underſtanding was revived betwixt the Parties, and continued as long as the Infirmity of the Government could bear it.

Cæſar Octavianus having got the City committed to his Care, and Power given to him to Act what he pleas'd, not long after, *Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Anthony* came into *Italy*, who were met by *Cæſar* about *Bononia*, and, after a Three Days Conference, he entred into a Confederacy with them, which is Famous by the Name of the *Triumvirate*. The Terms of this Combination were,

I. *That* Cæſar, *for the Remainder of the Year, ſhould leave the Conſulſhip to* Venditius, who formerly, in the Social War, when a Boy, was led in Triumph; and, after that, rubbed the Heels of Mules for his Living. Upon which, the following Verſes were ſcattered up and down the City.

Concurrite omnes Augures, Aruſpices.
Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens,
Nam, Mulos qui fricabat, Conſul factus eſt.

II. *That a New Authority of Three Men ſhould be erected, to take away Civil Diſſenſions, which they Three ſhould Execute for Five Years, with Conſular Power* (for the Dictatorſhip was waved, becauſe of a Law lately Preferred by *Anthony*) *with Authority to diſpoſe of all Offices for that Term.*

III. *That* Anthony *ſhould have, as a Province, all* Gaule, *except that of* Narbon, *which* Lepidus *was to have with* Spain: *And to* Cæſar *was* Afric, *with* Sardinia *and* Sicily, *aſſign'd; other Places beyond the Seas being left to another time.*

IV. *They Agreed, That their Enemies ſhould be Deſtroy'd.* But about this Article a great Controverſy aroſe about *Cicero*. For *Anthony* would not meddle, except he, in the Firſt Place, ſhould be Slain. *Lepidus* was content, but *Cæſar* ſtood much againſt it: Yet, on the Third Day, he Aſſen-

(*b*) Lib. 2. ff. de Orig. Juriſ.

Assented, an Exchange being made. For the yielding up *Cicero*, *Lepidus* permitted his Brother *Paulus*; and *Antony*, *L. Cæsar* his Uncle by the Mother-side, to be Proscribed.

Lastly, It was Agreed, *That* Lepidus *should be Consul, the following Year, instead of* Decimus Brutus *designed formerly by* Julius Cæsar. *He Guarding* Rome *and* Italy, *the other Two were to make War upon* Brutus *and* Cassius.

The First Effect of this Triumvirate was a *Proscription* of some Three Hundred Persons of Equestrian and Senatorian Ranks. Tho' the Pretence was to Revenge *Cæsar*'s Death; yet many were Murdered for their Rich Estates; others, out of Malice; and some, for their Convenient Houses and Gardens. Amongst those of Greatest Note, was *Cicero*, the Man most Aimed at by *Antony*, for Opposing him so Vehemently in the Senate. At First, he endeavoured to make his Escape by Sea: But, the Winds being contrary, and because he could not endure the Shaking of the Ship, he returned, saying, *He would Die in his Country often Preserved by him.* Being weary both of his Flight and Life, he came to a Village, a little more than a Mile Distant from the Sea. Here his Servants, Terrified by several Prodigies, partly by Perswasion and partly by Force, put him again in his Litter, and were carrying him back to the Sea, when hearing of those, that came to seek for him, he caused the Litter to be set down, and quietly stretched out his Neck to *Popilius Lænas*, whom formerly, by his Oratory, he had saved from Condemnation; and he, having Cut off his Head and Hands, presented them to *Antony*, who, for his Pains, gave him a great Reward. After the Head had been sufficiently gazed upon by him and his Wife *Fulvia*, (who sat on her Knees, pull'd out the Tongue, and, pricking it with Needles, most Inhumanely shewed her Spite,) it was, to the Grief of all Men, set up in the Pleading-Place or *Rostra*. To such an End came this most Famous Man, the Father of the *Roman* Eloquence.

The next Change of Government, was, from the *Triumviri* to Monarchy, by the Advice of *Mæcenas*. For, from their First shaking off the Monarchical Government, till their Embracing it again under *Augustus*, they were in constant Confusions. Insomuch, that, within the Space of 134 Years, they had Thirty Seven Changes of Government, whereof Fifteen were from Consuls to Tribunes Military, and from Tribunes to Consuls; the Two Grand Ones, from Kings to Consuls, and from Consuls to *Decemviri*; and Twenty Dictatorships, besides Interregnums many an one.

In the XIX. Section, our Author treats of the Order, that the *Præses* of the Senate Observed, in Collecting their Suffrages. The Consuls were First asked; and the Eldest Consul, First. Then they, who were of greatest Honour and Age, and that had been Consuls, as they were call'd by the Consuls, rose next. Then those, who, in Age and Dignity, were next to them. And Lastly, the Young Senators rose, not that they were allowed to give their Sentence or Judgment; but to testify their Concurrence with their Seniors, and their Honour of being Associated with them. Then, after all had given their Sentences, they were Numbred, Pondered, and, what was Approved of, committed to Writing; and each of them were Sworn to their Sentence, and had as much time given them to Deliberate about the same as they pleased; and being asked, they might say what they thought fit. An Instance of

which, we have in *M. Cato*, who, being asked by C. *Cæsar* when he was Conſul, his Opinion in a Matter, which *Cato* thought, had no Relation to the Public, anſwered in a long Oration, endeavouring to Conſume the whole Day with it; and *Cæsar*, ſeeing he was not like to put an end to it, commanded him to Priſon: But, when he ſaw the Senate highly reſenting it, by riſing up, and following him to the Priſon, he ſet him at Liberty. When they were asked their Sentence, they were obliged to riſe up and give it Standing. And if, in giving their Sentence, they comprehended ſeveral Heads, then any of the Aſſembly might require him to *Divide his Sentence (dividere ſententiam)* that's to ſay, to Speak to each Head. Likewiſe they never told, what the Reſolutions of the Senate were, to any. And *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was ſeverely reprehended by the Conſuls, for having imprudently told *Publius Craſſus*, what they had Reſolved ſecretly upon, concerning the Third *Punic* War.

In the XX. Section, our Author treats of thoſe, who had the Power of going into the Senate. For a long time, the Tribunes of the People were not permitted to enter into the Senate; but they had Seats before the Gates, where they diligently Examined the Decrees of the Fathers: And what they did not Approve of, did not paſs; and thoſe they Approved of, they put the Letter T to them: So that they neither could Compel the Senate, nor give their Sentence in the Senate. But by the means of *Icilius*, when *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius* were Conſuls, the Tribunes got the Power of Calling the Senate. And Five Years before this, when *Volumnius* and *Sulpitius* were Conſuls, by the Conſent of the Fathers, they were Admitted, that they might concur with them, in giving their Advice about the Affairs of the Republic. Women were never admitted to come into the Senate, no not in the Times of the Emperors, till the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, who brought in his Mother: But, after the Ignominious Death of this Wicked and Fooliſh Prince, a Decree was made for Excluding them for ever, for the Future. They, who were not of the Senatorian Order, might go into the Senate, providing they had born the Curule Magiſtracy. Before, the Children of Senators had Liberty to go into the Senate with their Fathers, till the time of *Papirius*; at which time, they were Excluded, upon this Occaſion. *Papirius* having gone into the Senate with his Father, and the Senate having Sat a little longer than ordinary, the young Man was asked by his Mother, when the Senate roſe, What they were Debating about? *Papirius* told her, That he durſt not, nor could not Reveal any thing, that paſſed in the Senate. This having raiſed her Curioſity more, ſhe dealt earneſtly with him, to Reveal the Secret to her, and ſaid, By all that was Sacred, it ſhould go no further. *Papirius*, to be quit of her Importunity, diſſembling the Matter, held forth the great Danger he was in, if it ſhould be known, but withal, he would truſt her with the Secret: So he told her, That they were Deliberating, whether or not they ſhould make a Decree, as the *Athenians* had done, That every Man might have Two Wives; or that every Woman might have Two Husbands. This having ſatisfy'd the Mother, away ſhe goes, and tells, under Secrecy, all her Female Acquaintances, what the Senate was doing; and, they having Communicated the Secret to their Acquaintances, the next Day the Senate, when Meeting, was ſurprized with

with the Multitude of Women, who ſtood ſoliciting them, as they went into the Senate, that it ſhould be rather, That one Woman ſhould have Two Men, than, that one Man ſhould have Two Women. The Fathers, having met, knew not what to make of the Womens Petition, till *Papirius* acquainted them of all, that had paſſed betwixt him and his Mother: For which they highly Commended the Young Man; and made a Decree, That, after him, no Senators Children ſhould be admitted into the Senate. And *Papirius* was afterwards known by the Name of *Papirius* Prætextatus, *ob tacendi loquendique in ætate prætextâ prudentiam*, ſays our Author; who likewiſe tells us, That, when Luxury began to prevail amongſt the *Romans*, *C. Cæſar* Ordered *Hælius Cinna*, Tribune of the People, to Prefer a Law, allowing them to Marry whom, and as many Wives as they pleaſed.

In the XXI. Section, our Author Treats of the Manner and Method of Calling the Senate together, with the Form of Diſmiſſing them, and paſſing a *Senatus-conſultum*. When the Public required the Calling of a Senate, there were certain Magiſtrates, who went to their Country-Houſes, and brought them to the City, and were therefore called *Viatores*; having met, they Sacrificed in the Temple, where they met, as we have Obſerved before. Then, by an Edict, they were call'd to the Senate-Houſe, by theſe ſolemn Words, SENATORES QUIBUSQUE IN SENATU SENTENTIAM DICERE LICET; that every Senator might give his Sentence in the Senate. Thereafter their Names were read out, and they ſeverely Reprimanded, who were Abſent, if they had not ſent a relevant Excuſe: But all Senators, that were above the Age of Sixty, were neither compelled to come, nor obliged to make any Excuſe. The Senators having taken their Places in the Senate, the *Præſes* told them, what they were to give their Opinions of, to make their *Senatus-conſultum*. The *Senatus-conſultum* was made either by ſeparating them, as they Agreed or Diſagreed in their Sentiments; which the *Præſes* did in theſe Words, QUI HOC CENSETIS, ILLUC TRANSITE, QUI ALIA OMNIA, IN HANC PARTEM: *Ye, who are for this, go thither; and ye who are of the contrary Opinion, go to that Part*, pointing to each of them their Places: Or if the thing was Dubious, by asking every one his Sentence. Then that, which was Approved of, was carried to the Feet of the Conſul, *Prætor*, or any other who Preſided, and was Subſcribed there with the Day, Place and Name of him in whoſe Favours it was granted, at whoſe Deſire, and the Names of thoſe that were Preſent. And this *Senatus-conſultum* was Firm, Stable and Fixt, if not impeded by a Law or Interceſſion. It was ſtopt by the Law, if it was before the Riſing or after Setting of the Sun, or if the Determined Number of Senators were not preſent. Wherefore any Senator, that deſigned to put a Stop to it, had the Liberty, when requiring their Sentences, to cauſe the Senate to be Numbred: Now what the due Number was both in *Romulus* and *Auguſtus*'s Time, has been ſet down before. A Stop was likewiſe put to a *Senatus-conſultum*, either by the Interceſſion of him who had the greateſt Power, or an Equal Power with him who craved the *Senatus-conſultum*; or by the Tribunes of the People. For which Reaſon, this Clauſe was Added to them, SI QUIS INTERCESSERIT, SENATUI PLACERE AUTORITATEM PERSCRIBI, ET DE EA RE AD SENA. PO-

PULUMQUE REFERRI, when the People Approved of any *Senatus-conſultum* that related to themſelves. And the People, by their Tribunes, gave their Aſſent, in theſe Words, QUOD SENATUS MAXIMA PARS CENSEAT QUI ASSIDETIS, ID VOLUMUS JUBEMUSQUE. After all was done in the Senate, the *Præſes* Diſmiſſed them, in theſe Words, NIHIL VOS MORAMUR PATRES CONSCRIPTI. In Ancient times, the Conſuls had the Power either of Suppreſſing or Publiſhing any *Senatus-conſultum*. But, in the Second Separation of the People from the Patricians, *M. Horatius* and *L. Valerius* the Conſuls, Preferred a Popular Law, by which it was Ordered, That the *Senatus-conſulta* ſhould be carried to the *Ædiles* of the People, who were to lodge them in the Temple of *Ceres*; but they were afterwards tranſferred to the Treaſury. Theſe *Ædiles* were Firſt call'd, the *Miniſters and Aſſiſtants of the Tribunes of the People.* For the Commons, having got from the Senate a Confirmation of this Office, obtained further, that they might Yearly Chooſe, out of their own Body, Two to be as Miniſters of the Tribunes, who ſhould have the Power to Judge certain Cauſes, referred to them from the Tribunes, and take Care of Public Buildings and Proviſions. *Feſtus* ſays, the *Ædilis* was ſo call'd *quod facilis ad eum Plebis aditus eſſet* But *Varro* and *Dionyſius* ſeem to give a better Etymology of the Word, who ſay, That they were Named *Ædiles* from *Ædes*, the *Buildings*, of which they took Care, or thoſe particularly wherein the *Plebiſcita* and *Senatus-conſulta* were kept, of which they had the Overſight. A *Senatus-conſultum* was not a perpetual Law, but of one Year's Duration, as *Dionyſius* Obſerves in the Year 281.

In the XXII. Section, our Author Treats of the Habit of the Senators, of which we have ſpoke already.

In the XXIII. Section, he Treats of the *Cenſus* and Cenſors. *Servius Tullius*, the Sixth King of *Rome*, Firſt Inſtituted the *Cenſus*. But in the 66 Year from the Baniſhment of *Tarquin*, and the 311 of the City, there having been no *Cenſus* for Seventeen Years, for that the Conſuls were neceſſarily diverted, from that Work, by more urgent Buſineſs; the Senate procured, out of their own Order, Two peculiar Officers to be Created, who were call'd Cenſors, becauſe according to their *Cenſio* or *Eſtimation*, the People was Ceſſed, ſaith *Varro*; or becauſe every one accounted himſelf worth ſo much, *Quanti illi cenſuiſſent*, as they Judged or Eſtimated, according to *Feſtus*. The *Cenſus* of a Senator was Eighty Thouſand Seſtertians, and was Double to that of a Knight: Not, that this was conſtant; for it was leſs in *Auguſtus*'s Time, and, as our Author ſhows, many Eminent Senators were not Worth ſo much, as likewiſe ſeveral Knights. Thus *Martial* ſays of himſelf,

Sum fateor, ſemperque fui, Caliſtrate, *pauper*,
Sed non obſcurus, nec male notus Eques.

At the Beginning, the Cenſors were Created for Five Years, becauſe, according to *Servius* his Conſtitution, the People were to be Ceſſed at every *Luſtrum*: But their Dignity and Power ſo increaſing, that they ſeemed of too long a Continuance; Nine Years after, in the Three Hundred and Twentieth of the City, by a Law, which *Mamercus Æmilius* the *Dictator* Preferred, the Duration of their Office was confined with-

within the Term of One Year and an Half, tho' their Office, at First, was only to take an Estimate of Mens Estates; and Describing all Public and Private Riches, to distribute the People, according to their Wealth, into *Classes* and Centuries; yet afterwards they came to have Inspection into Manners also. For they, upon Misdemeanour, *put out of the Senate*, *took away Public Horses*, and *cast out of the Tribes*. The former Kind of Punishment was Inflicted upon Senators; the Second, upon *Equites*; and the Last, upon meer Plebeians. Their Removing Senators, was by passing them by, at the New Election: For such Senators, saith *Festus*, as were passed by in former Times, were liable to no Disgrace, because as the Kings Chose, and Substituted whom they pleased; so, after them, the Consuls and Tribunes Military, such as they had greatest Interest in, First Patricians, and then after Plebeians; till by the *Tribunitial Law* of *Ovinius*, it was Ordained, That the Censors, out of every Order and Rank, should Elect the most Worthy into the Senate. Whence it came to pass, that such as were passed by, or removed, were Noted with Ignominy. As for the Disgrace they put upon *Equites*, it was the Custom for every *Eques*, at the Public *Census*, to appear, before the Censors, with their Horses in their Hands: If they Approved of them, they bad them pass by, and lead away their Horse; if they Determined otherwise, they took away the Horse, and commanded him to be Sold. The Third Note of Disgrace concerned the Plebeians, whom they either removed from their own Tribe into another less Honourable, or made them *Ærarii*, and Registrated them in the Tables of the *Cærites*. *Gellius* telleth us, what was meant by the *Tabulæ Cæritum*. *The Cærites* (Inhabitants of *Cære* in *Tuscany*, once call'd *Agylla*) says he (*i*), *we understand to have been First of all made* Municipales, *without any Right of Suffrage; and it was granted them, that they might receive the Honour of being Free of* Rome, *without any Trouble or Burden, for that they received the* Sacra (*or Idols*) *of the* Romans, *and preserved them in the* Gallic *War. Hence were those called* Tabulæ Cæritum, vice versâ, *wherein the Censors caused such to be Registrated, as they Deprived of the Right of Suffrage.* Altho' these several Sorts of Punishment respected the several Ranks of Men; yet sometimes those of Higher Degree tasted of all, or most of them. So that Senators might not only be passed by, and *Equites* deprived of their Horses, but lose their Tribes also, and be reduced to the Condition of the *Ærarii*.

This Office of the Censorship, being committed to the Prudent Management of Able Persons, became Effectual to the Repression of such Vice as fell not under the particular Cognizance of Penal Laws. Private Faults and Domestic Miscarriages were, by them, Noted with such Actions sometimes, as now would not simply incurr the Censure of Precise Illegality or Indecency. Some of their Questions, upon Oath, were such as these, *Hast thou a Wife according to thy Mind?* To which one once making a Jesting Answer, was made an *Ærarius*. A certain Man, Yawning before the *Censors*, had been Punished in that sort, but that he Swore, He did it unwillingly, being troubled with that Disease, which the *Latines* call'd *Oscedo*. *P. Scipio Nasica* and *M. Pompilius* being Censors, finding a Knight very Fat and Compt, whose Horse was exceeding Lean and ill Favoured, asked him the Reason of that Difference. To

(*i*) Lib. 16. cap. 13.

which he Anſwered, *Becauſe he looked to himſelf, but* Statius *to his Horſe.* For which Irreverent Anſwer he was Regiſtrate, amongſt the *Ærarii*, according to the Cuſtom. Now *Statius* was a Servile Name given by the Ancients to moſt Slaves. The Cenſors were wont alſo to take away Horſe from very Big and Corpulent Men, as unfit for Service: But this was no Puniſhment, only taking away the Employment without Ignominy. Beſides theſe Employments, the Cenſors let to Farm the Cuſtoms, and ſent out their Conſtitutions, thro' the Provinces, call'd *Leges Cenſoriæ*, they erected Public Buildings, made other Public Works, and took Care for their Repair: As alſo of the High Ways in and about the City Firſt, and then in other Places; they alſo Provided for the Expence of Public Sacrifices. But not only were there Cenſors at *Rome*, but the Colonies alſo had their Sub-Cenſors, who gave Account to the other, what Numbers of Men, and what Wealth they found in the ſeveral Places, which, upon Information, was Regiſtrated in the Public Tables.

After our Author has treated of the *Cenſus* and Cenſors, he concludes his Obſervations upon the Senate and Senators. And here I cannot paſs over the great Honour, done to Phyſicians, by the Emperor *Gratian*, who, amongſt his Edicts, Publiſhed one to *Vindicianus*, his *Comes Archiatrorum*, in Behalf of the Phyſicians of his Houſhold, whereby he confirmed to them Two Privileges. The Firſt was (*k*) that of the *Senatores adlecti*, who enjoy'd the Dignity and Prerogative of Senators, but were not ſubject to the Burdens belonging to that Order: And this Immunity he extends alſo to their Heirs; as on the contrary, if ſuch Senators, as were obliged to be Prætors, Died before the Exhibition of the Public Games, their Heirs were bound to be at the Expence. The Second Privilege, was, That, if theſe *Palatine Archiatri* arrived at the Dignity of *Comites*, which uſually they did, then they ſhould be Excuſed from ſordid Offices or Employments, as were ſome others of the ſame Degree. This *Vindicianus*, to whom the Edict is Directed, wrote a Book of Medicinal Obſervations for the Uſe of *Valentinian* and his Sons. As to the Title here given him, *viz. Comes Archiatrorum*, there are Three different Opinions about it. The Firſt is, that of *Accurſius* (*k*), who Tranſlates *Archiater Prince of Phyſicians*, or *the Firſt Phyſician* Ἀρχίατρος, or *quaſi* ἀρχὸς τῶν ἰατρῶν. This Opinion of *Accurſius* is followed by the Tranſlators of *Galen* and by ſeveral Learned Men, who have rendered the ſame Word, by *Medicus primarius*. *Mercurialis* was the Firſt, that oppoſed this Opinion of *Accurſius* and maintained that *Archiater*, ſignify'd *the Prince's Phyſician*, (τῦ ἄρχοντος ἰατρὸς) And the Reaſon he gave, was, That no Author, either *Greek* or *Latin*, made uſe of the Word *Archiater* before the Time of the *Roman* Emperors. And *Andromachus*, who lived under *Nero*, is the Firſt, who had this Title given him; neither is he ſimply called *Archiater*, but *Archiater* to *Nero*. And if *Demetrius* and *Magnus*, (who are call'd *Archiaters*, by the ſame Author that ſpeaks of *Andromachus*, and had that Title under the *Antonins*) had not been Phyſicians to theſe Emperors, there is no Reaſon, why they ſhould have that Title preferable to *Archigenes*, and *Soranus*, and a great many other Eminent Phyſicians, who were Cotemporary with them, and more Famous than they. *Alciat* ſeems to ſtrike a Medium between theſe

(*k*) Lib. 12. de Medicis & Profeſ. Cod. Theod. Dat. 18. Kal. Octob. (*l*) Not. in Cod. Tit. de Prof. & Med.

theſe Two Opinions: For he thinks (*m*) that *Archiater* does really ſignify *the Prince of Phyſicians*, becauſe he is *the Phyſician of the Prince*, and therefore Eſteemed above all the other Phyſicians; but it does not from thence follow, that ἀρχίατρος, ſays this Learned Lawier, is formed from τῶ ἀρχῶ ἰατρὸς *Cujas*, *Zwinger*, *Caſaubon*, *Mattius*, *Voſſius*, *Godfrey* and *Atteſerra* are of *Mercurialis*'s Opinion. Of *Accurſius*'s Mind are *Tanaquil Faber*, *Beroaldus*, *Julius Alexandrinus*, *Guido Pancirollus*, *Vives Cagnatus*, *Gaſper Hoffman*, *Meibomius* and *M. Meinage*. The Reaſonings of thoſe Learned Men are to be found in *M. le Clerc*'s *Hiſtory of Medicine*: But it ſhall ſuffice for our Purpoſe, to Tranſcribe what the Learned *M. Fileſac* has ſaid upon this Subject. "It would appear, ſays he (*n*), that "there were Two Sorts of Archiaters, that Served in the Imperial Pa- "lace, and of which the Law, that we have Cited, makes Mention. "The Firſt are call'd *Archiatri Sacri Palatii*, *intra penetralia Regalis aulæ "florentes*, as the *Theodoſian Code* ſpeaks: And theſe are the ſame, to "whom the Emperors gave Two Hundred and Fifty Thouſand *Seſter- "tians*, (which is about Five and Twenty Thouſand *Livres*) of Yearly "Penſion, as we Learn from *Pliny* (*o*). The other Archiaters Practi- "ſed Medicine in the Cities, as is Proven by ſome Laws in the *Code*, "which we have already Cited, and particularly by the Sixth Law of "the Tenth Book, *Tit.* 42. and by the Ninth Law of the ſame Book. "It is of theſe laſt Archiaters, that S. *Ambroſe* ſpeaks, Epiſt. 64. and "S. *Auguſtine*, Epiſt. 67, where there is *Architeater* for *Archiater*. There "is another Fault in the 263 Epiſtle, where we read *Arriater* for *Ar- "chiater*. S. *Chryſoſtome*, Epiſt. 38. and 81. ſpeaks likewiſe of one *Hy- "metius* an *Archiater*. We have formerly Obſerved, that there were "Two Orders, or Two *Claſſes* of theſe Archiaters. The Firſt were "thoſe, that were deſtined for each City, by the Laws of the Empe- "rors: So that a little City was only to have Five; a Greater, Seven; "and a Metropolis, Ten. S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his *Oration in Praiſe "of his Brother* Cæſarius, ſays, That theſe laſt were eſtabliſhed for "Teaching of Medicine, in their Country. The Second Claſs was of "thoſe Phyſicians, that were call'd Young Phyſicians, of whom *Sym- "machus* ſpeaks, when he ſays (*p*) *That the Law had Ordered, that the "Firſt, in the Art, ſhould Judge of the Knowledge of thoſe, that were Young: "This was the Law of the Emperors* Valentinian *and* Valens, *and is inſerted "in the* Theodoſian Code, Lib. 3. Tit. 3. *and in the* Juſtinian Code, Lib. "10. Tit. 52. Perhaps ſome of the Archiaters alwiſe Accompanied "the Prince, and the others did not ſee him, but when they were "deſired: And theſe laſt had their Reſidence, each of them, in the "City that was aſſigned to them. But to return to the Law, it tells "us elſewhere, that the *Archiaters* attained to a very conſiderable De- "gree of Honour, which was that of *Comitives of the Firſt Order*, that's "to ſay, they were *Counts of the Firſt Order*, who were equal to *Vicars* "and *Dukes*, which were the greateſt Dignities in the *Roman* Empire. "There were appointed, for the Eaſt, *Vicars* for the Provinces of *Aſia*, "*Pontus*, *Thrace* and *Macedonia*; and for the Weſt, for *Italy*, *Afric* "and *Illyrium*. There were likewiſe Dukes in *Egypt* and *Thrace*, for "the Eaſt. And in the *Pannonias*, *Sequanic*, *Armorica*, &c. and the Ar-

(*m*) In Caſſiodori Formul. Comitis Archiatrorum. (*n*) Vid. Jo. Fileſ. Seleſt. lib. 1. cap. 17. (*o*) Lib. 29. cap. 1. (*p*) Lib. 10. Epiſt. 40.

" chiaters were equal in Dignity, as we have ſaid, to theſe Dukes and " Vicars. S. *Auguſtine* (*q*) ſpeaks alſo of a Phyſician, that was *Proconſul* of " *Afric*, and who was well Skill'd in Mathematics and in Caſting of " Horoſcopes. S. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks likewiſe of one, *Theophile*, a Phy- " ſician and Count (*r*).

" The Dukes and Vicars, as well as the Counts, had the Title of " *Spectabiles*, and they had the Second Rank in the Empire. *Caſſiodore*, " ſpeaking of them ſays (*ſ*), *Comitivam tibi primi ordinis ab illa indictione* " *Majeſtatis favore largimur, ut Conſiſtorium noſtrum, ſicut rogatus ingrederis,* " *ita moribus laudatus exornes, quando vicinus honor eſt Illuſtribus, dum alter* " *medius non habetur.* For there were but few, that were call'd *Illuſtres*, " and was only given to thoſe, who were the Principal Magiſtrates, as " to the Præfect of the *Prætorium*, the Præfect of the City, the *Magiſter* " *militum*, the Queſtors, &c. The *Spectabiles* were the next. Laſtly, " we muſt Obſerve, upon what *Caſſiodore* ſays here, that theſe Counts " of the Firſt Order were call'd *Conſiſtorian Counts*, and that this Title " conſequentially was given to the Archiaters, who acquired the Comi- " tive of the Firſt Order.

In the XXIV. and XXV. Sections, our Author Treats of the Equeſtrian Order. *Romulus*, as we have Obſerved, inſtituted Three Centuries of *Equites*, Knights or Horſe-Men, whereof one from himſelf was Named *Ramnenſis*; Another from *Titus Tatius*, *Tatienſis*; and the Third, from *Lucanio* or *Lucus*, *Luceris*. Under *Romulus* and the Kings, they were call'd alſo *Celeres*, *Flexumines* and *Troſſuli*. Afterwards *Tarquinius Priſcus* added Three Hundred more, and ſo there continued to be Six Hundred *Equites*. But tho' they were in the Common-Wealth from the Beginning; yet they had no Peculiar Order, Authority or Rank, till the Law of *C. Gracchus*, which we have mentioned before, and by which their Reputations thence forward increaſed, with various Succeſs till *Cicero*'s Time, who, boaſting himſelf of this Order, procured it ſuch Honour, that, from his Conſulſhip, it became to be a Peculiar Order in the State, (before being included in the Plebeian, tho' it had a Diſtinction by way of Service) being added to the Senatorian and Plebeian, wreſting from the other a Communion in the greateſt Offices and Places. Tho' Patricians might ſtill be Diſtinguiſhed in Reference to Families; yet all Dignities being Common to the reſt with them, ſuch Plebeians, as could riſe to be Senators, Conſtituted with the other Senatorian Rank, (which included the Patrician, tho' the Patrician not it) and was thenceforth Diſtinct from the Plebeian, which ſtill contained the *Equites*. Then, as was ſaid, the *Equites*, by the Means of *Gracchus* and *Cicero* broke out, from amongſt the Plebeians, into a Rank of their own.

They had Two Solemn Appearances before the People, every Year. The Firſt was Inſtituted by *Romulus*, in the Month of *February*, in the Feaſt of the *Lupercalia*, which, *Plutarch* ſays, was of Old the Feaſt of Shepherds or Herdſmen; and that it was much like that of the *Lycieans* in *Arcadia*. At this Feaſt, the *Equites*, and ſeveral Young Noblemen, and ſome Magiſtrates that Governed them, ran Naked thro' the City, ſtriking in Sport, them they found in their Paſſage, with Leathern Thongs,

(*q*) Confeſ. lib. 4. cap. 3. (*r*) Ad Olympiadem Diaconiſſam, Epiſt. 16. (*ſ*) Lib. 6. cap. 12. in formula Comitivæ primi ordinis.

Thongs, Hair and all on, to make them give Way. And many Noble Women, as well as others, went on purpoſe to ſtand in their Way, and put forth their Hands to be Stricken; perſwading themſelves, that, being with Child, they ſhould have Good Labour; or being Barren, it would cauſe them ſpeedily to Conceive: The other was by *Q. Fabius Rutilianus*, in Honour of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, to whom they aſcribed the Delivery of the City, in the 257 Year from the Building of it. At this, all the *Equites* Marched, according to their Centuries and Tribes, from the Temple of *Mars* without the City, till the Capitol, as if they had juſt been come from Battle, Crown'd with Laurels; and ſometimes there would have been Five Thouſand Men, carrying the Spoils they had taken from their Enemies. The *Equites* were likewiſe obliged to appear in the *Forum* or Mercat Place, after ſome Years Service, with their Horſes in their Hands, before the Cenſors, who asked their Names, and under whom they Served: And then ſaid to them, TUNE MILITIAS OMNES JUXTA DISCIPLINAM ABSOLVISTI? *Have you not performed all your Military Duties, according to the Diſcipline of War?* And as they found they had Behaved, ſo they were Rewarded or Diſgraced. *Pompey* the *Great*, being Asked this Queſtion by the Cenſors *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, Anſwered, *That he had done it under himſelf, who was Commander in Chief.* The *Equites*, in the Theatre, ſat mixed with the People, till the Time of *M. Otho*, who ſeparate them from the People, which ſo incenſed the People againſt him, that they fell a Hiſſing him at his Firſt Appearance after this Order; and the *Equites* Applauding him, they had almoſt gone by the Ears together, had it not been for *Cicero*, who appeaſed the People by his Eloquence.

In the XXVI. and XXVII. Sections, our Author Treats of the Plebeian Order. All thoſe were reckoned in the Plebeian Order, who had not either Fourty or Eighty Thouſand *Seſtertians*, whether they were of a Senatorian or Equeſtrian Birth; for the *Cenſus* had no Reſpect to the Dignity, but to the Order. This was the Reaſon, that the Plebeians were often, by the Wars, reduced to great Hardſhips and Straits: And, having nothing but their Suffrages or Votes to diſpoſe of, they very frequently ſold them to the Richer Sort, who were Ambitious of Places; and often followed them thro' the City for to get a Dinner, Supper, Clothes, or what elſe they could conveniently ſpare to them, which makes *Horace* ſay,

Non ego ventoſæ Plebis ſuffragia venor
Impenſis cœnarum, & tritæ munere veſtis.

This great Poverty of theirs made them ſeveral times Revolt, as we have formerly Obſerved. Yet notwithſtanding of this their Poverty, they were the Body of the City, as the Senate was the Soul of it: And, from time to time, they obtained very great Privileges and Power under their Kings, *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Hoſtilius*, *Ancus Marcius*, as we have already Remarked. *Servius Tullius* Protected them againſt the Encroachment of the Patricians; and, without their Conſent, nothing could be done either in War or Peace. That which gave the Firſt Beginning to that Rampant Liberty, of which they were afterwards Poſſeſſed, was ſeveral Laws, Preferred by *Valerius Poplicola* the Conſul, ſo call'd from

his Flattering of the People, as *Sigonius* has ſhown ; and not *Publicola*, as he is commonly call'd by Hiſtorians. For, by one Law, he gave to an Accuſed Perſon, leave to Appeal from the Conſuls to the People. By Another, he made it Death for any one, to take upon him an Office of Magiſtracy, without the People's Order. A Third gave Relief to Poor Citizens, by taking away the Payment of Tribute. Another Puniſhed Diſobedience towards the Conſuls, and appointed the Mulct, to be the Price of Five Oxen and Two Sheep : The Price of a Sheep was Ten *Oboli* ; and One Hundred, the Value of an Ox. For, at that time, the Uſe of Money was but rare amongſt the *Romans* ; Wealth conſiſting in Plenty of Cattel. Hence Riches were afterwards call'd *Peculia*, from *Pecus* ; and, upon the Ancient Money, an Ox, Sheep or Hog was Stamped, which gave it the Name of *Pecunia* : And hence they impoſed upon their Sons, ſays *Plutarch*, the Names of *Suillii*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii* and *Porcii*. *Valerius* made another Law, which gave Power to any Man, to Kill him unheard that Affected the Supreme Power, if he could Demonſtrate the Crime. And Laſtly, he made a Law for the Creation of Two Queſtors or Public Treaſurers, as *Plutarch* ſays. For it being Neceſſary, that the People ſhould contribute Money, for the Maintenance of the Wars, he would neither undertake the keeping of it himſelf, nor commit the Care of it to his Friends ; neither thought he it Convenient, that the Public Money ſhould be kept in a Private Houſe : Therefore he made the Temple of *Saturn* the *Ærarium* or Treaſury, and cauſed the People to chuſe out Two Young Men to be Queſtors. What *Sempronius Gracchus* did for raiſing their Power higher, has been told before. After theſe Laws were made in their Favours, they gradually crept into the Magiſtracy. In 330 Year of the City, upon the *Ides* of *May*, *Q. Pætelius*, *C. Duelius*, *Sp. Oppius*, all Plebeians, were Choſen amongſt the *Decemviri*. But notwithſtanding of the Plebeians having got theſe Three Men of their own Order, Choſen amongſt them ; yet they deſervedly were overthrown by the Plebeians, for the Abominable Act of *Appius Claudius* the Principal *Decemvir*, which hapned thus.

There was one *L. Virginius*, a Plebeian, who had a moſt Beautiful Daughter ; the Maid being but Young, and at School near the *Forum* or Mercat-Place, *Appius*, as he paſſed that way, fell in Love with her in ſuch a Meaſure, as by no means could he allay his Brutiſh Paſſion. Marry her he could not, being a Plebeian ; neither could he hope to obtain her for his Concubine : And there remained therefore no other Way for him to Enjoy her, than by procuring *M. Claudius*, one of his Clients, to challenge her as his Slave ; ſo that the Matter being brought before him to Judgment, he might Judge her ſo to be. *Claudius* laid his Claim, by Affirming, That ſhe was the True and Natural Daughter of his Slave ; and that the Wife of *Virginius* now Dead, her ſelf being Barren, procured the Child, and brought it up for her own, which tho' he and others knew well enough ; yet being young, he had not Opportunity till now, to Right himſelf. The Pretence was ſo Impudent, as raiſed the Indignation of all Perſons. *Numitor*, the Maid's Uncle by her Mother, and *Icilius* the Son of *Icilius*, one of the Firſt Tribunes of the People, to whom ſhe was already Contracted, ſufficiently evidenced the Truth. But *Appius*, being bent upon his Luſtful Deſign, would hear no Reaſon ; and, had not a Tumult hapned out of the

the Indignation of the Multitude, would have given her up into the Hands of *Claudius*, till ſuch time as her Father could be ſent for from the Army, to Defend her Cauſe. Being hardly drawn to put off the Matter till the next Day, and not giving any more time, he Wrote to *Algidum*, where the Camp then lay, to hinder *Virginius* from coming; bidding *Antonius*, Commander of that Legion, to Confine him, leſt he ſhould hear any thing of his Daughter. But *Numitor* and the Brother of *Icilius* prevented the Letters; and *Virginius*, pretending the Death of a near Relation, getting Leave to depart, thro' By-ways returned to the City, fearing a Purſuit after the Arrival of the Letters, which accordingly hapned, but he thus evaded it.

Virginius was then preſent, in the Morning, to the great Aſtoniſhment of *Appius*, when his Daughter was Commanded to be brought forth. He proved the Maid to be his own Daughter, and no Suppoſititious Brood. But *Appius*, a Man of no great Natural Abilities, Blinded by the Greatneſs of his Power, and Inflamed by the Exceſs of his Paſſion, neither conſidered the Defence of *Virginius*, nor was moved by the Bitter Tears of the Virgin, being angry at the Compaſſion, that the By-ſtanders ſhowed for the Maid, interrupting thoſe that ſpoke in her Behalf, he told them, That this was not the Firſt time he had had Knowledge of this Matter. For that *Claudius* his Father, being a Client to their Family, had committed him, yet a Boy, when he died, to his Protection. In the Time of his Guardianſhip, he ſaid, it had been cleared to him, how *Numitoria* had procured the Girle of *Claudius* his Slave: But he thought it more convenient to let the Matter reſt, till *Claudius* was grown up, either to take or ſell her, as he ſhould think beſt. Since he came into Employment, he had not meddled with his Clients Affairs: But he himſelf, it ſeemeth, making an Inventary of his Goods; and having Notice of this Slave, now challenged his Right: And accordingly he both Witneſſed and Judged him to be the Right Lord and Owner of her. Great were the Outcries and Lamentations, that were made both by the Virgin's Relations, her Father, her ſelf and the By-ſtanders. But *Appius* Commanded all to depart, and gave Order to *Claudius* to take Poſſeſſion of his Slave. *Virginius*, ſeeing there was no Way, but to yield to the Tyrant's Luſt, if his Daughter lived, deſired he might ſpeak with her a little aſide, as to take his Farewel. This being granted, he drew her, hanging upon him and pitifully bewailing her Condition, towards a Butcher's Stall, whoſe Knife taking into his Hands, he ſaid, *Daughter, I will ſend thee to our Anceſtors, both Free, and of Honeſt Repute; for the Tyrant will not ſuffer thee to be either here*; and therewith he Stabbed her. Then, with the Bloody Knife in his Hand, he ran thro' the City, calling the People to their Liberty; and, coming to the Gate, rode Poſt to the Army, a Company of Four Hundred Plebeians following after him. In the ſame Poſture he came to the Camp, calling the Soldiers together, and holding up in his Hand the Knife, which, with his Clothes, was all Bloody. Likewiſe he took Occaſion, from his own Misfortune, to let them ſee, in what Condition their Liberty ſtood; and, with urgent Reaſons, perſwaded them to Revolt from the Ten, or *Decemviri*. They being Conſcientious as to their *Sacramentum* or Military Oath, whereby they had Sworn, not to forſake their Leaders; he told them, That they were diſcharged from any Obligation, becauſe

the Law, for the Oath, ſuppoſed the Captains ſhould be Created according to the Laws, which the Ten were not, having Uſurped the Power, ever ſince the laſt time, from the *Comitia*. Being ſatisfy'd herewith, the Army departed, ſome few Centurions only remaining, and took up their Station in the *Aventine* Mount; and the next Day, Fortifying the Camp, choſe Ten Captains to Command them. Preſently after, there came a great Party from *Fidenæ*, and Joined them; and they chooſing alſo Ten Men out of their Body to the Twenty, the whole Matter, now Contended for, was referred. *Appius*, in the mean while having gone, by Force, to ſuppreſs the Tumult he had raiſed in the City, was Overpowered; and now perceiving, that moſt of the Odium lay upon himſelf, as the Principal Cauſe, he kept himſelf in his Houſe. *Sp. Oppius*, having Aſſembled the Fathers, required, That the Revolters might be Puniſhed. And *L. Cornelius* moved, That they ſhould all be remanded back to their Charges, which if they Obeyed, the Ring-leaders only were to be Puniſhed; but, if they refuſed, the Senate then ſhould conſider, how all thoſe might be dealt with, who had betrayed their Truſt. But the Fathers were too ſenſible of the preſent Grievances, to liſten to ſuch a Motion; but made Peace with the Army, on Condition, That the ſame Form of Government ſhould return, as was in being before the Creation of the *Decemviri*.

Valerius Potitus and *M. Horatius Barbatus*, both Inheritors of Popularity, were Created Conſuls, who (according to their Promiſe to the Commons, when they procured them to lay down their Arms, That they would, by all Means poſſible, procure their Benefit) Preferred diverſe Popular Laws to the Regret of the Patricians. One was, That ſuch Laws, as the Commons Enacted, ſhould paſs in the *Comitia* of the *Curiæ*, wherein they were more prevalent than the Patricians After this, the Tribunes, whereof *Virginius* was one, thought fit to call the *Decemviri* to an Account. *Virginius* being appointed the Accuſer of *Appius*, inſiſted moſt, ſaith *Livy*, upon that Law, which Commanded the Defendant to have Liberty, till ſuch time as his or her Slavery was Proved; which *Appius* had gone about to violate in his Daughter's Caſe: Before the Trial, being committed to Priſon, for that no Bail would be taken. The Reſult of this was, that *Appius* was found Dead in his own Chamber, as ſome thought, ſecretly made away by the Tribunes; but as they and others gave out, having Hanged himſelf. After *Sp. Oppius* (the Plebeian formerly mentioned) as next to him in Guilt, was Accuſed; and, being Condemned, Died the ſame Day, in Priſon, by his own Hands. The other Eight Baniſhed themſelves: And *Claudius* the pretended Maſter of *Virginius*, was Driven out after them. With this Juſtice the State was ſatisfy'd, and Indemnity given to all others.

After our Author has ſhown, who were the Firſt Plebeians, that were amongſt the *Decemviri*, he gives an Account of thoſe, that were Firſt in the other Magiſtracies. *L. Sextilius* was the Firſt Conſul, in the 387 Year from the Building of the City. Never any Plebeian was made a *Tribunus Militum* with a Conſular Power. The Firſt *Dictator* was *C. Marcius Rutilius*, in the 397 Year from the Building of the City. *C. Licinius* was made *Magiſter Equitum*, in the Year 344. Three Plebeians were made Queſtors with one Patrician, in the Year 388. The *Ædiles Curules* were, by their Firſt Inſtitution, promiſcuouſly to be Cho-

Choſen, either out of the People or Patricians. The Firſt *Prætor* was *Q. Publius Philo.* The Cenſors were alwiſe Created out of the Patricians, till the Year 402, that *C. Marcius Rutilius* was made Cenſor. By the Inſtitution of *Numa*, the Patricians only were allowed to be of the Prieſthood: And therefore the *Decemviri* Ordered, That no Patrician ſhould Marry with a Plebeian, for fear that their Children might Claim to the Prieſthood, and thereby *Numa*'s Laws be Violated. But this Law was afterwards Abrogated by the *Lex Canuleia*, in the Year 309, by which it was permitted to the Patricians and Plebeians to Marry promiſcuouſly with one another. When the Plebeians came into the Prieſthood, we have formerly ſhown. Likewiſe by *Numa*'s Inſtitution, the *Pontifices* were made by the *Pontifices*; the Augurs, by the Augurs; and all the other Prieſts by their Colleagues; only the *Pontifex maximus* was made by the People. This Method of making the Prieſts, continued till the Year 608, that *C. Licinius Craſſus* Transferred the Power to the People. Afterwards, when it came to be in Deſuetude amongſt the People, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, Tribune of the People, Preferred a Law for Renewing of it, in the Year 649. But *Sylla* Abrogated this Law, and reſtored the Power to the Prieſts again: Yet after *Sylla*, the People got Liberty once more. At length, after the Tribunes of the People had arrived to ſuch a Power, that they not only Aſſembled the People, but likewiſe Preferred Laws, Executed their ſawcy Decrees againſt the Magiſtrates themſelves, Commanding the Conſuls to be carried to Priſon, and Baniſhing the Patricians: Notwithſtanding of all this, I ſay, they reſigned up all their Power to the Emperors, by the *Lex Regia.* So that in *Juvenal*'s Time, they had only Liberty to be at the Public Games and Shows.

-----Jampridem, ex quo Suffragia nulli
Vendimus, effugit curas. Nam, qui dabat olim
Imperium, Faſces, Legiones, omnia, nunc ſe
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem & Circenſes.-----

In the XXVIII. and XXIX. Sections, our Author Treats of the Nobility. Amongſt the Ancient *Romans*, the Patricians were the only Nobility, and had all the Chief Offices in the Common-Wealth beſtowed upon them; ſuch as the Conſulſhip, Dictatorſhip, Cenſorſhip, *&c.* But afterwards, when the Plebeians came to be Curule Magiſtrates, they were thereby Nobilitate. All theſe were call'd Noble, that had the Pictures of their Anceſtors. Now none had Liberty either to have his Anceſtors Pictures, or to have his own to Tranſmit to Poſterity; unleſs he had born a Curule Magiſtracy, that's to ſay, unleſs he had been a Curule Ædile, a *Prætor*, a Conſul, or a Cenſor: And, according to the Number of theſe Pictures, which were hung in their Houſes, their Nobility was reckoned and eſteemed. Thus we ſee, that Nobility was obtained amongſt them, by getting into the Magiſtracy, without any Reſpect to their Way of acquiring it, whether it was by Force, Bribery, Moien, or Vertue; and theſe Honours the People often beſtowed upon Unworthy Perſons. Before any could get into the Magiſtracy, they were obliged to have an Oration to the People, to Ingratiate themſelves with them;

in which they acquainted them, either of the Valour of their Anceſtors, or of the many Pictures that they could boaſt of, or laſtly of their own Vertue. So *Cato* recommended himſelf to the People, not by boaſting of his Nobility, but of his Vertue. After they had obtained the Magiſtracy, they had another Oration, wherein they Thanked them for the Honour, they had acquired by their Means. But if they could Glory in no more, than in the Pictures and Honours of their Anceſtors, they were call'd *Ignoble*. Thoſe, who could not ſhow any thing for their being Noble, and had attained to the Curule Magiſtracy, were call'd *Novi homines*. But when the *Roman* Republic came to degenerate, this Dignity was only preſerved in the Old Patrician Families.

His Death and Character.

Our Author Wrote this Book of the Ancient People of *Rome*, which he Dedicates to Sir *George Douglaſs*, whilſt he was very Young, as we have already Obſerved. His Hiſtorical Obſervations, in which he largely illuſtrates, from the *Roman* Hiſtorians, what he had but briefly ſummed up in the other, were Wrote Three Years after. And, by them both, it evidently appears, that he was a Perſon of Great Learning, and well ſeen in the *Roman* Laws, which he taught for ſeveral Years, with great Applauſe, at the Univerſity of *Caen* in *Normandy*. But we know no more of the Circumſtances of his Life, nor of the Year of his Death. neither had we Learn'd this much of him, had it not been from himſelf, there being no Biographer, I know of, that has ſo much as mentioned him, ſave *Dempſter*, tho' he deſerved as well, to have been taken Notice of, as any of the Age he lived in.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *DE veteri Populo, Tract.* Cadomi, 1595, *in* 12*mo.* & Pariſ. 1605, *in* 12*mo.* & *in Rep.* Roman. Pet. Scriverii, 12*mo.* Lugd. Batav. 1626.

II. *Obſervationes ex Hiſtoriis* Roman. & *omnium Gentium*, Cadomi, 1598, *in* 8*vo. apud Viduam* Jacobi Baſſi *Typographi Regii.*

THE

THE LIFE of *ALEXANDER BARKLAY* D. D. and Vicar of *Wokey* in *Somerſetſhire.*

His Birth, Parentage and Education.

THE *Barklies*, from whom this Gentleman is Deſcended, are of a very Ancient Standing in *Scotland*. For we find *Walter de Berkeley*, in the Reign of King *Malcolm* the Fourth, about the Year 1152: And both in the Regiſters and Chronicles, we find this *Walterus de Berkeley*, all King *William*'s Reign, call'd *Camerarius Regis*. And, in the Time of King *Alexander* III. in the Year 1252, *Fordon* makes Mention of *David de Berkeley*. So that we have no Reaſon to think, that he was Born in *England*, and was ſo called from a Town, in *Somerſetſhire*, of that Name, as Mr. *Wood* conjectures (*a*): Beſides that, *Pits*, one of the *Engliſh* Biographers (*b*), acknowledges him to be a *Scots* Man.

What our Author's Parents were, we know not, nor the Time of his Birth: But, having Finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies at Home, he went to the Univerſity of *Oxford* (*c*), where he Study'd, for ſome time, in *Oriel*-College, under *Thomas Corniſh* the Then Provoſt of that College, who, finding him a Gentleman of an Excellent Spirit, contracted ſuch a Friendſhip and Intimacy with him, that it continued, during his Life. From *Oxford*, he went over to *Holland*; and from thence, to *Germany*; and from *Germany*, to *Italy* and *France*. During his Travels, in theſe Countries, he acquired their Languages to great Perfection, as it appears from his ſeveral Tranſlations. At length, having fully ſatisfy'd his Curioſity in viewing theſe Countries, he reſolved to return to his Native Soil: But, coming to *England*, in his Way Home, he found his Old Maſter and Intimate Friend, the Provoſt of *Oriel*, preferred to the Biſhopric of *Tyne*: And going to Viſit him, the Biſhop would not part with him; but made him his Chaplain, and afterwards one of the Prieſts of the College at S. *Mary* at *Otery*, in *Devonſhire*, Founded by *John Grandiſon* Biſhop of *Exeter*. But, the Biſhop his Worthy Friend and Patron Dying ſoon after, he entred into the Order of S. *Benedict*; and, the Rules of that Society not pleaſing him, he changed his Habit, and entred into the Order of S. *Francis*. After this, he became very Famous for his great Learning, and was Created Doctor of Divinity, and Vicar of *Much Badew* in *Eſſex*; and, in 1546, Vicar of the Church of S. *Matthew* the Apoſtle, at *Wokey*, in *Somerſetſhire*, on the Death of Mr. *Richard Eryngton*, in which Station he continued till his Death.

He goes to *England*, & Studies at the Univerſity of *Oxford*, from thence to *Holland*, *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*.

He is made Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Tyne*.

He is made Doctor of Divinity, & Vicar of *Much Badew* and *Wokey*.

This Learned Doctor has obliged the World, with ſeveral Works of his own Compoſing, and with ſeveral Tranſlations from the *Latin*, *Italian*, *French* and *German* Tongues. Amongſt theſe, I ſhall only give an

He writes ſeveral Books.

(*a*) Vid. Athenæ Oxonien. Vol. 1. pag. 71. (*b*) Pitſ. Æt. XVI. (*c*) Vid. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 2. pag. 106.

He Translates *Saluſt* concerning the *Fugurthine* War. An Account of this War.

Account of Two. The Firſt is his Tranſlation of *Saluſt*, concerning the *Fugurthine* War into *Engliſh*.

Maſaniſſa King of *Numidia*, a conſtant Friend to the *Romans*, left Three Sons, *Gulaſſa*, *Maſtanabal* and *Micipſa*, of whom the laſt (his Brothers being dead) obtained the Kingdom alone. He had Two Sons, *Hiempſal* and *Adherbal*, with whom he brought up *Jugurtha*, *Maſtanabal*'s Son, in the ſame Condition; and receiving Letters from *Scipio*, out of *Spain*, who gave him large Commendations, (and under whom he Served with his Uncle's Auxiliary Forces) he Adopted him. When *Micipſa* was Dead, *Jugurtha* Murdered *Hiempſal*; and thought to have Murdered *Adherbal* likewiſe, but he Fled to the *Romans* for Succour. By this time, Avarice and Injuſtice prevail'd ſo much in the City, that *Jugurtha*, Senſible of it, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, Loaded with Money, to Bribe the Senate; which prevail'd ſo with them, that they ſent Ten Commiſſioners, to Divide the Kingdom betwixt them. The Commiſſioners, thinking they might imitate thoſe that ſent them, being Bribed, beſtowed the Richeſt and beſt Peopled Part upon *Jugurtha*, who was ſo far from being Satisfy'd, that, after their Departure, he fell ſuddenly upon *Adherbal*, Beſieged him in *Cirtha*, and, getting him into his Hands, put him to Death. For this, the Senate Declared War againſt him, and committed the Management of it to *L. Calpurnius Beſtia*, the Conſul, in the 643 Year of the City.

Calpurnius Invaded *Numidia* with great Fierceneſs, and took in ſome Towns; but was preſently ſtopt in his Career by *Jugurtha*'s Gold, and a Treaty of Peace was immediately ſet on Foot. The Senate was extremely concerned, becauſe, by this Action, the World might look upon them to be intirely at the Diſpoſal of any one, who had but Gold to Bribe them. Whereupon, the People laying it to Heart likewiſe, they ſent *L. Caſſius Longinus*, the Prætor, to fetch *Jugurtha* to *Rome*, upon the Public Faith, to diſcover his Complices, whereof he had by his Gold procured many in the Senate it ſelf. *Caſſius* having Perſwaded him to caſt himſelf upon the People's Mercy, he came to the City in a Mourning Habit. But, coming into the Aſſembly to do as he was Commanded, *Bæbius*, the Tribune, bid him hold his Peace, being alſo Bribed to put off the Buſineſs, and to Delude the People. At this Time, there was one *Maſſina*, the Son of *Guluſſa*, his Couſin German, at *Rome*, who, when he had Murdered *Adherbal*, eſcaped out of *Afric*. Him *Albinus* the Conſul perſwaded to Beg the Kingdom of the Senate: But *Jugurtha*, having got Notice of this, got him Secretly Murdered, and convoyed away the Murderer into *Numidia*. Hereupon, within a few Days, he was Commanded to be gone, and, being out of the City, he looked back upon it, and uttered theſe Words, *O City, that wouldſt be Sold, if there was but a Merchant for thee.* This he ſaid, as having Experience of the Corruption of its Inhabitants: So horribly were they now Degenerated from the Fidelity and Abſtinence of the preceeding Age.

Albinus followed him with an Army, and at Firſt ſeemed to be very Ambitious to Finiſh the War, before the Creation of New Conſuls: But, upon ſome Account, he prolonged it, and his Brother was ſecretly prevailed with, to withdraw from *Suthul*, where the Treaſure of the Kingdom lay, when he was about to Beſiege it. The Centurions alſo were ſo Corrupted, as *Jugurtha* was ſuffered to break into the Camp, whence

whence Beating out the Army, he either forced, or, by his former Agreement, brought *Albinus* to ſubmit unto moſt Diſhonourable Terms. In this Condition, *Metellus*, the following Conſul, found Affairs and the Army Spoiled for want of Diſcipline: But, bringing the Soldiers into Good Order, within the Space of Two Years, he Overthrew *Jugurtha* ſeveral Times, Outed him of ſeveral Towns, and Chaſed him beyond his own Borders, and at length obliged him to Beg Peace. Howbeit *Jugurtha*, ſo ſoon as he got an Opportunity, did Break it. At this time there was one *C. Marius*, *Legatus* or Lieutenant to *Metellus*, who, by his good Demeanour, won much upon the Soldiers; for, being deſirous of the Conſulſhip, he took all the Ways imaginable to purchaſe their Favour: He Calumniated *Metellus* privily to the Merchants at *Utica*, and ſaid, That he was able, with Half of the Army, and that within a few Days, to take *Jugurtha*. By theſe Speeches, he procured many Complaints, to be written to *Rome*, againſt *Metellus*; and, getting leave to go thither, obtained his Deſire, being Created Conſul, and had the Management of the War committed to him, which now was ended. Notwithſtanding the People was ſo Grateful to *Metellus*, that, at his Return, being Certify'd of what he had done, they granted him a Triumph, and beſtowed on him the Sirname of *Numidicus*. This was the Fourth *Metellus*, who, from the Nation Subdued, obtained a Sirname.

Marius, after ſome time, took the City of *Capſa*, a Place very Rich and Strong; and after this, another called *Mulucha*. *Jugurtha*, finding himſelf too Weak, drew, into his Aſſiſtance, *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*, his Father-in-law; by the help of whoſe Horſe, he very much wearied the *Roman* Army. At length, hearing that *Marius* had Beſieged the City of *Cirta*, he came with his Army to raiſe the Siege, and it went very hard with the *Romans*. For the Number of his Horſe is Reported to have been Sixty Thouſand, and they Fought it, for Three Days, in the Heat of Summer. But a Tempeſt of Rain falling, which ſpoiled their Enemies Weapons, and relieved *Marius* his Men, who were almoſt Kill'd with Thirſt, and not accuſtomed to endure it, ſo well as *Jugurtha*'s, *Marius* obtained the Victory; and the Two Kings were Defeated, and Fled. In another Battle, *Marius*, as 'tis ſaid, Killed Ninety Thouſand. After which, *Bocchus* began to Repent of his Enterprize, and ſent to *Rome*, to enter into a League, which he could not procure, but obtained Pardon of his Fault. Not long after, *Marius* took *Jugurtha* in an Ambuſh, to which he had drawn him by ſpecious Pretences, and delivered him up to *Sylla* his Queſtor, who had brought over ſome Forces from *Italy*. *Jugurtha*, being led in Triumph by *Marius* with his Two Sons, was after, by Order of the Senate, put to Death; and ſo the War ended, after it had continued about Seven Years.

He writes the Lives of ſeveral Saints, and, amongſt the reſt, of S. *George*. An Account of this Saint.

Our Author has likewiſe written the Lives of ſeveral Saints, in Verſe, amongſt whom is the Life of S. *George* the Patron of *England*, and the Life of S. *Margaret* the Patroneſs of *Scotland*. In the Firſt Volume of this Work, I have given an Account of S. *Margaret*, and here I ſhall give that of S. *George*. Several Learned Men have queſtioned, if ever there was ſuch a Saint (*b*), and for this, they have produced ſeveral probable Arguments. The Firſt of which is, That this Saint, who is ſaid to have been Martyr'd under the Emperor *Dioclefian*, is not ſo much

(*b*) Vid. Rainold. de Idolatria, lib. 1. cap. 5.

as mentioned by *Euſebius*, who is the beſt, and moſt Ancient Writer of *Dioclesian*'s Perſecution. But the Learned Mr. *Selden*, in Anſwer to this, ſays (*c*), That he might have been amongſt thoſe who Suffered in the Beginning of the Perſecution, and of whom *Euſebius* thus ſpeaks (*d*), *The Perſecution beginning amongſt the Brethren, that were in the Wars or in Gariſon.* And it is plain, that an exceeding great Number of Martyrs are deſigned in *Euſebius* his Hiſtory (*e*), whom he Names not; and yet they have been preſerved in Memory, both for their Quality and the Nature of their Martyrdom, in ſeveral Acts and Traditions of them, and in Martyrologies that have been as Supplements to his General Deſignation. But this Argument would be beſt Anſwered by the Printing of *Euſebius*'s own Martyrology, which he Wrote at the Command of *Conſtantine* the *Great* (*f*), and which, ſome ſay, is ſtill to be found in the *Eſcurial.* Another Argument brought againſt this Saint, is, That, if ever there was ſuch a Man, it could be none elſe but the *Arian* Heretic, *George* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who was cruelly Murdered there, and who is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* (*g*), S. *Athanaſius* (*h*) and *Gregory Nazianzen* (*i*). And which Strengthens this the more, S. *George*, of whom we are ſpeaking, is ſaid to have been of *Cappadocia*, and ſo was the *Arian* Heretic, and no other is mentioned, in any Old Authors, but only in Legends. A Third Argument is brought from the Authority of Pope *Gelaſius* I. who, in a Synod at *Rome*, in 494 (*k*), made a large Declaration of what Writings were to be admitted, beſides the Holy Scriptures; and, amongſt the reſt, ſeveral Saints Lives are excluded, and that of S. *George*: And, in a particular Note for the Examples of ſuch Saints Lives, as were Fabulouſly Written, he brings thoſe of S. *Quiricus*, S. *Julitta* and S. *George*: But ſo, that whereas they are Named, with *cujuſdam* prefixt to them, S. *George*, as a more eminent and known Saint in thoſe times, is ſevered from them, by *ſicut Georgii.* And it was with great Reaſon, that, in the Sixth General Council of *Conſtantinople*, a Canon was made (*l*) againſt the Admiſſion of ſuch Lives of the Holy Martyrs, as were Written *by Heretics, to the End that they might Diſhonour the Martyrs of Chriſt.* And *Baronius* thinks (*m*), that he found, in an Ancient MS. in the *Vatican*, thoſe very corrupted Acts of S. *George*, which were not only full of Lies, but likewiſe of ſuch Stories, as tended to Impiety and Infidelity. His Words are, *Quænam eſſent acta* Georgii *à* Gelaſio *improbata atque rejecta exquirendi ſtudio fatigatus, ea me tandem inveniſſe arbitror. In noſtra Bibliotheca, tertio Tomæ vitæ Sanctorum antiquiſſimo ac pene vetuſtate conſumpto codice, ibi pag.* 159. *inveni Acta quædam S.* Georgii *multis haud dubium referta Mendaciis, ibi portentoſa quædam ab omni Miraculorum ratione aliena feruntur, quæ quidem (ut prædictæ Synodi utar verbis) non ad Pietatem legentes, ſed ad Infidelitatem adducunt.*

The Life and Actions of S. *George*, our Author has put into Verſe together with his Miracles: And, according to his Account and all the Writers of his Life, he was Deſcended from a Noble Family, Born in *Cappadocia*, and a very Famous Commander, in the Wars, under *Dioclesian*, who put him to Death, with exquiſite Torments, in the Ninth Perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, in the Year 290 after the Birth of

(*c*) Tit. of Honour, cap. 5. par. 2. (*d*) Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap 1. (*e*) Lib. 8. cap. 12. (*f*) Vid. Flav. Dextrum, ſub Anno 308, & ibid. Francf. Bivarium. (*g*) Lib. 22. (*h*) Apol. 2. (*i*) Orat. in laud. Athanaſ. (*k*) Tom. Concil. 2. part. (*l*) Sext. Synod. Can. 63. (*m*) Baron. Annal. Tom. 2. ſub finem Anni 290.

of our Saviour, upon the 23d Day of *April*. And, if we may believe the Accounts of his Life (*n*), S. *Alexandra*, who was Empreſs and Wife to *Dioclesian*, being an Eye-Witneſs of the Tortures, which S. *George* ſuffered, in Preparation to the Accompliſhment of his Martyrdom, turned Chriſtian, and was thereupon committed to Priſon; where, when ſhe heard of the Emperor's Edict for the Beheading both of S. *George* and of her ſelf, ſhe peaceably gave up her Life in Fervent Prayer, and prevented the Execution, but S. *George* was Beheaded. *After*, ſays an Old Martyrologie, written in the *Saxon* Language (*o*) about 700 Years ago, *the Emperor had, for Seven Years together, with unſpeakable Tortures, urged him to Renounce Chriſt; which when he could not bring to paſs, he cut off his Head. And S.* George (*at his Death*) *Pray'd to the* LORD, *and ſaid, Jeſus Chriſt receive my Soul, and I beſeech Thee, that whoſoever ſhall keep my Commemoration upon Earth, all Falſhood, Hurt, Hunger and Sickneſs be far from his Houſe. And that whoſoever ſhall, in any Danger, either by Sea or elſewhere, uſe my Name, Thou wilt be Merciful to him. Then came a Voice from Heaven, ſaying, Come thou Bleſſed, and whoſoever ſhall, in any Danger or Place, call on My Name thro' thee, him will I hear.* Which laſt Circumſtance of his Life, our Author expreſſes in the following Verſes; by which the Reader may Judge of his Poeſy and Stile.

His Honden he helth op on hei; a doun he ſat a Kne,
LORD, he ſede, Jheſu Chriſt that alle thing might I ſe,
Grant me git it is thi Wille, that ho ſo in faire manere
Halt wel mi Dai in Auril *for my Love on Erde here,*
That there ne falle in dilke Houſe no Qualm in all the Tere,
Ne gret Sekneſſe, ne Honger ſtrong that thereof ne be no fere,
And ho ſo in Perill of Se to me bidde his Bone,
Other in other ſtedes perilous, hele him thereof ſone.
Tho herde he a Fois of Heven that to him ſede i wis,
Com fort to me my bleſſeth Child, thi Bon herd is.
Tho his hed was of iſmite, &c.

I ſhall not trouble the Reader with the Account of all his Sufferings, which are at large related by our Author; nor of the many Miracles that he wrought, the moſt of which are at large related by our Country Man *Adamanus*, in his *Deſcription of the Holy Land*, and whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work. But whatever Truth there be in theſe Miracles, 'tis moſt certain, that this Saint was held in great Veneration from the moſt early Times, and that both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches. For, in the Ancienteſt Martyrologies of the Weſtern Churches, they have him alwiſe upon the Three and Twentieth of *April*, with *Natalis Sancti* Georgii *Martyris, cujus illuſtre Martyrium inter Coronas Martyrum Eccleſia Dei veneratur*. Pope *Gregory* the *Great* (*p*), who lived about Three Hundred Years after the Time of his Martyrdom, repaired an Ancient Church, Dedicated to his Memory. And before that, S. *German*, Biſhop of *Paris*, after his Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, returning thro' *Conſtantinople*, received there, from the Emperor *Juſtinian*, amongſt other Precious Reliques, S. *George*'s Arm, which he laid up at S. *Vincent*'s

(*n*) Vita D. Georgii in Anthologio & in Meniæo. (*o*) Vid. Selden's Titles of Honour, Part 2. cap. 5. pag. 673.
(*p*) Gregor. lib. 4. indict. 4. Epiſt. 68.

in *Paris*. So ſays *Aimonius*, a moſt Ancient Writer of *France*, who hath King *Childebert* his Charter of Foundation, in the Year 559, wherein, among many other Saints only Named, he is peculiarly Stiled *Beatiſſimus Sanctus Georgius*. And *Gregorius Turonenſis*, another near that Age, ſpecially remembers both his Reliques and Miracles (*q*). And *Sidonius* Biſhop of *Mentz*, in the Time of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, about the Year 528, erected a Church to the Memory of this Saint, where the Reliques and Memory thereof remain to this Day. On which *Venantius Fortunatus*, a Chriſtian Poet, who Flouriſhed in the Year 560, hath this Epigram (*r*).

Martyris egregii pollens micat aula Georgî,
Cujus in hunc mundum ſpargitur altus honor,
Carcere, cæde, ſiti, vinclis, fame, frigore, flammis
Confeſſus Chriſtum duxit ad aſtra caput.
Qui virtute potens orientis in arce ſepultus
Ecce ſub occiduo cardine præbet opem.
Ergo memento preces & reddere dona viator;
Obtinet hic meritis quod petit alma fides.
Condidit antiſtes Sidonius *iſta decenter,*
Proficiant animæ quæ nova templa ſuæ.

And in another Church, he Notes, among other Reliques, ſome of this S. *George* (*ſ*).

Hic quoque relliquiis micat ille Georgius *almus,*
Qui probus igne cadit, nec pice merſus obit.

In the Eaſtern Church, beſides what we have already mentioned out of *Euſebius* and their *Rituals*, Erections of Churches to him were frequent there. And at *Ramel*, eſpecially Famous for his Shrine and Martyrdom, a Biſhopric, about 550 Years ago, was Erected, and Conſecrated to him. And *Juſtinian*, that, was Emperor but about 240 Years after S. *George*'s Paſſion, Built a Temple to him, in *Armenia*, where it is probable, that he purchaſed much of his Fame, being a Neighbouring Country to *Cappadocia*: And this, *Procopius*, who lived under *Juſtinian*, affirms expreſly (*t*). *Cedrenus* alſo ſpeaking of the Perſecution under *Diocleſian* (*u*) ſays, *Many were Crown'd with Martyrdom, and, among them,* Peter *of* Alexandria, *and* Anthimius *of* Nicomedia, *and* Procopius, *and* George, *the Famous Martyr*. The ſame Author alſo tells us, That the Emperor *Joannes Tzimiſces*, (who began his Reign in the Year 970) after his Victory againſt the *Ruſſians*, which he obtained on S. *George*'s Day, preſently made a Public and Sacred Acknowledgment of it to this Martyr. And the Lady *Anna Porphyrogenneta* ſpeaking of *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*, King of *Jeruſalem*, his going againſt the *Turks*, ſhe ſays (*x*), *They then went thence to* Ramel, *where the Great Martyr S.* George *Suffered Martyrdom*. A great many other Teſtimonies of the like Nature might be adduced to the ſame Purpoſe: But there is one which is very ſingular, becauſe it ſhows, how that this Saint was not only Reverenced by the

(*q*) De glor. Martyr. lib. 1. cap. 101. (*r*) Poemat. lib. 2. Epig. 13. (*ſ*) Poemat. lib. 10. Epiſt. 10. (*t*) Lib. 3. de Ædificiis Juſtiniani. (*u*) Compend. Hiſt. vid. etiam Curopol. Hiſt. (*x*) Alexiados lib. 8.

the Chriſtians of thoſe Parts, but likewiſe by the *Mahumetans*. And this we learn from the Emperor, *Joannes Cantacuzenus* (*y*), who making uſe of ſome Arguments, taken from the Martyrs of the Chriſtian Church, both in behalf of the Chriſtians and againſt the *Mahumetans*, and taking S. *George* for his ſingular Example, ſays, *The Martyr of Chriſt, that is Honoured by us Chriſtians,* S. George (*who is alſo Honoured by the* Muſſulmans *themſelves, and called by them* Cheter Eliaz) *being Tortured and Tempted by the Wicked and by Idolaters, that he might be brought to deny Chriſt, and Worſhip and Adore their Gods, choſe rather to have undergone a Thouſand Deaths and a Thouſand Tortures for the Name of Chriſt, than at all to Renounce the Faith, that he had in Him:* And *Cantacuzenus* goes on with ſome more Particulars of the Hiſtory of his Martyrdom, as if it were the moſt eminent Example of Martyrdom in their Church. And, from theſe his great Sufferings, and being a Soldier, and Commander, 'tis highly probable, that both the Ancients and Moderns have repreſented him, Armed on Horſeback, and a Dragon under him, as Overcoming the Devil. For it was as Ancient a Cuſtom as *Conſtantine* the *Great*'s Time, to repreſent the Devil in that Shape, becauſe he is ſo call'd in Scripture: And therefore alſo did *Conſtantine* the *Great* command his own Picture, as of one that Triumphed over the Devil, to be made, with the Croſs over it, and a Dragon, by him, thruſt through with a Sword, and tumbled Headlong into the Sea, which, ſaith *Euſebius* (*z*), was but a Figure of that in the Prophet *Eſay*, Chap. xxvii. Ver. 1. *In that Day, the Lord, with his Sore and Great and Mighty Sword, ſhall Viſit the Dragon, that Piercing Serpent, even the Dragon, that Crooked Serpent, and he ſhall Slay the Dragon that is in the Sea.* In other Figures, he hath ſometimes, before him, a Maid Kneeling, which Learned Men have conceived alſo to be Symbolical, and to denote ſome Country or City, only imploring his Aid; the Old Faſhion being to repreſent Countries and Cities in Feminine Shapes. And *Johannes Cotovicus* (*a*) tells us, That the *Mahumetans* have ſuch a Veneration for this Saint and his Statue, that, as they return from their Pilgrimages to *Meccha*, thorough *Paleſtine*, they go into his Church at *Lydda*, where they perform their Devotions, beſtow large Alms, and Reverence his Sepulchre; taking him to be, ſays he, *ſuæ Sectæ Protector eximius*, the eminent Protector of their Sect: And, when they ſometimes deſtroy other Images of Saints, in the Chriſtian Churches, they Religiouſly abſtain from S. *George*'s; and he brings, for an Example, a Monaſtery of *Minorite* Friars in *Arnica*, a Town of *Cyprus*, where, all the other Images being deſtroy'd by them, only S. *George*'s he ſaw ſitting on Horſeback, with a Tulipant on his Head, and left untoucht.

How this Saint came to be made Protector of *England*, there are ſeveral Conjectures; but that which ſeems moſt probable, is, that when the *Engliſh* went to the Holy War, they, finding him the Chief Saint in theſe Eaſtern Parts, took him for their Patron: And this ſeems the more Probable, becauſe the above cited *Cotovicus* tells us, That King *Richard* the Firſt repaired his Temple at *Lydda*. However it is, 'tis certain, as it appears from the Learned Mr. *Selden*, that, ever ſince the Days of King *Edward* III. he has been owned as the Patron and Protector of *England*: And, in the Fourty Fourth Year of his Reign, in the Conſtitutions of a Guild, erected to him by ſome of the *Weſt-Street* in *Chicheſter*, he is

(*y*) Apologia κατὰ τῦ Μαωμετ. (*z*) De Vit. Conſtant. lib. 3. (*a*) Itenerar. Hieroſol. lib. 2.

Stiled *Anglorum Protector & Patronus.* This King likewiſe Firſt Inſtituted the Order of the Garter; for in the Statutes of the Order, in King *Henry* VIII. Time (*b*), it is ſaid, That *he, to the Honour of Almighty GOD, and of the Bleſſed and Immaculate Virgin* Mary, *and the Bleſſed Martyr S.* George *Patron of the Right Noble Realm of* England, *and of S.* Edward, *King and Confeſſor to the Exhaltation of the Holy Faith Catholic, Ordained, Eſtabliſhed, Created and Founded it.* The Time and Occaſion of the Inſtituting of this Order, is not ſo well known. For ſome ſay, That the Time was, after his Wars ſucceſsfully had againſt the *French*, about the Year 1350, or the Twenty Fourth of his Reign, and that the Garter was taken for an Enſign of it, becauſe a Garter had been the Word in the Field of Battle (*c*). Others refer it to the Lady *Joan*, Counteſs of *Kent* and *Salisbury* her Garter, that, falling from her Leg in a Dance, was taken up by the King, who was deeply in Love with her, and wore it upon his Leg; and, whether upon the Queen's Jealouſy, or ſome of the Lords merrily Obſerving it, the King Smiling told them all openly, *Hony ſoit qui mal y penſe*; *Evil to him that Evil thinks:* And that he thereupon Inſtituted the Order of the Garter. Some think, it was the Queen's Garter. As to the Time, it ſeems plainly to have been in the Year 1344, or the Eighteenth of *Edward* III. For in that Year, ſays *Froiſſart* (*d*), who lived at that Time, began the *Confraire de S. George*, or *de les Chevaliers de la bleu Jartier*, as he calls it, at *Windſor*. But they, who would be fully ſatisfy'd in theſe things, may Conſult the Authors, that have Written expreſly upon this Order.

An Account of his other Works.

Beſides the Life of S. *George*, our Author has likewiſe Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Verſe, the Lives of S. *Margaret*, S. *Catharine*, S. *Etheldreda*, and ſeveral other Saints, which the Famous and Learned Antiquary, Mr. *Selden* had in MS. But his Principal Work is his *Stultifera Navis*, or *the Ship of Fools*, conſiſting of Diverſe Verſes of his own, and ſeveral Tranſlations from the *Latin*, *French* and *Dutch* into the Old *Engliſh* Language, and Dedicated to his Patron *Thomas Corniſh*, Biſhop of *Tyne* and Suffragan Biſhop of *Wales*.

This Work is Adorned with great Variety of Pictures, Printed from Wooden Cuts, and all Printed in the Black Letter, and in the ſame Sort of Verſe as theſe we have cited in the Life of S. *George*, and which cannot now be well underſtood without a Gloſſary. So that I ſhall not trouble the Reader with them, but refer the Curious to the Book it ſelf.

His Death and Character.

This Author Lived to a great Age, and Died at a Mercat-Town call'd *Croyden*, in *Surry*, in the Month of *June*, in the Year 1552, and was Buried in the Church there. Mr. *Wood*, the Author of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, ſays, That he was a good Scholar; and *Dempſter*, that he was in Oratory and Poetry as Famous as any of his Age. And it appears from his Works, that he was well ſeen in the *Latin*, *Dutch*, *French* and *Italian* Languages.

The

(*b*) Seld. Tit. of Hon. chap. 5. pag. 657. Part. 2. (*c*) Vid. Selden, ubi Sup. (*d*) Vol. 1. chap. 101.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *THe Figure of our Mother Holy Church Oppreſſed by the* French *King, Printed at* London, *by* Richard Pynſon, in 4to.
II. *The Lives of ſeveral Saints done into* Engliſh *Verſe in MS. amongſt Mr.* Selden's *Collections.*
III. Stultifera Navis, *or, the Ship of Fools, Printed by* Rich. Pynſon *at* London 1509, in Fol. *and in* 1570, in 4to.
IV. Saluſt, *concerning the* Jugurthine *War, Tranſlated from the* Latin *into* Engliſh.
V. *The Caſtle of Labour, Tranſlated from the* French *into* Engliſh.
VI. *Several Eclogues of* Johannes Baptiſta Fiera Mantuan, *and diverſe other Tranſlations mentioned by* Dempſter, Balæus *and* Pits, *which I have not ſeen.*

THE

LIFE of *GAWIN DOUGLAS* Biſhop of *Dunkeld.*

THE Noble Family of the *Douglaſſes* is ſaid (*a*) to have had their Firſt Riſe, in the Reign of King *Solvathius*, about the Year of our LORD 770, which was Occaſioned thus: *Donald Bane*, Captain of *Kintire*, having Rebelled againſt the King, had almoſt cut off his Army, by Incloſing them; had it not been for a certain Man, who, coming to the Battle with his Sons and Followers, put the Rebels to the Flight. After which, the King asked, Where that Man was, to whoſe Valour he had been ſo much Obliged? They, not knowing his Name, pointed him out with this Anſwer, *Sholto dou glas*, that is, *Behold the Black Pale Man.* For which, he was Nobly Rewarded; and his Poſterity got, afterwards, Lands in *Clidſdale*, which are call'd after them, to this Day, the Lands of *Douglas*. But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, that they were a very Ancient and Noble Family, as alſo ſometime the moſt Powerful, that ever this Nation had. The Oldeſt Charter that can be found, where they are mentioned, is in a Contract betwixt *Hugh* and *Marjory Abernathy*, wherein *Andreas de Douglas* is a Witneſs; which, *Godſcroft* confeſſes, he could not Read. In the Reign of King *William*, there is mention made of one *Willielmus de Duueglas* (*b*): And *Erchebaut* or *Archbald de Duueglas* is to be found in the Reign of King *Alexander* II. *William Fitz Andrew* is in the *Rag. Roll*; as is likewiſe the Great *William de Duueglas*, Governour of *Berwic* (*c*). This Family was

Of his Birth, Parentage and Deſcent.

(*a*) See Godſcroft's Hiſt. of the Douglaſſes. (*b*) See Sir James Dalrymple, Pref. to his Collect. pag. 63. (*c*) Vid. Prin. pag. 509.

Advanced to the Dignity of an Earl, by King *David* II. in the Year 1346. The Firſt Earl, whoſe Name was *William*, had Two Sons with *Margaret Dumbar*, Daughter to *Patrick* Earl of *March*; and, ſhe Dying, he had for his Second Wife, *Margaret Stewart*, who bore to him a Son, call'd *George*; and, ſhe being the only Daughter and Heir to *Thomas*, Earl of *Angus*, upon her Death, he Succeeded in the Earldom of *Angus*; and Married *Margaret Stewart*, Daughter to King *Robert* III. and of him is our Learned and Noble Prelate Deſcended. His Grand-father *George*, the Fifth Earl of *Angus*, was Famous for his Loyalty and Valour. For he Aſſiſted King *James* II. againſt his own Kinſman, the Earl of *Douglas* (*d*), whom together with *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, he Overthrew in a moſt Bloody Battle: And afterwards, when the *Engliſh* Beſieged *Alnwick*, he Marched thither, with Ten Thouſand Horſe, and in Sight of the Enemy brought off Monſieur *Briſac* with 300 *French* Men under his Command, who had been in the Caſtle, and carried them Safe to *Scotland* (*e*). This *George* Married *Eliſabeth Sibbald*, Daughter to Sir *Andrew Sibbald* of *Balgony*, Treaſurer of *Scotland*, at that Time. By this Lady he had Two Sons, the Eldeſt was *Archbald*, the Sixth Earl of *Angus*, commonly call'd *the Great Earl of* Angus. He Married *Eliſabeth Boyd*, Daughter to *Robert* Lord *Boyd* (Chancellor of the Kingdom, and one of the Governours of the Nation, *Anno* 1468) by whom he had Four Children. The Two Eldeſt, *George* Maſter of *Angus*, and Sir *William Douglas* of *Glenbervie*, with about Two Hundred Gentlemen of the Name, were Kill'd at the Battle of *Flowden*. *Archbald Douglas* of *Kilſpindie* was the Youngeſt, and our Author was the Third.

He was Born in the latter End of the Year 1474, or the Beginning of 1475. His Parents took very great Care about his Education. And he apply'd himſelf very cloſely to the Study of the *Belles Lettres* and Philoſophy, probably either in the Univerſity of S. *Andrews* or *Glaſgow*, or in ſome Monaſtery; for, at that time, theſe were the only Nurſeries of Learning in *Scotland* (*f*). But his Darling Study was Poetry; and of the Happy Genius he had this way, he gave a very early Specimen, by Tranſlating, into *Engliſh* Verſe, *Ovid*'s Book *de Remedio Amoris*: And this he did, as an Attonement for a Fault (*g*) he had Committed in the Heat of his Youth. Having Finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies at Home, it is highly probable, that, after the common Cuſtom of theſe Times, he ſpent ſome Years Abroad, in Travelling and Improving himſelf, in the Canon Law and Theology. For, having Reſolved to Dedicate himſelf to the Altar and the Service of GOD's Church, he was indiſpenſibly Obliged, by a Law made by King *James* I. as I have Obſerved in the Life of that Prince, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, to be well ſeen in them both, otherwiſe he was not capable of being a Canon or Prebend, in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church; and was Obliged, either to take a Degree in Theology, or to be a Batchelor in the Canon Law. But, whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, that he apply'd himſelf cloſely to Theology, entred into Holy Orders: And, by the Recommendation of the King, who was a Good Judge of the Merits of his Subjects, he was Advanced to be Provoſt of the Collegiate Church of S. *Giles* in *Edinburgh* (*h*), a Place then of great Dignity and Revenue; and

His Education and Studies.

He Tranſlates *Ovid de Remedio Amoris.*

Applies himſelf to Theology, enters into Holy Orders and is made Provoſt of S. *Giles.*

(*d*) Hume of Godſ. pag. 213. Buch. lib. 11. (*e*) Buch. lib. 12. Leſly in Jacob. 3. pag. 313. (*f*) Vid. his Life prefixt to the Edin. Edit. of his Tranſl. of Virgil pag. 2. (*g*) Hume ubi Sup. pag. 222. (*h*) See his Life page 4.

and Rector of *Heriot*-Church, ſome few Miles from it. He continued for ſeveral Years, in this Station, as became his Holy Character, Noble Birth and Liberal Education (*i*). Then it was, he Compoſed and Publiſhed the moſt of his Poetical Works, as we may Learn from himſelf. The Firſt of which was his *Palace of Honour*, which he Compoſed about the 27th Year of his Age, in the Year of GOD 1501, and 12 Years before he Finiſhed his Tranſlation of *Virgil*, as it appears from theſe Verſes of his to my Lord *Sinclair*.

He writes and publiſhes ſeveral Books. An Account of theſe Books.

To zou, my Lord, what is thare mare to ſay?
Reſſaue zour Werk deſyrit mony ane Day,
Quharin alſo now am I fully quytt,
As twichand Venus, *of my auld Promytt,*
Quhilk I hir maid weill Twelf Zeris 1ofore,
As witneſſith my Palice of Honoure:
In the quhilk Werk, ze red, on hand I tuke
For to Tranſlate at hir Inſtance ane Buke:
Sa haue I done aboue, as ze may ſe,
Virgillis *Volume of hir Son* Enee.

The Author's Deſign in this Poem is, under the Similitude of a Viſion, to repreſent the Vanity and Inconſtancy of all Worldly Pomp and Glory; and, as it is expreſſed in his Life prefixed to the late Edition of his Tranſlation of *Virgil* (*k*), "To ſhew, That a Conſtant and Inflexible "Courſe of Vertue and Goodneſs, is the only Way to True Honour "and Felicity, which he Allegorically Deſcribes, as a Magnificent Pa-"lace, ſituate on a very high Mountain of a moſt Difficult Acceſs. He "illuſtrates the whole, with Variety of Examples; not only of thoſe "Noble and Heroic Souls, whoſe eminent Vertues procured them En-"trance into that Bleſſed Place; but alſo of thoſe Wretched Creatures, "whoſe Vitious Lives have Fatally Excluded them for ever, notwith-"ſtanding of all their Worldly State and Grandeur. This Work is Ad-"dreſſed to King *James* IV. on purpoſe to Inſpire that Brave Prince, "with Juſt Sentiments of True Honour and Greatneſs; and incite him "to Tread in the Paths of Vertue, which alone could Conduct him to "it. And, to make it the more Agreeable and Entertaining, he hath "Adorned it with ſeveral incident Adventures, and, throughout the "Whole, Diſcovers a Vaſt and Comprehenſive Genius, an Exuberant "Fancy and Extraordinary Learning, for the Time he lived in. He "ſeems to have taken the Plan of it, from the Palace of Happineſs, "Deſcribed in the *Picture of Cebes*.

After this, he Wrote his *Aureæ Narrationes*, mentioned by *Dempſter* (*l*), and *Voſſius* (*m*); and which ſeems to be the ſame, he ſpeaks of himſelf, in his Epiſtle to the Lord *Sinclair*, at the End of his *Virgil*, in theſe Words:

I haue alſo ane ſchorte Commend compyld,
To expone ſtrange Hiſtoriis and Termes wylde.

(*i*) See his Life pag. 4. (*k*) Pag. 15. (*l*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 4. pag. 221. (*m*) De Hiſtor. Latinis lib. 3.

And if ſo, 'tis Probable, as the Authors of the fore-cited Life ſay, ſince now it is intirely loſt, that it might have been a ſhort Treatiſe of the Poetical Fictions of the Ancients, with an Explication of their Mythology, with which our Author was very well acquainted, as his Works, that are ſtill extant, ſufficiently Teſtify.

His next Work was his *Comœdiæ Sacræ*, which are now intirely loſt: But, if they were Wrote with the ſame Deſign, as that of the *Palace-Honour*, and Dedicated to the ſame Prince, as *Voſſius* (*n*) ſeems to inſinuate, 'tis probable, that they were compoſed out of the Sacred Hiſtory, to excite People to Vertue.

His Laſt and Nobleſt Performance in Verſe, was his Tranſlation of *Virgil*'s *Æneis*. This Work he compleated in Eighteen Months or rather Sixteen, (he being, for Two Months, diverted from it by ſome troubleſome Affairs, in which he was involved,) and Finiſhed the 22d of *July* 1513; a Month and 17 Days before the Fatal Battle of *Flowden*. All which we have, from his own Words, in theſe Verſes (*o*).

Completit was this Werk Virgiliane,
Apoun the Feiſt of Marye Magdalane,
Fra Chriſt's *Birth, the Date, quha liſt to here,*
Ane thouſand fyue hundreth and threttene Zere:
Quhilk for vthir grete Occupacioun lay
Vnſterit cluis beſide me mony ane Day:
And neuirtheleſs, quhidder I ſerf Thank or Wyte,
Fra tyme I thareto ſet my Pen to Wryte,
(Thocht GOD wate gif thir boundis wer full wyde
To me, that had ſic Beſines beſide,)
Apoun this wyſe, as GOD liſt len me Grace,
It was compilyt in Auchtene Monethis ſpace:
Set I ſeil ſyith ſic Twa Monethis in fere
Wrate neuir ane Wourd, nor micht the Volume ſtere,
For grave Materis, and grete Sollicitude,
That all ſic Laubour fere beſide me ſtude.

So that it was begun in *January* 1512, and probably, betwixt that and *December* following, he met with theſe Two Months of Interruption. For he began the Seventh Book in *December* 1512; the Twelfth, in *May*; and *Mapheus*'s Supplement, or the Thirteenth, in *June* 1513, as he tells us in the Prologues to theſe Three Books. So the Seven laſt Books took him up only Eight Months; whereas Ten Months were employ'd in the Firſt Six. And tho' he did not cloſely ſet about this Tranſlation, till the Year 1512; yet he had Projected it long before, as it appears from his *Palace of Honour* (*p*), wherein *Venus* is brought in, enjoining him to make this Tranſlation, to atone for a Ballad, (as he calls it) written by him, againſt her and her Court. This Tranſlation he undertook, at the Deſire of *Henry* Lord *Sinclair*, a great Patron of Learning and Vertue. But, before we give a further Relation of this his Performance, it will not be amiſs, tho' *Virgil* be ſufficiently known to all the Learned World, to give Firſt ſome Account of him and his Writings.

This

(*n*) Voſſ. ubi ſup. (*o*) Vid. pag. 484. (*p*) Towards the End.

This Poet was but of a mean Extract (*q*), being only the Son of a Potter of *Andes*, in the Territory of *Mantua*, where he was Born, upon the 15th of *October*, in the Year 684 from the Building of the City of *Rome*, and 70 Year before the Birth of Chriſt. After he had Study'd at *Naples*, he went to *Rome*, where, by his own Merit, he acquired the Friendſhip and Love of all the Wits and Illuſtrious Perſons of his Age, and amongſt others, of the Emperor *Auguſtus*, *Mæcenas* and *Pollio*. He Compoſed Verſes, that all the World Admired, and brought the *Latin* Poetry to its utmoſt Perfection; and was then, and has been ever ſince deſervedly, looked upon as *The Prince of the* Latin *Poets*. He Compoſed his *Eclogues*, in Imitation of *Theocritus*; his *Georgics*, in Imitation of *Heſiod*; and his *Æneis*, in Imitation of *Homer*. 'Tis ſaid, that he was Twelve Years in Compoſing of *Æneis*; and that he Wrote it Firſt in Proſe, before he Formed it into Verſe. The Emperor preſs'd him to Finiſh this Poem, the Reputation of which, even at its very Birth, was ſo great, that all were impatient to ſee it. *Virgil* let the Emperor ſee the II. the IV. and VI. Books, as eſteeming them the beſt: And 'tis ſaid, that when *Virgil* Read, to *Auguſtus* and his Siſter *Octavia*, that Part of the Sixth Book, where he ſpeaks of *Marcellus*, they were ſo moved by it, that they interrupted him, with their Tears and Sighs; and *Octavia*, the Mother of this Young Prince, Fainted away. This Poet Died, in the 51 Year of his Age, at *Brindes* in *Calabria*, in the Year 735 from the Building of the City, and 19 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, returning from *Greece* with *Auguſtus*. His Body was Buried at *Naples*, where theſe Two Verſes, Compoſed by himſelf, were put upon his Tomb.

Mantua *me genuit*, Calabri *rapuere*, *tenet nunc*
Parthenope; *cecini Paſcua*, *Rura*, *Duces*.

Which our Prelate Tranſlates thus (*r*).

Of Mantua *I am begett and bore*,
In Calabry *deceiſſit and forlore*,
Now Grave I ſtant in Naplis *the Ciete*;
That in my Tyme wrate notabill Werkis thre,
Of Paſturage and eik of Husbandry,
And douchty Chiftanis full of Chevelry.

When he was a Dying, he deſired his *Æneis* to be Burnt: But, hearing that the Emperor *Auguſtus* would not permit it to be done, he then Beg'd, that nothing, that he had ſaid, ſhould be altered. Yet notwithſtanding of this, *Auguſtus* Ordered *Tucca* and *Varius* Two excellent Poets, and *Virgil*'s intimate Friends, to Review and Correct ſome Parts of it. And it is this Admired Poem, that our Author has done into *Scots* Verſe; for he purpoſely ſhunned the *Engliſh* Language, to keep to the Language of his own Country, as he informs us in theſe Verſes (*ſ*).

(*q*) Donat. in Vit. Virg. Euſeb. in Chron. S. Jerom. in Chron. Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Pliny, Lilio Gyraldi, P. Crintius, Voſſius, Scaliger, &c. apud M. Vaultier, Tom. 4. Dictionar. Hiſtor. a Par. 1707, in Fol.
(*r*) Vid. pag. 486. (*ſ*) Vid. pag. 4.

Firſt I Proteſt, gud Readers, be zour leif,
Be weill aviſit my Werk or ze Repreif,
Conſider it werly, rede ofter than anys,
Weil at ane Blink ſle Poetry not tane is,
And zit forſoith I ſet my beſy Pane
(As that I couth) to mak it brade and plane,
Kepand no Sudroun, but oure awin Langage,
And ſpeke as I lerned quhen I wes ane Page:
Na zit ſo clene all Sudroun I refuſe,
Bot ſum Words I pronunce as Nychboure dois,
Like as in Latyne *bene* Grewe *Termes ſum,*
So me behuffit quhilum, or be dum,
Sum baſtard Latyne, Frenſche, *or* Ynglis *vis,*
Quhare ſcant wes Scottis, *I had nane vther chois;*
Not that oure Toung is in the ſeluin skant,
Bot for that I the fouth of Langage want.

This Poem conſiſts of XIII. Books, and the Contents of each Book, our Author ſums up, in the following Lines (*t*).

I. *The Firſt contenis, how the Prince* Enee,
And Troianis *war driue unto* Cartage *Ciete:*
II. *The Secund Buke ſchawis the finale Ennoye,*
The grete Myſcheif and Subuerſion of Troye.
III. *The Third tellis, how fray* Troyis *Cite*
The Troianis *carryit wer throwout the Se.*
IV. *The Ferd reherſis of fair Quene* Dido
The double Woundis and the mortall Wo.
V. *The Fift contenis Funerall Gammys glaide,*
And how the Fire the Nauy did inuade.
VI. *Into the Sext Buke ſyne dois* Virgil *tell,*
How that Eneas *went and weſyit Hell.*
VII. *The Seuynt* Enee *bringes to his Ground Fataile,*
And how Italianis Troianis *ſchupe to aſſail.*
VIII. *Unto* Enee *geuis the Auchten Buke*
Baith Fallowſchip and Armoure, quha liſt luke.
IX. Dawnus *Son* Turnus, *in the Nynte take tent,*
Segeis New Troye, Eneas *tho' abſent.*
X. *The Tent declaris by the Coiſt attanis*
The Batell betuix Tuskanis *and* Rutulianis.
XI. *In the Leuenth* Rutulianis *being ouer ſet*
By the Deceiſe of Camylla *down bet.*
XII. *The Twelf makis ane End of all the Were but dout*
Throw the Slauchter of Turnus *ſterde and ſtout*
XIII. *The laſt ekit* Virgillis *nowmer euin,*
By Mapheus *conuoyis* Enee *til Heuin.*

This Tranſlation of *Virgil* is highly Commended by a great many Learn'd Men, whoſe Teſtimonies, concerning him and his Works, have been very Diligently Collected and Annexed to his Life, in the late Edition.

(*t*) Vid. pag. 12.

dition Publiſhed at *Edinburgh*. But it will be ſufficient for my Purpoſe, to Point out to the Reader, what they are and where to be found (*u*).

But of all theſe I ſhall only trouble the Reader with Two. The one is that of the Learned Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who, ſpeaking of his Treatiſe *de Rebus Scoticis*, ſays, " How well Qualify'd he was for an " Undertaking of this Nature, we may well gueſs by his Admirable " Tranſlation of *Virgil*'s *Æneids*, which (in Eighteen Months time) " he turned into moſt Elegant *Scotiſh* Verſe, thereby wonderfully im- " proving the Language of his Country and Age. *J. Leſly*, that was " a good Judge of the Work, aſſures us, That 'tis done in ſuch a Maſcu- " line Strain of True Poetry, that it may juſtly vye with the " Original; every Line whereof is ſingly render'd, and every Word " moſt appoſitely and fully. The other is that of *Hume* of *Godſcroft*, who was an excellent Judge in Poetry: And tho' he was an extraordi- nary Friend to the *Douglaſſes*; yet he was a Sworn Enemy to thoſe of our Author's Character. " He wrote (ſays he) in his Native Tongue, " diverſe things: But his Chiefeſt Work is, his Tranſlation of *Virgil*, " yet extant, in Verſe, in which he ties himſelf ſo ſtrictly as is poſſible; " and yet it is ſo well expreſſed, that whoſoever ſhall eſſay to do the " like, will find it a hard Piece of Work, to go through with it. In his " Prologues before every Book, where he hath his Liberty, he ſhew- " eth a Natural and Ample Vein of Poeſy, ſo Pure, Pleaſant and Judi- " cious, that, I believe, there is none, that hath Written before or ſince, " but cometh ſhort of him. And, in my Opinion, there is not ſuch a " Piece to be found, as is his Prologue to the Eighth Book, beginning " thus, *Of Drevelling and Dremys*, at leaſt in our Language.

After our Author had Finiſhed this Tranſlation; he Wrote no more in Verſe, but apply'd himſelf to the more Weighty Affairs of Church and State, as he tells us in the Concluſion of this Work (*x*).

Thus up my Pen and Inſtrumentis full zore
On Virgilis *Poſt I fix for euermore,*
Neuir from thens ſic Matteris to diſcrive:
My Muſe ſal now be clene contemplative,
And ſolitare, as doith the Bird in Cage;
Sen ſer by worne all is my Chyldis Age,
And of my Dayis nere paſſit the half Date,
That Nature ſuld me granting, wele I wate.
Thus ſen I feile doun ſweyand the Ballance,
Here I reſigne up Zounkeris Obſeruance;
And wyl derek my Laubouris euermoir
Unto the Commoun-Welth and GODDIS *Gloir.*

(*u*) Polydore Virgil. Angl. Hiſtor. lib. 3. Alexander Miln Eccleſiæ Dunkeldenſis Canonicus in vitis Epiſcoporum Dunkeldenſium MS. in Bib. J. C. Edinb. Joan. Balæus de major. Brit. Scriptor. Sir David Lyndſay, Prologue to the Complaint of the Papingo. The Adhortation to the reading of Sir David Lyndſay's Works, ibid. Buchan. lib. 13 & 14. Leſl. Epiſc. Roſſen. de Rebus Geſt. Scotor. lib. 9. Spotiſwood, Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, lib. 2. pag. 67. Holinſhed, Hiſt. of Scot. p. 307. Thom. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. 4. Gerard. Voſſius de Hiſtor. Latinis, lib. 3. cap. 13. Gilbertus Graius Orat. de Illuſt. Scotiæ Scriptor. in the Firſt Volume of this Work. William Drummond of Hathornden, Hiſt. of King James V. Hume of Godſcroft Hiſt. of the Douglaſſes, pag. 220. Mr. David Calderwood's MS. Hiſt. of the Church, ad An. 1521. William Winſtanly, Lives of the moſt Famous Engliſh Poets, p. 29. Biſhop of Carlile, Scot. Hiſt. Librar. p. 99. De Claris Scotis MS. anonymi Scoti. Dr. Pat. Anderſon in his MS. Hiſt. of Scotland, Vol. 1. fol. 128. Georgius Hickeſius in Ling. Septentrion. Theſ. pag. 128. Athenian Mercury, Vol. 12. Num. 1. Qu. 4. And to all theſe I ſhall add one more, from George Con, de Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. 1. p. 83. where, ſpeaking of Biſhop Dumbar, he ſays, Quam de ſe Dumbarrus in Regiis operibus reliquit memoriam, Gauinus Duglaſius Dunkeldenſis Epiſcopus eruditis Lucubrationibus conſecutus eſt. (*x*) Page 480.

About this time, many Eccleſiaſtical Dignities becoming vacant, by the Unfortunate Battle of *Flowden*, and, among others, the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, one of the moſt Conſiderable in the Kingdom; the Queen Mother, who was then Regent, and ſhortly after Married to the Earl of *Angus*, our Author's Nephew, on the 5th of *Auguſt* 1514 (*y*), being the Day before the Solemnization of the Marriage, Wrote a Letter to the Pope, in his Favours; in which ſhe likewiſe deſired, that Biſhop *Elphinſton* might be Tranſlated from *Aberdeen* to the Arch-Biſhopric of S. *Andrews*, then Void by the Death of *Alexander Stewart*; and, that excellent Prelate Dying, in *November* following, the Queen Preſented our Author to it. But he met with ſo great Oppoſition in this Affair, that neither the Royal Authority, nor the great Power and Intereſt of his Noble Relations, nor his own Merits and excellent Qualities were able to procure him Peaceable Poſſeſſion. His Competitors were *John Hepburn* and *Andrew Foreman*. The Firſt was Prior of S. *Andrews*, and, during the Vacancy, Vicar General of the Dioceſs, and Manager of the Revenues; being a Man of great Power, engaged the Canons to Elect him, and was Supported by many of the Nobility: Upon this, he laid Siege to the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* then poſſeſſed by our Author's Servants. The other, *Andrew Foreman*, Biſhop of *Murray*, and Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges* in *France*, by the Intereſt he had in the Court of *Rome*, and the Powerful Recommendation of the Duke of *Albany*, afterwards Governour, obtained a Bull from the Pope for that Dignity; and was ſubmitted to, and acknowledged, as Arch-Biſhop, by moſt of the Clergy and all the Vaſſals of the See. Our Author, reflecting on the Scandals, which aroſe from thoſe Unworthy and Ambitious Conteſts, reſolved to prefer the Honour of a Chriſtian and Peaceable Diſpoſition to his Temporal Intereſt and Greatneſs; and therefore did wholly lay aſide his Pretenſions to that See. After much Contention and Diſpute, about it, by the other Two Contending Parties, at laſt it was Agreed, That *Andrew Foreman* ſhould have the Arch-Biſhopric; and *John Hepburn*, the Biſhopric of *Murray*, with the Revenues of S. *Andrews* he had taken up, during the Vacancy.

The Queen Regent preſents him to the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*.

And to the Arch-Biſhopric of S. *Andrews*; but is obliged to quit it.

George Brown, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Dying upon the 15th of *January* 1515, the Queen, being then at *Perth* with the Lords of the Council, and inform'd of the Vacancy of that See, preſented our Author to it, and afterward obtained a Bull, in his Favour, from Pope *Leo* X. by the Interceſſion of her Brother *Henry* VIII. King of *England*. Yet, notwithſtanding his Right was Founded both on the Papal and Royal Authority, he could not obtain Conſecration, nor Peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Biſhopric for a conſiderable time, becauſe of a Powerful Competitor. For *Andrew Stewart*, Prebendary of *Craig* and Brother to the Earl of *Athol*, got himſelf Poſtulated Biſhop (*z*), by ſuch of the Chapter as were preſent; and his Title was ſupported by all the Queen's and her Husband the Earl of *Angus*'s Enemies; particularly by the Duke of *Albany*, who Arrived in *Scotland*, in *May* 1515, and was Declared Regent, in the Firſt Seſſion of Parliament. After the Governour's Arrival, our Author was Accuſed of Acting contrary to the Laws of the Nation, and Statutes of Parliament (*a*). Some Acts indeed had been made againſt receiving Bulls from *Rome*,

He is made Biſhop of *Dunkeld*.

(*y*) In Collect. Epiſt. Reg. Scot. MS. in Bib. J. C. Edin. (*z*) One is ſaid to be Poſtulate Biſhop, who could not be Canonically Elected, but may, through Favour and a Diſpenſation of his Superior, be admitted. (*a*) Jac. 3. Parl. 6. cap. 44. Jac. 4. Parl. 4. cap. 39. Jac. 3. Parl. 2. cap. 86. Jac. 4. Parl. 1. cap. 4.

Rome, yet they were ſeldom put in Execution: But the Governour and his Party were glad to find any Pretext againſt him. He was therefore pronounced Guilty, and committed to the Cuſtody of *John Hepburn* the Prior, in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, whence he was carry'd to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, then to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and thence again to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: In which Places he continued Priſoner, more than a Year, until the Governour was reconcil'd to the Queen and the Earl of *Angus*. At which time, he was ſet at Liberty, reſtored to the Favour of the Regent, and Conſecrated Biſhop by *James Beaton* Chancellor of the Kingdom and Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*. This Solemnity was performed, at *Glaſgow*, and the Arch-Biſhop was ſo Generous, as to bear all the Expences of it. After his Conſecration, he went to S. *Andrews*, and from thence to his own Church at *Dunkeld*, where he was moſt kindly received by his Clergy and People.

He is accuſed before the Parliament and ſent to Priſon.

He is ſet at Liberty, and Conſecrated Biſhop.

He goes to his Epiſcopal See.

After the Bulls were Publiſhed at the Altar, and the Bleſſing Pronounced, he went to the Dean's Houſe, where he was moſt ſplendidly Entertained, becauſe his own Palace and the Steeple were Poſſeſſed by *Andrew Stewart*'s Servants, who pretended to keep them, in the Name of the Governour, and refuſed to ſurrender in the Abſence of their Maſter. The next Day, when the Biſhop was endeavouring to go to the Church, he was hindered by the frequent Firing of his Adverſaries: And therefore was forced to perform Divine Service in the Dean's Houſe, where the Canons took the Oath of Canonical Obedience; and he, on the other Hand, Swore to Obſerve certain Statutes of the Church. After Dinner, they brought him Word, that *Andrew Stewart* had taken Arms, and was reſolved to Join his Servants, and Defend the Palace againſt the Biſhop. Then *James* Lord *Ogilvy*, *David* Maſter of *Crawfurd*, *Colin Campbel* of *Glenurquhie*, the Laird of *Kinfawns* and ſeveral others, that were with him, made themſelves ready to Oppoſe him; and immediately diſpatch'd Expreſſes to the Shire of *Angus* and other Parts, to call the Biſhop's Friends to his Aſſiſtance. A very great Number came, the next Day, from *Montroſe*, the Lower Parts of *Fife* and all the Neighbouring Country. So that *Stewart*, finding it was impoſſible for him to enter into the Palace, retired into the Woods: And theſe, who held out the Biſhop's Houſe, were Summoned to Surrender, under Pain of Excommunication. They refuſed to yield: But the Prebend of *Alith*, and *James Carmichael*, with the Biſhop's Servants, made themſelves Maſters of the Steeple, more by Prudence and Stratagem than by Force. After which, thoſe, in the Palace, began to be afraid, and begged, that a Truce might be allowed them for ſome Hours, and the Sentence of Excommunication delay'd: Both which were granted. Yet they were ſo Obſtinate, that they would not yield, till they laid Siege to the Houſe, and then they ſurrendred.

Andrew Stewart, being informed how Matters had gone, went with his Brother to Court, hoping to get a Favourable Reception from the Governour. The Biſhop thought it neceſſary to go thither alſo, and to defend his Right. After the Buſineſs had been a good time Debated before the Governour, at laſt, by the Prudent Mediation of ſome Lords of the Council, an Agreement was made betwixt them on theſe Terms; That *Stewart* ſhould keep the Revenues of the Biſhopric, which he had formerly received, and Poſſeſs the Churches of *Alith* and *Cargill*, paying

He goes to Court, and is reconcil'd to *Andrew Stewart*.

Yearly to the Biſhop certain Chalders of Victual. This Agreement the Governour deſired the Pope to Confirm by the following Letter (*b*).

Beatiſſime Pater, felicia pedum oſcula. Vacante ſuperiores dies Dunkeldenſi *Eccleſia, per obitum* Georgii *illius noviſſimi Paſtoris, qui domi diem clauſit extremum, Præſidens & Capitulum pro tempore illic reſidentes illuſtrem virum Magiſtrum* Andream Stewart, *Regio Sanguine ex utrovis Parente procreatum, Comitis* Atholiæ *filium, illic potentem, & Eccleſiæ, licet non in ſacris Canonicum, in Paſtorem ſibi poſtularunt; & in ejus tutelam, terras, Caſtella & loca Epiſcopatus commiſerunt & tradiderunt, ut ſilveſtris populi incurſus, eo authore, propulſarent. Verum Sanctitas veſtra, referente reverendiſſimo Cardinale de* Medicis, Gawinum Douglas *ad* Dunkeldenſem, *aſſumſit Eccleſiam, qui Clementiæ veſtræ crebris ad nos literis nobis tandem reconciliatus, ad Eccleſiæ poſſeſſionem demum admittitur. Sed altero Epiſcopatûs Arces & Caſtella, Poſtulationis prætextu, tenente: Ne quid Tumultûs & Seditionis oriretur, in concordiam perſuaſimus, quæ veſtræ Beatitudinis auctoritate firmata rem omnem pacaverit. Id quod in præſens poſtulamus, ut juris & facti defectus & errata tollens obſervandum decernat contractum. Cæterum ex reverendiſſimo Divi* Euſebii *Cardinale plenius enarretur. Beatiſſime Pater, feliciter agite. Ex* Edinburgo, *vigeſimo octavo Menſis* Septembris, *Anno Salutis decimo ſexto ſupra milleſimum & quingenteſimum.*

Our Reverend Prelate, being at laſt put in the Peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Office, gave himſelf wholly up to the Faithful Diſcharge of his Duty, among his Clergy and People. But the Affairs of the Nation required his Preſence at Court, Ambaſſadors having been ſent from *France* (*c*), for renewing the Ancient League between the Two Nations, the *Scots* Nobility met together, and made Choice of the Governour, as the fitteſt Perſon, to go to the Court of *France*, for Managing an Affair of ſo great Conſequence: And, it being neceſſary that ſome Perſons, of great Experience and ſingular Wiſdom, ſhould Accompany the Duke, and be Aſſiſtant to him, none were judged ſo Worthy of this Honourable Employment, as Mr. *Patrick Panter*, (Chancellor of the Chapter of *Dunkeld* (*d*), Abbot of *Cambuskenneth* and Secretary of State to King *James* V. as he had been to his Father King *James* IV.) and our Prelate (*e*). Tho' the Biſhop was thus obliged to leave his Charge, yet he uſed all imaginable Diligence, at the Court of *France*, to make his Abſence as ſhort as poſſible, by getting himſelf employ'd to bring the Firſt Account of it to *Scotland*, where both he and his Meſſage were received with great Joy. After a ſhort Stay at *Edinburgh*, he returned to his Dioceſs, and apply'd himſelf carefully to the Duties of his Sacred Function: And, amongſt many other Charitable Works (*f*), he Finiſhed the Stone-Bridge, over the River *Tay*, oppoſite to his own Palace, which had been begun by his Predeceſſor. Neither is there any Account of his being at *Edinburgh*, till ſome Years after, when the Skirmiſh hapned betwixt the Earls of *Arran* and *Angus*, commonly call'd *Cleanſe the Cauſy*, which was thus.

He is ſent over to *France*, with the Governour to renew the Ancient League between the Two Nations.

He returns to *Scotland*, and Builds a Bridge over the River *Tay*.

The Governour, the Duke of *Albany* (*g*), having gone to *France*, in the Year 1517, had Deputed Six others to manage the Affairs of the Kingdom, during his Abſence, *viz.* the Earls of *Arran*, *Angus*, *Argyle* and *Huntly*, and the Two Arch-Biſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*: And, to

(*b*) See the Life of Gawin Douglas, page 7. (*c*) Leſl. lib. 9. pag. 385. (*d*) Their Commiſſion is ſtill extant, dated March 1. 1517. (*e*) Miln Vit. Epiſcop. Dunkeld. (*f*) Miln. ibid. (*g*) Buch. lib. 14.

to prevent Diſcords amongſt them, as uſually happens amongſt Men of equal Power, he aſſign'd to each of them their particular Provinces. Yet, notwithſtanding of this, ſeveral Diſorders being committed, of which even ſome of themſelves were thought to have been the Authors, it was thought convenient, by the other Governours, to devolve their Power upon the Earl of *Arran*, who ſhortly after Summoned a Convention of the States, to Meet at *Edinburgh*, on the 29th of *April* 1520. On which Day, the Earl of *Arran*, with the Chief Noblemen of the Weſt, aſſembled together in Arch-Biſhop *Beaton*'s Houſe, where, before the Sitting down of the Convention, they reſolved to Apprehend *Angus*; alledging, His Power was ſo great, that, as long as he was Free, they could not have a Free Parliament. The Earl of *Angus* was no ſooner informed of this, but he ſent his Uncle, our Prelate, to them, to know what they had to lay to his Charge; and that he was willing to ſubmit himſelf to the Convention. Our Prelate made this Overture, Firſt to Arch-Biſhop *Beaton*, and told him, That he, by his Character, ought to concur with him, in perſwading the reſt to accept of it. The Arch-Biſhop, tho' he was as deep in the Deſign as any of them, and had put on Armour to Aſſiſt them in Perſon; yet went about to Excuſe himſelf, and laid the Blame on the Earl of *Arran*, Who, he ſaid, was Offended, with the Earl of *Angus*, for many Reaſons. And, after he had reckoned up the Chief of them, he, in end Concluded, *There is no Remedy, upon my Conſcience I cannot help it:* And, in the Heat of his Aſſeveration, he beat on his Breaſt with his Hand, which made the Iron-Plates of the Coat of Mail, under his Caſſock, return a Rattling-Sound. Upon which, our Prelate ſaid to him, *How now, my Lord? methinks your Conſcience clatters. We are Prieſts, and, to put on Armour, or to bear Arms, is not conſiſtent with our Character.* So leaving him, he went to Sir *Patrick Hamilton*, deſiring him to interpoſe with his Brother, the Earl, that he would allow *Angus* to Viſit the Queen, his Wife, then in the Caſtle, and thereafter leave the Town Peaceably. This Propoſal was very well received by the Earl of *Arran*; and probably had taken effect, if his Son, Sir *James*, had not Oppoſed it, and upbraided Sir *Patrick* with Cowardice, which he laid ſo much to Heart, that, to give Proof of the contrary, he ruſhed out to the Street, with the reſt of *Arran*'s Party. Upon this, a hot Skirmiſh enſued, which laſted for ſome time, till at laſt, the Citizens favouring the Earl of *Angus*, upon the Queen's Account, the Earl of *Arran*'s Men, being Overpowered by Numbers, were forced to give Ground, having left about 72 Dead on the Place, and, amongſt them, the Maſter of *Montgomery* and Sir *Patrick Hamilton*. The Earl himſelf, ſeeing the Day loſt, with his Son Sir *James*, Fought their Way, and made their Eſcape. *Godſcroft* ſays (*b*), The Arch-Biſhop Fled to *Linlithgow*, upon his Foot. But *Lindſay* of *Pitſcottie* and Dr. *Anderſon* ſay (*i*), with more Probability, That he Fled to the Black-Friars-Church, and there was taken out from behind the Altar, and his Rocket torn off him; and that he had been Slain, had it not been for our Author, who Begged his Life, and who, during all the Time of the Action, retired to his Chamber, where he employed his Time, as a Chriſtian Biſhop ought to do on ſuch Occaſions, in Offering up Prayers to the Throne

He comes to a Convention of the States at *Edinburgh*.

He endeavours to compoſe a Difference between the Earl of *Arran* and his Nephew the Earl of *Angus*.

(*b*) Ubi ſup. (*i*) Pitſcottie in his Continuation of Boeth. Hiſt. Dr. Anderſon's Hiſt. both in MS. in the Lawiers Lib. at Edinb.

of Grace, for the Preſervation of his Friends: And this proceeded not from Old Age or Want of Strength, as *Buchanan* ſays, for he was not then above 46 Years of Age, but from a tender Regard of his Holy Office and the Canons of the Church. *Pitſcotie* and *Anderſon*, in their MS. Hiſtories, ſay, That this Action was in the Year 1515; but all our other Hiſtorians ſay, That it was *April* 30. 1520.

The Animoſities and Factions Daily increaſing in *Scotland*, the King of *England*, ſays *Herbert* (*k*), prevail'd, with the King of *France*, to keep the Governour. And, in the Collection of the Epiſtles and Memorials to Foreign Courts, by the Kings of *Scotland* (*l*), there is a Letter of the Three Eſtates to the Pope, Dated upon the 4th of *January* 1520, intreating, That he would deal with the *French* King, to ſend Home the Governour. To which is ſubjoined a Note, that this Letter was not ſent from *Edinburgh*, but, from *Paris*, by the Governour and Secretary, *Panter*. However, at length he obtained the *French* King's Leave, and Arrived in *November* 1521. Not long after his coming, a Parliament was call'd, to which many Noblemen and Gentlemen were cited, and, among others, the Earl of *Angus*, with his Brother Sir *George*, and a great many of his Friends. Yet there is no Account, in our Hiſtories, of our Prelate's being cited. *Buchanan* indeed ſays (*m*), That the Court, ſtill retaining their Old Jealouſy againſt him, cauſed him to be cited before the Court of *Rome*. But there is not the leaſt Shadow of Truth in this, and it is not only Falſe in Matter of Fact, but highly Improbable: For, our Author being a Perſon of an Unblamable Life and Converſation, it is not to be thought, that his Enemies would have ventured, to have Accuſed him of any Immorality or Malverſation in his Office, which were the only things that fell under the Cognizance of that Court. Others, with no leſs Improbability, ſay (*n*), That he obtained a Licence, from the Governour, to go to *England*, and from thence to *Rome*. But the true Matter of Fact was, our Prelate, ſeeing that the Court was bent againſt the Family of *Angus*, and nowiſe doubting, but that they would be at him amongſt the reſt, retired into *England*, where he reſolved to ſtay, till he ſaw how Affairs went. This unluckily fell out, when the Emperor *Charles* V. and the King of *England* entred into a League againſt *France*, which likewiſe engaged the *Scots* to Share in the Fate of their Allies. War being Declared againſt them, immediately before, by the King of *England*, our Worthy Prelate's Enemies taking hold of this Opportunity, a Proceſs was immediately commenced, and a Sentence of Proſcription paſſed againſt him by Public Authority, which was afterwards turned into a Proclamation, bearing, "That whereas *Gavin* "*Douglas*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, had Treaſonably entred and deſigned to "reſide in *England*, Joining himſelf to the Public Enemy of the Kingdom after War was Denounced, and that not only without Licence "and Permiſſion but againſt the expreſs Orders of the Governour. "Therefore they Command the Vicar-General of S. *Andrews* (the See "being vacant) to Sequeſtrate the Revenues of *Dunkeld*, and ſtrictly "Forbid all Perſons to Aid or Aſſiſt him with Money or Counſel, or "anywiſe to keep Correſpondence with him, under the higheſt Pains. But, beſides the Spait of the Court againſt the whole Name of *Douglas*, it was thought, that *James Beaton*, Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, did not a little con-

He retires into *England* and thereupon is declared Rebel & Fugitive.

(*k*) Life of Henry VIII. (*l*) MS. in Bib. J. C. Edin. (*m*) Buch. lib. 14. (*n*) Anderſ. MS. Hiſt.

contribute to this ſevere Treatment of our Prelate. For, the Arch-Biſhopric of S. *Andrews* falling vacant, about that time, by the Death of *Andrew Foreman*, he was afraid of no Competitor ſo much as of our Prelate; and therefore, to be rid of him, he ſeems to have had a principal Hand in the Draught of this Act and Edict againſt him, that he might render him Odious, not only to the whole Nation, but alſo to Foreigners, and eſpecially to the See of *Rome*. For, in the Body of the Edict, 'tis Reſolved, That the Three Eſtates Write to the Pope, not to Aſſume or Recommend him to the Arch-Biſhopric, as being a Perſon that had bad Deſigns againſt the Government, and was in the Enemy's Country and Intereſt. That which renders this the more probable is, that, in a Letter, which the Arch-Biſhop Writes (*o*) to the King of *Denmark*, he repreſents our Prelate as a Perſon Diſaffected to the Government, and going about to infringe the Privileges, granted to the *Scots* Nation by the Holy See, by endeavouring to be Preferred to the Arch-Biſhopric of S. *Andrews* and Abbacy of *Dumfermling*, by the Intereſt and Favour of the Emperor and King of *England*, then Public Enemies to *Scotland*: And therefore he intreats that King, that he would Write to his Miniſters at *Rome* to inform his Holineſs, that the Biſhop was under a Sentence of Baniſhment, becauſe of his Demerits, and thereby put a Stop to his Ambitious Deſigns. This Letter is Dated at *Edinburgh*, *April* 8th 1522, and the Arch-Biſhop was ſo Succeſsful in his Project, that, in a few Months after this, he was Preferred to the See of S. *Andrews*. No doubt, but his Severity to our Prelate was the Reaſon, that when the *Douglaſſes* were reſtored to the Kings Favour, they were ſo violent in their Reſentments againſt the Arch-Biſhop, that they not only drove him from the Court, but obliged him, for a long time, to lurk and ſhift from Place to Place, that he might not fall into their Hands. Yet, notwithſtanding of all theſe Attempts againſt our Prelate, to blacken his Reputation, he was received at *London*, with great Joy, by all thoſe who had any Eſteem for Vertue and Learning. Amongſt theſe, was *Polydore Virgil*, who was then Writing his Hiſtory, and contracted ſuch a Friendſhip and Intimacy with him, that our Learned and Excellent Author was reſolved to have given him a more Exact Account of our *Scots* Affairs, than *John Mayor* had done, who Publiſhed his Hiſtory, in the Month of *April* 1521. Which our Prelate, having ſeen, advertiſed *Polydore* (*p*) not to rely upon that Author, and begun to Write the Hiſtory of *Scotland* himſelf: But he had only Time to Finiſh a few Sheets of it; for, in a few Days, he was carry'd off, by a violent Sickneſs, as ſome ſay (*q*); or by the Plague, as the Generality of our Hiſtorians affirm. And this Imperfect Work, that *Polydore Virgil* gives us an Account of, is that which *Dempſter* calls *Liber de Rebus* Scoticis; and which *Polydore* calls *Commentariolus*. That which ſeems to have incenſed our Author againſt *Joannes Major*'s Hiſtory was, That he call'd in Queſtion the Story of *Gathelus* and *Scota*, which he begun his Hiſtory with, as we Learn from *Polydore*'s Account of it.

Where he becomes acquainted with *Polydore Virgil*.

He begins to Write the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, but is prevented by Death.

He Died in the Month of *April*, in the Year 1522, about the 48 Year of his Age, and was Buried in the Hoſpital-Church of the *Savoy* (*r*), on

His Death and Character.

(*o*) In the Collect. of Epiſt. by the Scots Kings to Foreign Courts MS. in Bib. J. C. Edinb. (*p*) Polyd. Virgil. Hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. pag. 52. Edit. apud Guarinum 1570. (*q*) Leſly pag. 336. Anderſon ubi ſup. (*r*) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 562. Weever's Funeral Monum. pag. 446.

the Left Side of the Tomb-Stone of *Thomas Halſay*, Biſhop of *Laghlin* in *Ireland*; on which there is this Inſcription for them both.

Hic jacet Tho. Halſay Leighneing *Epiſcopus, in Baſilica Sancti* Petri Romæ *Nationis* Anglicorum *Pœnitentiarius, ſummæ probitatis vir, qui hoc ſolum poſt ſe reliquit. Vixit dum vixit bene.* CUI. LÆVUS. CONDITUR. GAWINUS. DOUGLAS. SCOTUS. DUNKELDEN. PRÆSUL. PATRIA. SUA. EXUL. 1522.

I have already given the Names of a great many Learned Men, who Commend our Author, and whoſe Teſtimonies are inſerted at length in the late Edition of his Tranſlation of *Virgil*, to which is Prefixt, by the Learn'd Editors, a full Account of our Author's Life, Written, with great Accuracy, from our beſt Hiſtories and Records: In which Edition, they have not only Corrected the many Errors of the former Editions, but likewiſe ſupply'd the Defects from a moſt excellent MS. Copy in the College of *Edinburgh*; and, that nothing might be Defective, they have added a large Gloſſary, explaining all the Difficult Words, which may ſerve for a Dictionary to the Old *Scots* Language: So that we can hardly ever expect a better Edition of this Work. And I cannot give a Better or Juſter Character of our Author, than what they have given. "He was a Perſon, as Eminent for his great Vertues and Learning, ſay "they (*f*), as for his Illuſtrious Birth and Education. He Behaved "himſelf, in the moſt Troubleſome Times, with Singular Prudence "and Moderation; adhering to his Friends, in their outmoſt Dangers "and Difficulties, with the greateſt Conſtancy and Faithfulneſs. He "ſhew'd a peculiar Dexterity and unbyaſſed Integrity, both in managing "Public Negociations and Private Affairs. He bore Afflictions and "Croſs Accidents of Life, with an Undaunted Courage, and a true "Chriſtian Patience, and Reſignation; and alwiſe thought it more A-"greeable to the Spirit of the Goſpel, to Forgive Injuries, than to Re-"venge them. An Exemplary Piety ſhone thorough the whole Conduct "of his Life; and a Paternal Care of his Clergy made him dear to "them. He was much given to Hoſpitality, and took Pleaſure in do-"ing Acts of Charity both Public and Private. In a Word, he was a "Wiſe States-Man, a Faithful Counſellor, an Excellent Patriot, a Con-"ſtant Friend, the Honour of his Country, the Ornament of the Church, "a Judge and Maſter of Polite Learning; and may be juſtly Reckoned "amongſt the Beſt Biſhops and Learndeſt Men of his Age.

(*f*) See his Life page 14.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *THirteen Bukes of* Eneados *of the Famoſe Poete* Virgill, *Tranſlatet out of* Latyne *Verſes into* Scotiſh *Metir, euery Buke hauing his particular Prologe, Imprinted at* London 1553, *in* 4to. *and Reprinted at* Edinburgh 1710 in Folio.

II. *The Palace of Honour*, Lond. 1553 in 4to. & Edinb. 1579.

III. Ovid's *Book* de Remedio Amoris, *Tranſlatyed into* Scots *Meeter*.

IV. Aureæ Narrationes.

V. Comœdiæ aliquot ſacræ.

VI. De Rebus *Scoticis* Liber. *Theſe Four Books mentioned laſt, are now loſt.*

THE

THE LIFE of *JOHN MAJOR* Professor of Theology, and one of the Doctors of the *Sorbon* at *Paris*.

His Birth, Parentage and Education.

JOHN MAJOR, or *Joannes Major*, as he calls himself, was Born at *Haddingtoun* (*a*) in East *Louthian*, in the Year of our LORD 1478. We know nothing concerning the Quality of his Parents; but, by the Course of his Studies, it would appear, that they had not been of a mean Rank. For, after he had Finished them in his own Country, he went to the University of *Oxford*, where he Study'd for some time, as 'tis thought, in the Abby of *Osney*; the Melody of whose Bells he Commends in his History, as being the best in *England*. *Campanis cœnobii de* Osneya *nullæ in* Anglia *meliores putantur*, says he (*b*). Thereafter, being desirous to see the Famous University of *Cambridge*, he went thither, and Study'd for the Space of Three Months, in *Christ*'s College, as he himself informs us (*c*). From *Cambridge*, he went over to the University of *Paris*, where he apply'd himself very closely to the *Belles Lettres*, in the College of S. *Barbe*, under the Famous *John Boulac*, who was afterwards Principal in the College of *Navarre*. After this, he went to the College of *Montague*, where he Study'd Theology, under the Celebrated *Standouk*: But, he being Exiled in the Year 1498, our Author, by the Advice of his old Master *Boulac*, got himself Associate into the College of *Navarre*, yet so as not to be Obliged to quit the College of *Montague*, where he Taught Philosophy and Theology for some time. In the Year 1505, he was Created Doctor of Divinity; after which, he returned to his own Country, and Taught Theology, for some Years, in the University of *Glasgow*: But, finding great Animosities and Heats Daily arising in the Country, he returned again to *France*, renewed his Lessons upon the Master of the Sentences, in the College of *Montague*, where he Taught with great Applause, and Bred up, under him, some of the most Famous Men of that Age. Amongst whom, were *James Almain*, Professor of Theology in the College of *Navarre*; *Jerome Hangest*, Professor of Theology and General Vicar to the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, Bishop of *Mans*; and *Robert Cenalis*, Bishop of *Avranches*: Who, as I have said, were the most Famous Doctors of their Age, as appears by the many Excellent Works, they left behind them.

He goes to *Oxford*.

From thence to *Cambridge* thereafter to the University of *Paris*, where he Studies the *Belles Lettres*, then he goes to the College of *Montague*, where he Teaches Theology and Philosophy.

He is made D. D. and returns to *Scotland*, where he Teaches Theology at *Glasgow*, goes back again to *Paris* and Teaches with great Applause.

He Writes several Books.

Whilst he was Professor in the College of *Montague*, he Composed and Published several Treatises in Philosophy, Theology and History, which were then, and are yet, highly Esteemed amongst the Learned. Here

(*a*) Regii Navar. Gymnas. Paris. Histor. Aut. Joan. Lauon. pag. 652. Athæn. Oxon. Vol. 1. pag. 44. Novel. Bibl. des Auteur. Eccleias. Tom. 14 pag. 159. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. 12. pag, 481. (*b*) Hist. Major. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 1. (*c*) ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5.

I ſhall give the Reader an Account of them, according to the Years in which they were Publiſhed.

The Firſt is upon the Fourth Book of Sentences, Publiſhed Firſt in the Year 1509, then in 1516, and laſtly in 1519 *in Folio*. This Commentary, upon the Fourth Book of Sentences, is Dedicated to *Gawin Douglas* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and *Robert Cockburn* Biſhop of *Roſs*.

His Commentaries, upon the Firſt and Second Book of Sentences, were Firſt Publiſhed, at *Paris*, *in Folio*, in the Year 1510; and afterwards much Augmented, in the Year 1519. They are Dedicated to *George Hepburn* Abbot of *Arbroth*, and one of the Members of the King's Privy Council.

His Commentary, upon the Third Book of Sentences, was Publiſhed, at *Paris*, *in Folio*, in the Year 1517. We have given a ſufficient Account, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, of the Subtile and Nice Queſtions, that are handled in the Books of Sentences; ſo that we ſhall not trouble the Reader with them any more.

All his Logical Treatiſes were Publiſhed together at *Lyons*, *in Folio*, in the Year 1514: And I have his Commentary upon *Ariſtotle*'s Phyſics, Publiſhed, *in Folio*, in the Year 1526. Theſe Two Folioes I ſhall not trouble the Reader with an Account of, for the ſame Reaſon, that I gave for my not inſiſting upon his Commentaries upon the Sentences: For, they being nothing elſe but ſubtile Commentaries upon *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, of which I have at large Treated, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, I need not repeat what I have ſaid before.

His Literal Expoſition of the Goſpel of S. *Matthew* was Publiſhed, at *Paris*, *in Folio*, in the Year 1518. In this Commentary upon S. *Matthew*, our Author has inſerted Three Hundred and Eighty Difficulties, which are neceſſary to be Explained, for the better underſtanding both the Meaning and Order of Time that is to be Obſerved amongſt the Evangeliſts. Some of which I ſhall here Acquaint the Reader with.

It is a conſtant Tradition, Founded upon the General Conſent of all Churches in the World, That there are but Four Goſpels, the Firſt of which is that of S. *Matthew*: *Neque autem plura numero quam hæc ſunt* (ſaith S. *Irenæus*) *neque rurſus pauciora capit eſſe* (*d*). Yet ſome have doubted, if S. *Matthew* was the Firſt that committed the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt to Writing, becauſe S. *Luke* (*e*) ſeems to Accuſe thoſe of little Care and Exactneſs, that had Publiſhed the Goſpels before him: And ſince this Accuſation cannot fall upon any of the Three other Evangeliſts, they Conclude from thence, That none of them had Written before. But our Author rejects this Opinion, as being contrary to the Order of the Four Goſpels, Eſtabliſhed at all times among all Nations, and Authoriſed by the moſt Ancient Fathers.

Another Difficulty, which ariſes, is, Whether S. *Matthew* Wrote his Goſpel in *Greek* or *Hebrew*? And, if in *Hebrew*, what is become of that Goſpel? This Difficulty has been very warmly Debated, even by the Critics of this Age. *Eraſmus*, Cardinal *Cajetan* and ſeveral others think, that this Goſpel was Written in *Greek*. *Papias*, who lived with the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, affirms, in expreſs Terms, That S. *Matthew* Wrote

(*d*) Irenæus adv. Hæreſ. lib. II. (*e*) Chap. I. v. I.

Wrote (*f*) it in *Hebrew*: The like does S. *Irenæus* (*g*), *Origen* (*h*) and ſeverals of the Ancient Fathers. But if this be true, then a greater Queſtion ariſes, *viz.* What is become of this *Hebrew* Goſpel? And if we are to eſteem the *Greek* Verſion of equal Authority with the reſt of the Goſpels? As to the Firſt, a Modern Critic has made it very plain (*i*), That S. *Matthew* Wrote his Goſpel Firſt in *Hebrew*, which was for a long time Preſerved and Read amongſt the *Nazarenes* and *Ebionites*, but at this Day it is loſt. And S. *Jerome* tells us (*k*), That he had Tranſlated this Goſpel into *Greek* and *Latin*, having ſeen Two Copies of them, one of which was kept in the Library of *Cæſarea*; and he had Borrowed the other, from the *Nazarenes* themſelves of *Berea*, to Copy it out (*l*), and that many People Believed (*m*), that this *Hebrew* Goſpel, whereof the *Nazarenes* and *Ebionites* made uſe, was the Original of S. *Matthew*. We find alſo, that the moſt Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers have cited it, as the True Goſpel of S. *Matthew*: And 'tis believed, that S. *Ignatius*, the Martyr, had taken out of it theſe Words of our Saviour to S. *Peter* (*n*), *Touch me, and ſee that I am not a Spirit.* *Euſebius* and S. *Jerome* cite theſe ſame Words of S. *Ignatius*, which are ſtill to be found, at this Day, in this Epiſtle. And S. *Jerome* Obſerves, that they are taken from the *Hebrew* Goſpel of the *Nazarenes*, which he had lately Tranſlated. And ſince the Ancients had ſuch a great Value for this Goſpel, which they believed to be that of S. *Matthew*, I ſhall, to ſatisfy the Curious Reader, inſert ſome Paſſages, out of the forecited Critic, as they are left us by S. *Jerome* and S. *Epiphanius*.

S. *Jerome*, comparing (*o*) the Vulgar *Latin* with this *Hebrew* Goſpel on S. *Matthew*, Ch. vi. V. 11. where we read in the Vulgar *Latin*, *Panem noſtrum ſuperſubſtantialem da nobis hodie*: (*Give us this Day our Superſubſtantial Bread,*) Obſerves, that the *Hebrew* Word Anſwers exactly to the *Greek* Word ἐπιούσιον, which ſignifies *of to Morrow*. From whence he infers, That the Senſe of this Paſſage is, *Give us this Day our Bread of to Morrow*, that is to ſay, *of every Day*, as it was in the Ancient Vulgar *Latin*. And S. *Jerome* hath kept the Word *quotidianum*, (*Dayly*) in S. *Luke*, Chap xi. V. 3.

In this Goſpel there is an Apparition of our Saviour to S. *James*, which is not in the *Greek* Verſion, and is related thus (*p*), *When the* LORD *had given the Cloth to the Servant of the Prieſt, He went and appeared to* James. *Now* James *had Sworn, That he would not eat Bread, from the Hour that he Drank of the Cup of the* LORD, *till he ſaw Him ariſe from the Dead.* Then a little after, *Bring, ſays the* LORD, *the Table and the Bread.* Then 'tis ſaid, *That He took the Bread, Bleſſed it, and broke it, and then gave it to* James *the Juſt; and ſaid to him, My Brother eat thy Bread, becauſe the Son of Man is ariſen from thoſe that Sleep.*

S. *Jerome*, in his Commentary upon the Twelfth Chapter of S. *Matthew*, where Mention is made of a Man, who had his Hand withered, and was heal'd by Jeſus Chriſt, cites this Goſpel, where this Hiſtory is Writ more at large, and with other Circumſtances: And, amongſt the reſt, this is ſpecify'd, that this Man was a Maſon by Trade, and that he thus Addreſſed himſelf to our Saviour, *I was a Maſon, that gained my*

(*f*) Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 39. (*g*) Apud Euſeb. lib. 6. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cap. 25. (*h*) Apud Euſeb. lib. 6. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cap. 25. (*i*) F. Simon's Crit. Hiſt. of N. Teſt. (*k*) Lib. 3. ad Pelag. (*l*) De Script. Eccleſ. in Matth. (*m*) Comm. lib. 2. in Matth. cap. 12. (*n*) Ign. Epiſt. ad Smyr. (*o*) Hier. Comment. in Matth. lib. 1. cap. 6. (*p*) Hier. de Scrip. Eccleſ. in Jacob.

Livelyhood by Working. I pray Thee, Jeſus, to heal me, that I may not be obliged ſhamefully to Beg. The ſame S. *Jerome* cites Two other conſiderable Paſſages of the ſame Goſpel, at the Beginning of his Third Book, againſt the *Pelagians*, without leſſening their Credit; but on the contrary, he cites it, as an Authentic Goſpel. The Firſt is concerning the Baptiſm of S. *John*, whereof Chriſt ſaid, *That He had no need*; and which is as follows, *Behold the Mother of our LORD: And his Brethren ſaid unto Him*, John *the Baptiſt Baptizeth in the Remiſſion of Sins, let us go and be Baptized by him. But He ſaid unto them, In what have I Sinned, that I ſhould go, and be Baptized by him; unleſs it be in this, that I ſaid, It was Ignorance?* The other Paſſage is concerning a various Reading of the 21ſt and 22d Verſes of the xviii Chapter of S. *Matthew*, and runs thus, *If thy Brother Sin againſt thee, and ask Pardon of thee, receive him Seven Times a Day. Then* Simon *his Diſciple ſaid unto Him, Seven times a Day? And the LORD ſaid unto him, Yea I ſay unto you, even unto Seventy times. For in the Prophets alſo, after they were Anointed by the Holy Ghoſt, the Word of Sin was found.*

In this Goſpel alſo, there is a different Reading of the 16 and 17 Verſes of the iii. Chapter of S. *Matthew*, where the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt is mentioned; for there it is read thus (*q*), *And when the LORD aſcended out of the Water, the whole Fountain of the Holy Spirit deſcended and reſted upon Him, and ſaid to Him, Amongſt all the Prophets I expected Thee to come, and I will reſt in Thee; for Thou art my Reſt, Thou art my Firſt Begotten Son, who Reigns for now and for ever.*

Amongſt the Miracles that hapned at the Death of our Saviour, and are declared in the xxvii Chapter, it is ſaid (*r*), in this Goſpel, That the Top of the Gate of the Temple, that was of a prodigious Bigneſs, was broken in Pieces: Whereas we read only in our *Greek* Copy, that *the Vail of the Temple was rent in Twain.* In the xxiii Chapter, Verſe 35. where we read *Zacharias*, Son of *Barachias*, it is here (*ſ*) *Zacharias* Son of *Jojada*; and this Reading is confirmed, by that which is related concerning this *Zacharias*, in the Old Teſtament. The Genealogy of Jeſus Chriſt, and all that follows to the iii Chapter, was left out in this *Hebrew* Copy, and it begun thus (*t*), *It came to paſs in the Days of* Herod *King of* Judea, *that* John *came, Baptizing the Baptiſm of Repentance in the River* Jordan, *who was ſaid to be of the Race of* Aaron, *the Prieſt, the Son of* Zacharias *and* Elizabeth, *and all People came unto him.*

In this Goſpel the Baptiſm of our Saviour by S. *John* was related after this manner (*u*), *After the People had been Baptized,* Jeſus *came alſo, and was Baptized by* John. *And as He Aſcended out of the Water, the Heavens were opened, and he ſaw the Holy Spirit of GOD, in Form of a Dove, which deſcended and came towards Him; and a Voice was heard from Heaven, ſaying, Thou art my Beloved Son, in Thee I have been well pleaſed, this Day have I Begotten Thee. And immediately a great Light ſhone about the Place; and* John *having ſeen it, ſaith unto him, Who art Thou, LORD? And again a Voice from Heaven ſaid unto him, This is my Beloved Son, in whom I have been well pleaſed. And then* John, *falling down before Him, ſaid, I pray Thee, LORD, Baptize Thou me. But He forbad him, ſaying, Suffer it to be ſo; for thus it becometh all things to be fulfilled.*

In

(*q*) Hier. lib. 4. Comm. in Eſ. cap. 11. (*r*) Hier. lib. 4. Comment. in Matth. cap. 27. (*ſ*) Id. ibid. cap. 23. (*t*) Epiphan. Hereſ. 30. (*u*) Evangel. Ebion. apud. Epiph. ibid.

In the Beginning of this Goſpel, we find a Conſiderable Alteration from our *Greek* Copy. For there it is ſaid (*x*), *There was a certain Man*, Jeſus *by Name, of about Thirty Years of Age, who hath Choſen us, and, being come to* Caphernaum, *He entred into the Houſe of* Simon, *Sirnamed* Peter, *and opening His Mouth, He ſaid, When I paſſed along the Lake of* Tiberias, *I choſe* John *and* James, *the Sons of* Zebedee, *and* Simon, *and* Andrew, *and* Thaddæus, *and* Simon Zelotes, *and* Judas Iſcariot; *and I called thee*, Matthew, *ſitting at the Receit of Cuſtom, and thou haſt followed Me. I will then, that you be Twelve Apoſtles for a Teſtimony unto* Iſrael. *And* John *was Baptizing, and the Phariſees came unto him, and were Baptized, and all* Jeruſalem. *And* John *had his Raiment of Camels-Hair, and a Leathern Girdle about his Loins, and his Food was wild Honey, that had the Taſte of Manna, as a Cake dipt in Oil.*

Several Learned Men have been of the Opinion, that the Hiſtory of the Adulterous Woman, in S. *John*, was taken out of this *Hebrew* Goſpel. For *Papias* ſaith, That (*y*) the Hiſtory of the Woman, who was Accuſed of many Sins before our Saviour, was to be read in the Goſpel, that was call'd *according to the Hebrews*. But the Learned Cardinal *Baronius*, and ſeveral others, have thought (*z*), That the Hiſtory, related in *Euſebius* by *Papias*, is different from that whereof S. *John* ſpeaks, becauſe *Papias* Diſcourſeth of a Woman Accuſed of many Crimes in General; whereas S. *John* ſimply takes Notice of an Adulterous Woman. Beſides, in a great many Ancient MSS. of S. *John*'s Goſpel, this Hiſtory of the Adulterous Woman is not to be found. And *Theodore Beza* (*a*), after he had affirmed, that, in Seventeen Ancient MSS. which he had read, this Hiſtory was wanting, but in one of them; yet he ſuſpects it, becauſe the Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſays he, have either rejected it, or have been ſilent therein. He ſaith moreover, That it is not probable, that Jeſus Chriſt would have remained alone, in the Temple, with a Woman; that this Relation doth not cohere with what follows: And that, that which is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt, That He Wrote with his Finger on the Ground, is a very extraordinary thing, and hard to be explained; and theſe things, with the great Diverſity of Readings that is found, in the *Greek* Copies, in that Place, made him doubt of the Truth of that Hiſtory. But his Maſter, *Calvin*, in his Commentary upon that Place, Diſcourſes with a great deal of Moderation. *For*, ſays he (*b*), *it is well known, that the Ancient* Grecians *knew nothing of this preſent Hiſtory, and therefore ſome have conjectured, that it hath been taken from ſome other Place, and added here. But, foraſmuch as it hath been alwiſe received in the* Latin *Churches, and is found in many Copies and Ancient Books of the* Grecians, *and contains nothing that is Unworthy of an Apoſtolical Spirit, there is no Cauſe, why we ſhould refuſe to make a good Uſe of it.* Now as for the *Greek* Manuſcripts, in which this Paſſage is either to be found or had, *F. Simon* (*c*) gives us this brief Account of them. The moſt Ancient MS. Copy of the Goſpels of thoſe that are in the King's Library (*d*), hath not the Twelve Verſes that are now in Queſtion; but a blank Space is left in that Place, wherein they ſhould have been Written, to ſignify that they were in ſome Copies. There is, in the ſame *French* King's Library,

(*x*) Evang. Ebion. apud Epiph. ubi ſup. (*y*) Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 39, (*z*) Baron. Ann. Chr. 99. N. 6. (*a*) Beza Annot. in Joan. cap. 7. ver. 53. (*b*) Com. ſur. S. Jean. cap. 8. ver. 1. (*c*) Crit. Hiſt. of the N. Teſt. Part 1. cap. 13. (*d*) Cod. MS. Bibl. Reg. N. 2. 861.

another MS. of the Goſpels, to which is adjoined a Collection of Commentators, which is commonly call'd *Catena*, (or *a Chain*) where theſe Twelve Verſes are Written at the End of the Goſpel of S. *John*, with this Note (*e*), *The Verſes, marked with an* Obelus, *are not in ſome Copies, nor in the* Apolinarian, *but they are all in the Ancient.* There is, in the Library of the Fathers of the *Oratory* at *Paris*, a like Collection or Chain of *Greek* Commentators, on the Goſpel of S. *John*, gathered together by *Nicetas*; in which, this Hiſtory is not joined to the Text of this Chain, but only to the End of it, with this Note (*f*), *The End of the Goſpel of S.* John; and afterwards, *But there are found ſome other things in the Ancient Copies, which we think convenient to Write at the End of the ſame Goſpel*, viz. *And every Man went to his own Houſe*, &c. At the End of Verſe 11. of Chap. viii. of this Goſpel, this ſame Note is found, at the End of another like Manuſcript Collection of *Greek* Fathers, onthe Four Goſpels, which is in the *French* King's Library: And the ſame thing is read therein (*g*), at the End of S. *John*, as in the Copy of the *Oratory*, and expreſſed after the ſame manner. In another Copy in the *French* King's Library (*h*), where this Hiſtory is wanting, it is added on the Margin, but with a latter and different Hand from the Text. This Copy is Written very curiouſly, ſays Father *Simon*: And the Muſical Notes, that are marked on certain Words for the more eaſy Singing of the Goſpels, make it appear, that it hath been made for the uſe of ſome *Greek* Church. It is very probable alſo, that theſe Verſes were not read in S. *Chryſoſtome*'s Church, ſince he doth not expound them, in his Homily, upon the Chapter of S. *John*, where we read them at preſent. They are wanting likewiſe in another Copy of the *French* King's Library, indorſed 2860. Neither are they in any of thoſe that are in Mr. *Colbert*'s Library (which is very Rich in all ſorts of Manuſcripts) ſave Two, in one of which, all this Hiſtory of the Adulterous Woman is Written with the ſame Hand, as the whole Text of S. *John*, and with a Mark, ſomewhat in Form of an Aſterisk, which is alſo put at the Beginning of every Line, as if it were deſigned to Denote, that it had been taken from other Copies, and inſerted in the Text.

But after all, it is certain, that the *Greek* Manuſcripts, in which this Hiſtory is Written, very much exceed thoſe in Number, in which it is not to be found: And, amongſt theſe Firſt, there are ſome very Ancient. For it is read in the Copy of *Cambridge*, which is the moſt Ancient of any, that we have, at this Day. The *Alexandrian* Copy, 'tis true, is Imperfect in this Place: But, it is found in another Ancient Manuſcript, which was brought from *Cyprus*, and is in Mr. *Colbert*'s Library, and Written in Capital Letters.

But to return to the other Part of the Doubt, which our Author Propoſes, *viz.* concerning the Authority of the *Greek* Copy; ſince it is acknowledged, by all the Ancient Fathers, that the Original *Hebrew* Copy is loſt, S. *Jerome* ſays (*i*), that *Matthew* was the Firſt, who Wrote the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt for the Uſe of the *Jews*, who had Embraced Chriſtianity, but that it was not known who he was, that Tranſlated it out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*. Yet the Author of the *Synopſis*, attributed to S. *Athanaſius* (*k*), after he has ſaid, That it was Firſt compoſed by S. *Matthew*,

(*e*) N. 1883. (*f*) Cod. MS. Bibl. PP. Orat. Pariſ. (*g*) MS. Bibl. Reg. N. 1869. (*h*) Ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Reg. N. 2860. (*i*) Hieron. de Script. Eccleſ. in Matth. (*k*) Athan. in Synopſ. S. Script.

thew, who Publiſhed it in *Jeruſalem* in *Hebrew*, ſays, that S. *James*, the Firſt Biſhop of this City, Tranſlated it into *Greek*; but produceth no Act of the Ancient Writers of the Church, to Juſtify his Opinion. *Papias* (*l*), on the contrary, who was not far diſtant from the Apoſtles, ſays, That it being Written Originally in *Hebrew*, every one Tranſlated it as he was able. Upon which, Father *Simon* thinks (*m*), that, in theſe Primitive Times of the Chriſtian Religion, diverſe Private Perſons had Tranſlated this Goſpel for their own Uſe, and almoſt after the ſame manner as there have been ſeveral *Latin* Verſions from the *Greek*; tho' there was one, that was more generally received than the others. And it is probable, that the *Ebionites*, *Nazarenes*, &c. who preferr'd the *Hebrew* Goſpel of S. *Matthew* before the others, made *Greek* Verſions of it for their Uſe, as well as the Orthodox.

Caſaubon, who hath uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to decry the *Hebrew* Goſpel, which the *Nazarenes* and the *Ebionites* had kept, that he might give the greater Authority to the *Greek*, acknowledges very freely, that the Fathers are very much Divided in their Opinions on this Subject: Some aſcribing it to S. *James*; others, to S. *John*; others, to S. *Barnabas*; and ſome few, to S. *Paul* and S. *Luke*. This Diverſity of Opinions, ſays he (*n*), plainly ſhews, that it cannot be certainly affirmed, who hath been the Author of this *Greek* Verſion: But it ſerves for a Demonſtration to make it appear, That it is derived from the very Times of the Apoſtles, who are the Authors or Promoters of it; or rather it ought to be attributed to the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe Inſtruments they have been. But, what this Learned Man takes to be a Demonſtration, others of no leſs Learning, look upon as but meer Conjectures; eſpecially ſince *Papias* (*o*), who lived with the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, if there had been in his Time a *Greek* Verſion of the Goſpel of S. *Matthew* made by ſome Apoſtle, would not have failed to have told us of it; whereas on the Contrary, he Declares, that *Every one Tranſlated it, as he was able*: And therefore they are of the ſame Opinion with our Author, who attributes the Authority of this Verſion to the Church's having ranked it amongſt the Canonical Books.

Our Author has treated of ſeveral other Difficulties concerning the Goſpel of S. *Matthew*, which he diſcuſſes with a great deal of Subtility. His *Hiſtory of Great Britain*, or his Book *de Geſtis Scotorum*, was Firſt Publiſhed by *Badius Aſcenſius*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1521, *in* 4*to*. and Dedicated to King *James* V. This Hiſtory is Divided into Six Books, wherein he gives a Summary Account of the Affairs of *Scotland*, from *Fergus* I. till the Marriage of King *James* III. in the Year 1469, with which he Concludes his Work. He mixes the Chronicles of *England* and *Scotland* all along, and takes the greateſt Part of what Concerns our Nation from the *Engliſh* Writers; and his Principal Authors are *Bede*, *Caxton* and *Froiſard*. We have already ſhown, how *Gavin Douglas* was diſpleaſed with this Performance. It muſt be owned, that he differs very much from all our other Hiſtorians: For he looks upon the Story of *Gathelus*, coming out of *Greece*, to be a meer Figment (*p*), and purpoſely contrived to Outbrave the *Engliſh*, who were beginning to brag of their Deſcent from *Troy*. Yet he Believes, that the *Iriſh* came out of *Spain*; and the

(*l*) Pap. apud Euſeb. lib. 3. Hiſt. Eccleſ. cap. 39. (*m*) Crit. Hiſt. of the N. Teſt. Part 1. pag. 78. cap. 9. (*n*) Caſaub. Exercit. 15. ad An. (*o*) Pap. ubi ſup. (*p*) Lib. 1. Fol. 170.

Scots out of *Ireland*. In his Account of our Monarchs of Fifteen Kings, that he only acknowledges to have been betwixt *Fergus* the I. and II. he mentions not above Three or Four of them. And it plainly appears, from the whole Tract of his Hiſtory, that it was not drawn out of Ancient and Authentic Monuments, for he cites none of them but from the Hiſtories above Named.

In treating of the Actions of Princes and of the Government, he frequently has Theological Reflections, wherein he very Plainly and Openly declares his Mind. Thus, in ſpeaking of King *David* I. he condemns him for his Profuſeneſs, in erecting ſo many Monaſteries, and endowing them out of the Revenues of the Crown; and thinks a Law, reſtraining ſuch Exorbitancy for the Future, would be of good Purpoſe. In another Place, he inveighs againſt the Nobility, for Matching the Heireſs of the Kingdom into *Norway*, and thereby balking the Opportunity, they might have had, of Uniting the Two Nations (*q*). In the Caſe of *Baliol* and *Bruce*, he maintains the Power of the People, and gives great Allowances to the Parliament in the Diſpoſal of the Crown (*r*).

What his Sentiments were concerning both the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Power, will beſt appear from what he has ſaid, upon this Subject, in ſeveral Writings of his; which were all Collected and Publiſhed, with diverſe other Treatiſes of the ſame Nature, in a Collection Publiſhed in the Year 1683, *in Folio*, Intitled *The Defences of the Doctrine of the Ancient Theologues of the Faculty of* Paris. The Sum of which is, That the Eccleſiaſtical Power is given by Jeſus Chriſt to his Apoſtles, Diſciples and their Succeſſors, for the Government of the Church, according to the Laws of the Goſpel, and for the Salvation of the Faithful. The Temporal Power, according to our Author, has its Riſe from the People, who give it to certain Perſons, by Succeſſion or Election, for the Government of the Civil Community, according to the Laws Enacted by the State, and for maintaining of Peace among them. This Power is of GOD, as the Duty, that is to ſay, that GOD wills, there ſhould be Temporal Powers to Adminiſtrate Juſtice: But ordinarily it is not of GOD, as to the Uſe or Acquiſition of this Right; becauſe GOD has not given it immediately to certain Perſons, as He has given the Eccleſiaſtical Power. Now, according to our Author, there are Six Sorts of Eccleſiaſtical Powers, *viz.* I. That of Order, inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt in Eſtabliſhing the Communion. II. That of Adminiſtrating the Sacraments, and particularly that of Penance given to His Apoſtles, when He Breathed upon them, and ſaid unto them, *Receive ye the Holy Spirit.* III. The Power of Juriſdiction, for Puniſhing the Wicked, granted by Jeſus Chriſt in S. *Matthew*, Chap. viii. V. 17. IV. That of Inſtituting or Ordaining Prieſts, and Diſtributing and Conferring Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, Conferred, by theſe Words of our Saviour, to S. *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep.* V. That of the Apoſtleſhip, or of Preaching the Goſpel, expreſſed in the laſt Chapters of S. *Matthew* and S. *Mark*. VI. That of Receiving, and even of Requiring, from their Inferiors, Temporal Goods for their Nouriſhment and Raiment, recommended by Jeſus Chriſt in theſe Words, *The Work-man is worthy of his Wages.*

As there are Spiritual things and Temporal things, ſo there are Sins that are purely Spiritual, which are only againſt the Divine and Eccleſiaſti-

(*q*) Lib. 4. cap. 12. Vid. lib. 5. cap. 17. (*r*) Lib. 4. cap. 17.

ſiaſtic Laws; and Temporal Crimes, which are againſt the Civil Laws. Jeſus Chriſt, having Eſtabliſhed this Spiritual Power, did not make all his Prieſts to have an equal Juriſdiction. The Power indeed of Conſecrating is equal in all Prieſts, as is likewiſe that of Abſolving: But the Biſhops, by Divine Right, have only the Power to Adminiſtrate the Sacraments of Holy Orders and Confirmation. As to the Power of Juriſdiction, which relates to the Exterior *Forum*; as to make Laws, Excommunicate, give Indulgences, &c. he acknowledges, that it is not equal in all, and that the Pope has a more Extenſive Power than any other Biſhop. The Eccleſiaſtic and Temporal Power are Two Diſtinct Powers, and have different Objects. Jeſus Chriſt, as Man, was Proprietor of ſome Goods; but He was not the Temporal King of the *Jews*, and far leſs Sovereign of the whole World. He had no Juriſdiction over Things Temporal; and, tho He had had, He gave it not to the Pope, nor to the Church: So that the Goods of Eccleſiaſtics are not, by Divine Right, exempt from the Civil Juriſdiction. As to their Perſons, according to *Gratian*, they are exempt by Divine Right; but they are not as to the Things, that belong to them by Divine Right, as in Tithes and Excommunications. As to Excommunications, he ſays, That the Pope cannot Excommunicate for an Internal Sin, but only for an External and Public one. And tho' when an Internal Sin appears exteriorly, the Sinner may be Excommunicated by an Excommunication *a Jure*; yet not by an Excommunication *ab Homine*. Neither can a General Excommunication *a Jure* have any Effect, unleſs the Matter of Fact be Legally Proven.

As to the Obligation of Eccleſiaſtic Laws; Firſt, The Pope or any other Prieſt may impoſe a ſecret Puniſhment; and, in the *Forum* of Penance, the Penitent is obliged to accept of it; nor can he diſpenſe himſelf of it, without a Sin. Secondly, A General Council may make a Law, that obliges to do a thing, which is not preciſely obliging by the Divine Law. Thirdly, The Sovereign Prieſt or Pope may likewiſe make a Law, that obliges under Pain of committing a Mortal Sin.

As concerning Diſpenſations, the Pope cannot Diſpenſe either with a Law of Nature or a Divine Law, nor ought he to Diſpenſe with an Apoſtolical Law. And in General, all Diſpenſations ought to be for a Reaſonable Cauſe. If the Pope Diſpenſe with Vows, it is not by Annulling the Obligation of the ſimple Vow by his Authority; but by Declaring, That the Vow does not Oblige in that Particular Caſe: But he cannot Diſpenſe with a Solemn Vow.

As to the Authority of the Pope, compared with that of a General Council, tho' it be ordinary for all Councils to be call'd by the Pope; yet there are Three Caſes, in which a General Council may be call'd without his Authority. The Firſt is, If the Pope be Dead, either by a Civil or Natural Death. Secondly, If, being required to call a General Council, he refuſes to do it. And Laſtly, When the Time and Place of the Council is aſſigned and appointed by another preceeding Council. A Council, Legally call'd in theſe Caſes, has the Eccleſiaſtical Power in the Exterior *Forum*: For ſuch a Council may make Canons, inflict Penalties, give Indulgences, pronounce Excommunications, and grant Diſpenſations. All the Doctors of *Paris* and *France* did then, and do yet ſuſtain, That the Power of the Pope is ſubject to that of the Council.

That the Council can make Laws, that are binding upon the Pope. That this Council is Infallible, and that the Pope, not being ſo, ought to ſubmit to their Deciſions. That an Appeal might be made from the Pope to the Council. That the Council might Judge and Depoſe the Pope. And Laſtly, That it might exempt ſome Members of the Church, from his Juriſdiction, in certain Points, but not in General from all Submiſſion to the Pope; the Infallibility being annexed to a General Council, as it repreſents the Univerſal Church, and is aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt.

As to the Temporal Power, our Author is of the Opinion, That it is only Founded upon a ſimple Approbation, that GOD gives to this Authority; and that, in this Senſe, it is ſaid *to be of* GOD. As for Sovereign Powers, it is not to be doubted, that they are Proprietors of the Goods, the Community gave them to ſuſtain their Dignity: But they are not Proprietors of all the Goods, over which they are Sovereigns; ſo that a King cannot Alienate either his Kingdom or any Part of it. As to the Pope's Pretence over Sovereign Princes, our Author mocks at it extremely. The Principal Exerciſe of the Temporal Power conſiſts in the Right of Life and Death: And it is not Lawful for any Private Perſon to Kill a Criminal, at his own Hand, unleſs he cannot preſerve his own Life otherwiſe; but only it belongs to the Public Authority to Puniſh Criminals. If a Man be Condemned to Death, it is either Juſtly or Unjuſtly. If he be Condemned Unjuſtly by the Deciſion of the Judge, who had not ſufficient Proofs for Condemning him, or who has not Obſerved the Forms of Juſtice in doing it; then the Condemned Perſon may not only make his Eſcape, but likewiſe uſe Violence in making of it: And if he be Condemned Unjuſtly, becauſe he is Innocent; then, tho' the Judge has acted according to the Strict Rules of the Court, the Condemned Perſon may ſave himſelf at the Hazard of his own Reputation. But if he be Juſtly Condemned, and in Hazard of Death, he may make his Eſcape: Yet, ſince he deſerved to Die, he ought not to Break his Priſon, or uſe any Violence, that may make another ſuffer for him. And theſe are our Author's Thoughts concerning the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Power, which he and all his Diſciples violently maintained, and for which he is highly Commended to this Day.

Our Author's next Work, which was Printed, at *Paris*, in the Year 1529, was his *Commentary upon the Four Goſpels*; in which, beſides the Interpretation he gives of the Text, he has inſerted ſeveral Diſſertations againſt the Heretics both of Ancient and Modern Times. To the End of this Commentary he has annexed Four very Curious Queſtions. The Firſt is, Whether the Law of Grace be the only True Law? The Second, What a Catholic Truth is? And, How many Degrees it has? The Third, is about the Number of the Evangeliſts. The Fourth, is about the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe. Theſe Two laſt Queſtions having afforded great Matter of Diſpute amongſt the Learned, we ſhall here give a brief Account of what has been ſaid concerning them.

As to the Firſt, concerning the Number of the Evangeliſts, we have already ſhown, that, by the Conſent of the whole Churches now in the World, there are only the Four Goſpels of S. *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*, that are received as Canonical: Yet there have been great Diſputes, amongſt the Heretics and Fathers of the Primitive Church, concerning other

other Goſpels, and the Veracity and Truth of thoſe, that are now received. We have given an Account already of the Goſpel (according to the *Hebrew*) of S. *Matthew* : Beſides which, there was a Goſpel, according to the *Egyptians*, cited by S. *Clement* of *Alexandria* (*s*), where Jeſus Chriſt is brought in, ſaying unto *Salome*, *I am come to Deſtroy the Works of the Woman*, which is there Interpreted to be Concupiſcence. S. *Epiphanius* likewiſe cites (*ſ*) this Goſpel, and ſays, That the *Sabellians* made uſe of it to confirm their Error, becauſe there were many Myſtical things in it concerning Jeſus Chriſt, and which ſeemed plainly to prove, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt were but one Perſon.

We have ſtill extant the Proto-Evangil of S. *James* (*t*), which was Publiſhed by *Neander*, and is to be found amongſt the Orthodoxographs. This Book is nothing, but a Collection of Fooliſh and Ridiculous Stories, amongſt which, are many concerning the Nativity, the Life and Child-birth of the Virgin *Mary*; a Few of which we ſhall here inſert (*u*), whereby the Reader may Judge of the reſt.

Joachim was choſen amongſt the Nations of the Twelve Tribes. *Reuben* ſaid unto him, It was not Lawful for him to Sacrifice, becauſe he wanted Incenſe. Hereupon, in great Sorrow, he retired unto the Deſert, where he Faſted for Fourty Days.

Anna fell a Weeping, and her Servant *Judith* deſired her to take the Lawrel. Upon this ſhe deſcended into a Garden, where ſhe Lamented, ſhe was not like unto a Bird, that had its Neſt upon the Lawrel Tree. Then an Angel appeared unto her, and told her, She ſhould have a Son. This Angel deſcended and told the ſame thing to *Joachim*. She looked to her ſelf in the Breaſt-Plate or Ephod of the High-Prieſt, and ſaw that ſhe had no Sin.

The Virgin went only Six Months with Child. She was Nouriſhed in the Temple by Angels, and Married to *Joſeph* ; becauſe a Dove came out of the Rod that was given to him by the High-Prieſt : But *Joſeph*, finding her with Child, cauſed her Drink of the Waters of Jealouſy, according to the Law, &c.

The Goſpel of *Nicodemus*, which follows that of S. *James* in the ſame Collection, is as full of Fables concerning the Paſſion and Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, as the other is concerning the Life of the Bleſſed Virgin. For here it is ſaid, That *Pilate* ſent a Courier for Jeſus, this Courier immediately Adored Him ; ſo did all the Soldiers, contrary to their Inclinations, and their Colours or Enſigns fell down before Him Twice. The Narrations of the Evangeliſts is mixt with ſeveral Fables. It makes Jeſus Chriſt give an Anſwer to *Pilate*, when he asked Him, *What was Truth?* *Nicodemus* is brought in, ſeveral times, ſpeaking, as likewiſe thoſe that Jeſus had Cured. The Woman, that Jeſus Cured of the Bloody Flux, is called *Veronica*. In the Account of Chriſt's Reſurrection, he makes the Dead, who then roſe from their Graves, to have diverſe Ridiculous Diſcourſes amongſt themſelves. When Jeſus Died, it is ſaid, That the Sign of the Croſs was made by the By-Standers. He makes the Devil, upon Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell, have ſeveral Ridiculous Reaſonings. After Chriſt's Reſurrection, *Pilate* is ſaid to have Conſulted the Bibliothec of the *Jews*, and that they found, that He was the *Meſſias*.

(*s*) Lib. 3. Stromat. (*ſ*) Hæreſ. 26. (*t*) In orthodox. (*u*) Vid. M. du Pin Bib. Eccleſ. Tom. 1. pag. 3, 4.

Tertullian hath Written a Book on purpoſe againſt *Marcion* (*x*), whoſe Diſciples gave it out, That their Maſter had not brought any Innovation into Religion, in ſeparating the Law from the Goſpel: But that he had only Rectify'd the Rule of Faith, which was Corrupted. This *Marcion*, who followed the Opinions of *Cerdon* (*y*), rejected the Law and all the Prophets, Alledging for his Authority, in ſo doing, a Paſſage of S. *Paul*, in his *Epiſtle to the* Galatians, Chap. ii. where he tells us, That he withſtood S. *Peter* and ſome other Apoſtles to the Face, becauſe they did not Walk according to the Truth of the Goſpel. From this, *Marcion* had taken the Occaſion, not only to Reform the Goſpel of S. *Luke*, but to make a New one of his own. *Tertullian* Anſwers him, That he could not charge the Apoſtles, with Corrupting the Goſpels, without Accuſing Jeſus Chriſt, at the ſame time, who had choſen them. *Marcion* Pleaded, That the Goſpel he had, was that which was Written by S. *Luke*: But that, which the Catholics had was interpolated by Falſe Apoſtles. To this Objection *Tertullian* gives Two Anſwers. The Firſt is, the Univerſal Conſent of the Churches, that were Planted by the Apoſtles, and of other Churches that derived their Original from them. All theſe Churches, ſays *Tertullian*, have preſerved the Copy of S. *Luke*, as it was Written from the Beginning; whereas that of *Marcion*, on the contrary, was hardly known; or, if it was known, it was Condemned by the Church at the ſame time. In the next Place, he ſays, That *Marcion*, in his Goſpel, had Retrenched ſeveral Places, and interpolated others. Thus he charges him, with having Retrenched that Place, where Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, *That he was not come to Deſtroy the Law and the Prophets; but rather to Fulfil them.* But either *Tertullian* has confounded the Goſpel of S. *Luke* with that of S. *Matthew*, which *Marcion* did not own; or elſe *Tertullian*'s Copy of S. *Luke* was different from that, which we have at this Day; for theſe Words are only to be found in S. *Matthew*.

He Objects to him, in the Second Place, That he had taken away, from the Goſpel, theſe other Words, *I am not ſent but unto the loſt Sheep of* Iſrael. This Paſſage is alſo only found in S. *Matthew*. But *Epiphanius*, being much more accurate in his Obſervations upon the Goſpel of the *Marcionites*, we ſhall here produce ſome particular Remarks, taken out of this Father by the Learned F. *Simon*, by which the Reader will be better able to Judge, what this Goſpel was (*z*).

Marcion had not, in his Goſpel, all the Beginning of S. *Luke* to theſe Words, *In the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of* Tiberius Cæſar, that is to ſay, he had cut off the Two Firſt Chapters of our Edition. Neither did he read, as we do at this Day, the Particle ν, which ſignifies *now*, and hath ſome Relation to that which preceeds. S. *Epiphanius* adds (*a*), That, beſides the Paſſages which this Heretic had taken away from his Goſpel, he made conſiderable Alterations. Thus, in Chap. v. of S. *Luke*, and V. 14. where we read, *for a Teſtimony unto them*, *Marcion* read, *that this may be a Teſtimony unto you*; making that to fall on them, who were healed by Jeſus Chriſt, which relates to the Prieſts. In our Copies Chap. vi. V. 17. we read, *being come down with them*, *Marcion* read, *He came down in them.* Chap. viii. V. 19. we read, *His Mother and His Brethren:* But *Marcion* read

(*x*) Tert. adv. Marcion. (*y*) Epiph. Hæreſ. 42. N. 4. (*z*) Critical Hiſt. of the N. Teſt. Part 1. chap. 12. (*a*) Epiph. Hær. 42.

read, *Thy Mother and thy Brethren.* Chap. ix. V. 40, 41. *Marcion* did not read in his Copy, *They could not caſt it out: And he ſaid unto them, O Faithleſs Generation, how long ſhall I ſuffer you?* as *Epiphanius* has it, but more conciſe without that harſh Expreſſion, *O Faithleſs Generation!* Chap. x. V. 21. where we read, *I thank Thee, O Father*; *Marcion* had it without the Word, *O Father.* Chap. xii. V. 29, and 30. *Marcion* had taken away from his Goſpel, all that is ſaid, in this Place, concerning *Jonas*, reading only theſe Words, *There ſhall no Sign be given to this Generation.* He did not read alſo the Two following Verſes, wherein mention is made of the Queen of the South, of *Solomon* and the *Ninivites.* In the ſame Chap. V. 42. where it is in our Copies, *Judgment*; *Marcion*, had in his *Vocation.* He did not read alſo, in his Copy, in the 49 Verſe of the ſame Chapter, theſe Words, *Therefore alſo ſaid the Wiſdom of* GOD, *I will ſend them Prophets.* Neither did he read theſe Words, V. 51. *It ſhall be required of this Generation.* Chap. 12. V. 6. He had not in his Copy theſe Words, *Are not Five Sparrows ſold for Two Farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before* GOD?

In the ſame Chapter V. 8. inſtead of theſe Words *The Angels of* GOD, *Marcion* read only, GOD: Neither did he read theſe Words of the 28th Verſe of the ſame Chapter, *GOD Clotheth the Graſs.* And, in the 32d Verſe, where we have it, *Your Father*, he read it ſimply, *Father.* In the ſame Chapter V. 38. inſtead of theſe Words, *In the Second or Third Watch*, he read it, *In the Evening-Watch.*

In Chap. xiii. the Three Firſt Verſes were wanting in his Goſpel, as likewiſe theſe Words of the Fifth Verſe, *Except ye Repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe Periſh.* In the ſame Chapter, Verſe 28. in place of theſe Words, *Then ye ſhall ſee* Abraham, Iſaac *and* Jacob, *and all the Prophets in the Kingdom of* GOD; he had only theſe, *Then you ſhall ſee all the Juſt in the Kingdom of* GOD, *and you your ſelves thruſt out.* *Marcion* likewiſe had not, in his Copy, theſe Words in the 29th Verſe, *They ſhall come from the Eaſt and from the Weſt, and ſhall ſit down in his Kingdom*; nor thoſe of the 30th Verſe, *The Laſt ſhall be Firſt*; nor theſe of the 31ſt Verſe, *There came certain of the Phariſees, ſaying unto him, Get Thee out, and depart hence; for* Herod *will kill Thee*; nor the 32d Verſe; nor part of the 33d Verſe till theſe Words, *For it cannot be*; and in the 34th Verſe he had not theſe Words, O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, *which killeſt the Prophets, and Stoneſt them which are ſent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy Children together as a Hen?* in the 35th Verſe, he had not theſe Words, *Your Houſe is left*; nor theſe, *Ye ſhall not ſee Me until the Time come, when ye ſhall ſay, Bleſſed is.*

In Chap. xv. in *Marcion*'s Goſpel, the whole Parable of the Prodigal Son was not to be found. In Chap. xvii. V. 10. he had not theſe Words, *Say, We are unprofitable Servants, we have done that which was our Duty to do.* In the ſame Chapter, concerning the Lepers that met Jeſus Chriſt, in his Goſpel, it was thus in his Copy, *He ſent them away, ſaying, Shew your ſelves to the Prieſt*; and afterwards, *There were many Lepers in the time of the Prophet* Eliſha, *and none were cleanſed except* Naaman *the* Syrian. After theſe Words, Chap. xviii. V. 19. *None is Good ſave One,* in his Copy, was added, the *Father*; and at the 20th Verſe, inſtead of *Thou knoweſt*, it was, *I know.* The 31ſt Verſe of this Chapter was wanting

in his Copy, and these Words from the 32d and 33d Verses, *He shall be delivered, He shall be put to Death, and the Third Day He shall Rise again.*

In Chap. xix. in his Copy, all that which belongs to the History of the Arrival of Jesus Christ at the Mount of *Olives*, which was near *Bethphage*, is wanting; as likewise all that, which is related in this same Chapter, concerning the Ass on which our Saviour Rode, when He made His Entry into *Jerusalem*; as also the other Verses, wherein Mention is made of the Temple.

In the xx. Chapter, in his Copy, the whole Parable of the Vineyard, that was let forth to Husbandmen, beginning at V. 9. and ending at V. 16. are wanting; as likewise these Words of V. 17. *What is this then that is Written, The Stone which the Builders rejected*, &c.? also in his Copy was wanting V. 37. and a part of the 38. in which the Resurrection of the Dead is declared.

Chap. xxi. V. 18. these Words were not in his Copy, *There shall not an Hair of your Head perish*; nor these other Words of V. 21. *Then let them, which are in* Judea, *flee to the Mountains*; nor the rest of this History.

Chap. xxii. he had not, in his Copy, the 16, 35 and 36 Verses, nor that which is said of S. *Peter*, in the 50 Verse, when he cut off the Ear of one of the Servants of the High-Priest.

Chap. xxiii. V. 2. To these Words, *We found this Fellow perverting the Nation*, were added in his Copy, *and destroying the Law and the Prophets*; and, in the same Passage, after these Words, *forbidding to give Tribute*, in his Copy were these other Words added, *and perverting the Women and Children.* In V. 43. these Words, *To Day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise*, were not in his Copy.

Lastly, In *Marcion*'s Copy, V. 25. of Chap. xxiv. and these Words of V. 26. *Ought He not to have Suffered?* were wanting; and instead of these Words in V. 25. *that the Prophets have spoken*, he had in his Copy, *that I have spoken to you.*

This *Marcion* lived in the Beginning of the Second Century; and it is reported of him, That one Day, as he was walking thoro' the Streets of *Rome* (*b*), he met with S. *Polycarp*, Disciple to S. *John* the Evangelist, and asking him, *If he knew him?* this Holy Bishop Answered, *Yes he knew him to be Eldest Son of the Devil:* By which, we may see the Detestation and Hatred that the Catholics then had against him. Yet they themselves, it seems, had some Copies of S. *Luke*'s Gospel different from what we now have. For S. *Epiphanius* says (*c*), That, in some of them, there was wanting the Passage wherein it was said, (Chap. xix. V. 41.) That Jesus Christ Wept over the City of *Jerusalem*, because this Lamentation seemed to them, to be a Weakness unworthy of our Saviour: *The Orthodox* (saith this Father) *have Retrenched these Words, being moved thereto by Fear, and not considering the End nor the Force of them.* S. *Hilary* likewise informs us (*d*), that Verses 43 and 44, of Chapter xxii. where Mention is made of the Angel that came to Comfort Jesus Christ; and of the Bloody Sweat that came from his Body, are not in many *Greek* and even *Latin* Copies of S. *Luke*'s Gospel: And this is likewise confirmed by S. *Jerome* (*e*). But to return to the other Suppositious Gospels.

Altho'

(*b*) Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. (*c*) in Ancor. N. 3. (*d*) Lib. 10. de Trinit. (*e*) Lib. 2. adv. Pelag.

Altho' theſe Goſpels, that we have mentioned, are not to be rely'd upon; yet they did not contain ſuch groſs Errors, as thoſe that were framed by the Heretics in the Primitive Times, and of which only the Titles are now remaining; ſuch were the Goſpels attributed to S. *Peter*, to S. *Thomas* and to S. *Matthias* mentioned by *Euſebius* (*f*); thoſe of S. *Bartholomew*, and of the Twelve Apoſtles, mentioned by S. *Jerome* (*g*); the Goſpel of S. *Philip*, which was that of the *Gnoſtics*, as S. *Epiphanius* tells us (*h*); the Goſpel of *Judas*, which was that of the *Gaianites*, who Honoured that Traitor, as we Learn from S. *Epiphanius* (*i*) and *Theodoret*; the Goſpels of *Thaddeus*, *Barnabas*, *Andrew* and thoſe that were compoſed by *Heſychius*; as alſo the Book of the Race of *Mary*, and that of the Infancy of Jeſus Chriſt, both which were ſaid to have been compoſed by S. *Matthew*. Our Author ſhows, how that none of theſe Goſpels are of any Credit, becauſe they have been alwiſe rejected by the Catholic Church.

The other Queſtion is concerning the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, about which there is a great Variety of Opinions (*k*). For ſome have placed it in the Third Heaven; others, in the Fourth; others, in the Heaven of the Moon; others, in the Moon it ſelf; others, on a Mountain nigh to the Moon; others, in the middle Region of the Air; others, out of the Earth in a Place concealed from the Knowledge of Men; others have placed it under the *Artic* Pole, in *Tartary*, in that Place where now the *Caſpian* Sea is; others in the Torrid Zone. Many have placed it, in the *Levant*, upon the Borders of the River *Ganges*, and in the Iſland of *Ceylon*; and others have made the Word, *Indes*, come from the Word *Eden*, the Name of a Province, where Paradiſe was Situated. Some have placed it in *China*; others, in *America*; others, in *Africa* under the *Æquator*; others, on the Mountains of the Moon, out of which, it is thought, that the River of *Nilus* has its Riſe. A great Number have placed it in *Aſia*; ſome in *Armenia* the Greater; ſome, in *Meſopotamia*; ſome, in *Aſſyria*; ſome, in *Perſia*; ſome, in *Babylonia*; ſome, in *Arabia*; ſome, in *Syria*; ſome, in *Paleſtine*. Some have been ſo extravagantly Ridiculous, as to bring it over to *Europe*, and placed it at *Hedin*, a City in *Artois*, becauſe of the Reſemblance of *Eden* to *Hedin*. But this Controverſy is now fully and accurately clear'd by the Learn'd Biſhop of *Avranches*, in his Treatiſe of the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, as it will plainly appear to the Reader, from the following Expoſition of the Words of *Moſes*, as he has given them to us (*l*).

Geneſis Chap. xi. V. 8. *And the* LORD GOD *Planted a Garden Eaſtward in* Eden, *and there He put the Man, whom He had Formed.*

The *Hebrew* Word, *Eden*, may be taken either as an Appellative Name, or as the Proper Name of a Place. Taken as an Appellative, it ſignifies *Pleaſure* or *Deliciouſneſs*; and accordingly it has been ſo Interpreted by *Symmachus*, an Ancient *Grecian* Interpreter of the Scripture, cited by S. *Jerome* (*m*), *Severin* Biſhop of *Gabales* Cotemporary with S. *Chryſoſtome* and the Poet *Leonius*, who all Tranſlate it *a Flowry Garden*, or *a Delicious Garden*. This Signification of the Word, in all Probability, gave the Firſt Riſe to thoſe Coſtly Gardens, that the Princes of the

(*f*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 25. (*g*) In Præf. ſup. Matth. (*h*) Hær. 26. (*i*) Ibid. (*k*) Vid. Traité de la Situation du Paradis Terreſtre par Daniel Huet Eveque d' Avranches, pag. 4. (*l*) Ubi ſup. (*m*) Hieron. Queſt. Hebr. in Gen. Sever. Hom. 5. in Hexaem.

East made to represent that of *Eden*; such was that Garden of Gold, estimated at Five Hundred Talents, which *Aristobulus*, King of the *Jews*, presented to *Pompey*, and which *Pompey* carried afterwards in Triumph, and Consecrated to *Jupiter* in the Capitol. And the Conformity of the Words, *the Garden of* Eden and *the Garden of* Adon, might likewise have given the Occasion of those Gardens Consecrated to *Adonis*, which the *Greeks*, *Egyptians* and *Assyrians* planted in Vessels of Earth, and in Vessels of Silver, for to adorn their Houses, and carry in their Processions; tho' Mythologists give another Rise to this. But the Opinion of those, who take *Eden* to be the proper Name of a Place, has generally prevailed, and is Founded upon very good Reasons. For 'tis said in the above cited Verse, that *He planted a Garden in* Eden; and V. 10. *A River went out of* Eden; and Chap. iv. V. 16. That Cain *dwelt in the Land of* Nod *on the East of* Eden; and in the Prophet *Isaiah* Chap. li. V. 3. *and I will make her Wilderness like* Eden. It being plain from all these Passages, that *Eden* was the Name of a Place; the next thing to be enquired into is, where the Situation of this *Eden* was, that thereby the Situation of Paradise may be Discovered. We Read in the *Kings* and *Isaiah* (*n*), that *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria*, to Frighten *Ezechias*, who had Revolted against him, tells, How he had Destroyed *Gozan*, *Haran*, *Rezeph*, and the Children of *Eden* that Dwell at *Telassar*. Now the Learned Geographers of this Age are agreed, that *Gozan* is *Gauzanitide* a Province of *Mesopotamia*; that *Haran* and *Rezeph* are *Carrhæ* and *Resciphe* Cities in *Mesopotamia*, the First of which is Famous by the Defeat of *Crassus*; that *Eden* is the same Region, where *Moses* places Paradise; and that *Telassar* is *Talatha*, a City in *Babylonia*, which *Ptolemy* places upon the common Canal of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. And the Geographer *Stephanus*, when he speaks of a City, call'd *Adana*, Situated upon *Euphrates*, seems to imply, That it had its Name from the Inhabitants of *Eden*. But, to Fortify this the more, we find, that the Prophet *Ezechiel*, speaking of the Ruin of *Tyre*, when he is enumerating the People, with whom this Powerful City Traffick'd, puts together *Haran*, *Canneh* and *Eden*, *Ezech.* Chap. xxvii. V. 23. So here again *Haran* and *Eden* are joined together. The Country of *Eden* extended below, and perhaps above the joining of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and took up a good Part of that great Region, which was afterwards called *Babylonia*; and *Babylonia* begins to Terminate at the Joining of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Country, which is below this, Joining to the *Persian* Gulf, is call'd *Iraque* by *Alfergan* or *Alfragan*; but, by *Abulfeda* and other *Arabian* Geographers, *Erec*, and so it is call'd *Genesis* Chap. x. V. 10. This *Eric* was a City Situated along the common Bed of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, as *Babylon* was Situated upon *Euphrates*, above the Joining: And these Two Cities gave Names to Two Large Provinces. *Babylonia* extended to the Joining of the Rivers: And the Province of *Erec* or *Iraque* extended along the common Bed of these Two Rivers to the Right and Left from their Joining to the Sea. But Time has changed these things: For *Iraque* has overrun *Babylonia*, *Assyria* and *Media*, and they carry her Name; and *Babylonia*, on the other Hand, has taken Possession of all the Ancient Province of *Iraque*. So that, according to this Learned Prelate's System, the Terrestrial Paradise was Situated in that Part of *Eden*, in the Province of *Babylonia* or

(*n*) 4 Reg. cap. 19. V. 12. Isa. cap. 37. V. 12.

or *Iraque*, that extended it self along the common Bed of the Two great Rivers, nigh to the Place where was the Ancient City of *Erec* or *Aracca*, according to the Position of *Ptolemy* (o).

Now as the Ambiguity of the Word, *Eden*, raised Variety of Opinions amongst the Commentators, so the *Hebrew* Word, *Mikkedem*, which is Translated here, *Eastward*, is no less Ambiguous, signifying both the Time and Place. So in the First Sense it is taken by the Author of the Vulgar Translation, as likewise by the *Greek* Versions of *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, *Symmachus*, the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, and all the Interpreters that stand by the Vulgar Translation, who alwise Translate it thus, *In the Beginning*. But this Translation was so far from mending the Matter, that it raised new Disputes. For some thought, That, by this, it would appear, that this Garden was Planted before the Creation of the World, and of this Opinion was S. *Jerome*, the Author of the Fourth Book of *Esdras*, and the *Chaldee* Paraphrast *Jonathan*; others think, That hereby is to be understood, that this Garden was of an Antiquity equal to the World; and others, that it was only Planted on the Third Day of the Creation. Those, that believe *Mikkedem* to signify a Place, are likewise Divided in their Opinions. For some are perswaded, that it signifies the Extreme Parts of the *East*; others, that the Name of the *East* is not found, in Scripture, Apply'd to the Regions that are beyond the *Persian* Gulph, but only to those that are between that Gulph and *Judea*, that is to say, *Arabia*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia* and *Persia*. The *Chaldeans*, that lived towards the Foot of the River *Euphrates*, were called *Sabeans* by the *Arabians* and *Jews*, that is to say, Eastern People. And their Book of Agriculture, so often cited by Rabbi *Maimonides*, was call'd, *The Oriental Book*: And the Christians of S. *John*, the Inhabitants in and about *Bassora*, which is a Part of the Ancient *Chaldea*, are call'd so to this very Day. But it can hardly be doubted, that *Moses* did take the Word, *Mikkedem*, in this Sense, since we see, that, in the whole Series or Continuation of his Narration, 'tis so used; as when he says, *Genesis* Chap. iii. V. 24. That GOD, having expell'd *Adam* out of Paradise, established his Residing Place to the East of the Garden. In the same Sense it is likewise used, when, speaking of the Confusion of Languages, *Genesis* Chap. xi. V. 2. he says, That those, who were going to Build the Tower of *Babel*, came from the East to go to the Land of *Sennaar* or *Shinar*. He has it Twice in this Sense, when he is making a Description of the Situation of the Mountain, where *Abraham* Encamped after his Departure from *Sichem*, to show that the City of *Hai* was to the East of that Mountain, and the Mountain was to the East of *Bethel*, and that *Bethel* was upon the Sea-side, that is to say, on the West-side of the Mountain, making thus the Opposition of the East to the West, *Genesis* Chap. xii. V. 8. A great Number of other Places to the same purpose might be produced. Besides, this seems to have been the Sense, in which the Church has alwise taken this Passage, by the Custom of Building their Churches towards the East, and ordering the Christians to perform their Devotions with their Faces turned that way. For the Principal Reason, given by the Fathers, was, That this was to put them in Mind of that Place of Happiness and Pleasure, they had lost by the Fall of the First Man, and of the

(o) Lib. 6. cap. 3. & Tab. 5. Asiæ.

Care that they ought to take in Recovering of their Primitive Happineſs. But it ſeems more Probable, that this Cuſtom aroſe in Oppoſition to the *Jews*, who Built their Temples towards the Weſt, which they likewiſe did in Oppoſition to their Idolatrous Neighbours, who were moſt of them Adorers of the Sun, and, upon that Account, performed their Devotions towards the Eaſt. And it is Remarkable, that as the *Jews* had their Temples to the Weſt, ſo had the Ancient *Romans*, tho' afterwards, a little before the Time of *Auguſtus*, they Built them towards the Eaſt, as we Learn from *Vitruvius* and *Hygenus* (*p*). But there is one Difficulty that remains ſtill, which is, tho' this Word, *Mikkedem*, be the Name of a Place and ſignifies the Eaſt; yet it is doubtful, whether *Moſes* would have us ſimply underſtand, that Paradiſe was Eaſt in reſpect of himſelf when he Wrote this, and in reſpect of the Land of Promiſe for whoſe Inhabitants he Wrote it; or if his Meaning was, that it was in the Eaſt Part of the Country of *Eden*. But it ſeems pretty plain, that *Moſes* having ſaid that Paradiſe was in the Country of *Eden*, and the Country of *Eden* being ſo nigh to *Arabia* the Stony, where the *Iſraelites* then were, few or none of them could be ignorant of its Situation.

But this Controverſy will ſtill appear in a better Light, by what *Moſes* has, Verſe 10. of this Chapter, *And a River went out of* Eden *to Water the Garden, and from thence it was parted and became into Four Heads.* About the Meaning of theſe Words there is a great Variety of Opinions. For ſome think, that this River had its Riſe in *Eden*, and from thence had its Courſe thoro' the Garden; others, that it had its Riſe in the Garden it ſelf, which was in the Province of *Eden*; others, that only, after it had run through the Province by Subterranean Conduits, it ſprung out of the Earth, to Water the Garden, in Four diſtant Places not far from one another, and Formed the Four Rivers, *Ganges*, *Tigris*, *Euphrates* and *Nile*. S. *John Damaſcen* thought the Ocean was this River, and the whole Earth was Paradiſe (*q*). The Geographer *El-Idris*, commonly call'd *Nubien* (*r*), thinking this River had its Firſt Riſe in Paradiſe, places Paradiſe at the Head of *Chamdan* a great River in *China*. Others have thought, that the Four Rivers, mentioned by *Moſes*, Sprung from one Fountain in Paradiſe, and then entred into the Earth again, and, breaking forth afterwards at Four Different Places, Formed the Four Great Rivers, *Tigris*, *Nile*, *Ganges* and *Euphrates*. How bizarre ſoever this Opinion may ſeem to be, yet it has been eſpouſed, upon the Account of ſome Agreements that are to be found amongſt theſe Rivers. For they have Regular Overflowings, tho' by Different Cauſes; *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, becauſe of the Snow that melts at the Approach of the Sun; *Nile* and *Ganges*, as all thoſe of the Torrid Zone, becauſe of the Rains that fall when the Sun is Vertical. The ſame Animals are found in *Ganges* and the other *Indian* Rivers that are found in the *Nile*, if we may believe *Philoſtratus* and *Strabo* (*ſ*); ſuch as *Crocodiles* and *Hippopotames*. Tho' *Strabo* denies that this laſt Animal is to be found there; yet *Nile* is not the ſole River that produces it: For, in the River *Petzora* and on all the Coaſt of the *Samojedes* which is towards the Streight of *Vaygatz*, an Amphibious Animal is to be found, which the *Muſcovites* call *Morſs*, and is truly a Species of the *Hippopotame*. According to the lame

(*p*) Vitruv. lib. 4. cap. 5. Hygen. de limit. Conſt. (*q*) De orthodox. Fid. lib. cap. 9. (*r*) Geor. Nub. Clim. 2. par. 10 (*ſ*) Philoſt. in Vit. Apollon. lib. 6. cap. 1. Oneſicrit. Strab. lib. 15.

lame Geography of the Ancients, it was believed, till the Time of *Marc Paul* the *Venetian* who lived but about Four Hundred Years ago, That the *Ethiopians* were Neighbours to the *Indians*: And they very often confounded them together. *Virgil* was of Opinion, that the *Nile* came from the Eaſt, and had its Riſe from the *Indies*. The Poet *Gratius*, who was Cotemporary with *Auguſtus*, Writes, That the Kings of *Egypt* made Harveſt of the *Nard* that grew upon the Borders of *Ganges*. They likewiſe believed, according to *Pauſanias* and *Philoſtratus* (*t*), that the *Nile* was a Branch of *Euphrates*, which, having plunged it ſelf in Mariſhes, Sprung out again in *Ethiopia* under the Name of the *Nile*. We read alſo in the Poet *Lucan* and *Boetius* (*u*), that others thought, That *Euphrates* and *Tigris* Sprung from the ſame Ciſtern. So, by this Geography, we find, that theſe Four Rivers not only are brought nigh, but mixt with one another. Howbeit the Modern Diſcoveries of our Geographers and Travellers ſhow us, how Ridiculous and Falſe all this is. And the Opinion of thoſe that ſay, That this River, that went out of *Eden* to Water Paradiſe, had its Fountain or Firſt Riſe out of Paradiſe, and out of *Eden*, ſeems to be that which is the moſt agreeable to the Text of *Moſes*. After that this River had Watered the Garden, it was Divided into Four Diſtinct Rivers. The *Hebrew* Word, *Raſchim*, which is Tranſlated *Capita* (or *Heads*,) has made ſeveral Commentators think, that theſe Rivers had their Firſt Riſe or Fountains at their Parting: For, finding the Word *Caput*, in this Senſe, in *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Propertius*, *Vitruvius* (*x*), they have apply'd it ſo here; not conſidering, that the Word, *Raſchim*, is taken here Figuratively, not according to the Interpretation of ſome Commentators, to ſignify, that they were the Chief or Principal Rivers of the Country, in the Senſe that *Virgil* ſays (*y*), *Fluviorum Rex* Eridanus, and ſpeaking of the *Tiber*, Heſperidum *Regnator Aquarum*; but is taken here for their Firſt Separating into Diſtinct Beds or Branches. Now what theſe Rivers were, *Moſes* proceeds to tell us. But before we ſpeak of each of them, it will be neceſſary to give the Reader a View of the Courſe of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, without which the reſt cannot be underſtood.

Euphrates has its Riſe in the Great *Armenia*, upon the North-ſide of Mount *Abos*, which is a Branch of *Taurus*; and *Tigris* has its Riſe in the ſame Country, on the South-ſide of Mount *Niphate*, another Branch of *Taurus*. Theſe Two Springs, from whence theſe Rivers riſe, are diſtant from one another more than an Hundred Leagues. *Euphrates* takes its Courſe towards the Weſt; and *Tigris*, towards the Eaſt. They Surround *Meſopotamia*, one of the moſt Famous and Fertile Countries in the World; afterwards they run into one another by ſeveral Canals, which Incompaſs the Ancient *Babylonia*: Then, falling into one Bed, they run towards the South; and, before they fall into the *Perſian* Gulf, they ſeparate again, and Incompaſs a great Iſle, which was Anciently call'd *Meſſena*, but at preſent *Chader*. In the Times of *Moſes*, the Face of this Country was much different from what it was afterwards, and from what it is at this Day. The Induſtry of Men, the Powerfulneſs of the Kings of *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Egypt* and *Perſia*, the Princes of *Greece*, and the *Caliphs*, who were, by Turns, Maſters of this Country, the

(*t*) Pauſ. Corinth. Philoſt. vit. Apoll. lib. 1. cap. 14. (*u*) Lucan. lib. 3. Boet. Conſol. Phil. lib. 5. Metr. 1. (*x*) Horat. Carm. lib. 1. od. 1. Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. 12. (*y*) Georg. 1. Æne. 8.

length of Time, the Encroachments of the Sea, and the Overflowings of Rivers, having made great Changes of Five Canals that carry the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris* and into diverſe Lakes; Four of them are made by the Induſtry of Men, and there is only that, which went thoro' the Great City *Babylon*, that was Natural. And whereas this may ſeem not to agree with the Opinion of ſome Ancient Authors, that have Written, That *Euphrates* diſcharged it ſelf into the Sea, upon the Eaſt, by a Flux peculiar to it ſelf, ſo that from this it might be concluded, that, in the time of *Moſes*, *Euphrates* did not Join with *Tigris*; beſides that theſe Authors add, That, by the frequent Bleedings or Canals, taken out of it by the *Arabians* for Watering of their Dry and Barren Country, it was ſo Weakned, that it could not continue its Courſe to the Sea; as it has hapned to the *Rhine*, by the frequent Cuttings of the *Hollanders:* It is to be Conſidered, that ſuch a great River, as *Euphrates*, Swell'd by the Influx of ſeveral Rivers, and the Meltings of the Snow, and the ſmall Rivulets from Mount *Taurus*, might very well Furniſh Two Canals in its Beginnings; ſince it Furniſhed ſo many others afterwards, ſome of which were at Firſt made only to remedy the Overflowings, that it made upon the Country, but their Number was afterwards augmented for Watering of thoſe Countries that were Dry and Barren. *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was a great Prince, and Signalized himſelf in his Glorious Works, and, to free that Country of the Water of *Euphrates* that Overflowed it, made the Principal Canals; and, to prevent the Drought that might ariſe, he made great Reſervatories, or Baſons with Sluces, and ſo overcame that Impetuous River. But tho' this Abundance of Water might Furniſh at Firſt the Canal that fell into *Tigris*, and that which went towards *Arabia* and entred into the Sea; yet it is more Probable, that *Euphrates* had only one ſingle Natural Canal, which was that that Joined it with *Tigris*; and that the other, which turned it towards the Weſt, was the Work of the *Arabians*. All the Ancients, and even thoſe, who have beſt Delineated thoſe Canals, ſo poſitively affirm, That *Euphrates* ſo Naturally Joins to *Tigris*, and that all the other Branches, that go off, follow nothing but the Indication of Nature; that to affirm the contrary, were very hard. And, in an Ancient Fragment of *Abydene* in *Euſebius* (*z*), it is ſaid, That all that Country was ſo covered with Water in the Beginning, that it was call'd the Sea. Now this Overflowing could not happen but from the Inundations of *Euphrates*, whoſe Bed is ſo very High, that, where the Banks could allow of it, it Naturally Flowed into the Plain Fields of *Babylon*; and, after having covered them, it neceſſarily fell into *Tigris* which was nigh it, and whoſe Bed lay lower. And from this it was, that *Trajan* took the Thought, that he had, of making a Communication betwixt *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, but was ſtopt by his Apprehenſion of a too great Inundation of *Euphrates*.

When theſe Inundations were ſtopt by the Cutting of Ditches (which the Land of that Country eaſily ſuffered, being Soft and Fat, but required frequent Renewing) and Sluces, the *Arabians*, in Imitation of this, to remedy the Dryneſs of their Sandy Ground, turned the Waters of *Euphrates* into their Country; and, after they had ſufficiently Water'd it therewith, they ſuffer'd it to go in a plain Current to the Sea: But afterwards this plain Current was ſpoiled by new Ditches; and perhaps like-

(*z*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 41.

likewiſe it was nothing but a Rapid Torrent, that run into the Sea, during the Summer Seaſon, when *Euphrates* Overflowed. Whatever is in this, the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, who looked upon theſe Waters as their own from their long Poſſeſſion of them, fell upon the *Arabians* for Robbing them of them. And 'tis probable, that it was to determine this Quarrel, and, to render unto the *Babylonians* that which belonged to them, that *Alexander* the *Great* undertook to bring *Euphrates* to its Ancient Bed, by ſtopping the Canal, call'd *Pallacopas*, which made it take another Courſe. In ſtopping of this Ditch, nothing elſe was deſigned, but to do what had been done by the ſtopping of the reſt, to wit, to put a Stop to the Overflowings of that River, which happed every Summer, by conducting its Waters into the Stanks and Mariſhes: But the Lands of *Babylon* remained Dry for the reſt of the Year, and the *Arabians* were Benefited by it. Whereupon *Alexander* deſigned to return them to their former State: But the Work being begun, Death prevented him. *Alexander* went and ſaw many of theſe Conduits: Some of which he caus'd to be cleanſed; others, opened; others, cloſed; and made ſome New Ones. Many Princes took the ſame Care; and, to this Day, there are to be ſeen, along the common Bed of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* to the Right and Left, many Artificial Canals. The *Perſians* (being then Ignorant in Navigation and Commerce by Sea, as they are at this Day, and fearing the Invaſions that might be made upon their Country by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*) cauſed make diverſe Cataracts in theſe Rivers. But *Alexander* reſtored them to their Natural State; ſo that Veſſels might go up the length of *Opis* and *Seleucia* by *Tigris*, and the length of *Babylon* by *Euphrates*: And by this means the Country came to be ſtrangely Disfigured. Beſides, the Sea (which ruſhes with great Impetuoſity into the *Perſian* Gulf, by the Straight of *Ormus*, and, in the Flowings, going up about Thirty Leagues of *Euphrates*,) has made a ſtrange Devaſtation in that Country. Theſe Violent Flowings, with the Rapidity of *Tigris* and a Tempeſt that followed upon it, put *Trajan* with his Legions in great Danger, towards the Iſle, that produces the Separation of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. This Country, which is plain, is Defended by Dikes or Walls in ſome Places: But, in many others, the Entry of the Seas being almoſt free, they, by their too ſharp Salts, kill the Fruits of the Earth, and render it Barren. The Great *Nebuchodonoſor* repelled this Sea by ſtrong Walls, and ſuppreſſed the Ravages of the *Arabians*, by cauſing Build the City of *Teredon* at the Entry of their Country. Very nigh to this, towards the Eaſt, the Water of the Rivers has brought alongſt with them ſo much Slime at their Degorgements, that the Sea has conſiderably recoil'd, in ſo far that the Fort of *Spaſina*, Situated upon the Coaſt betwixt the Oriental Degorgement of *Tigris* and that of *Eulea*, which formerly was only diſtant from the Sea but about Half a League, was, in *Pliny*'s Time (*a*), Fifty Leagues: But indeed it may be there is here an Error in the Cypher, which is very ordinary in Ancient Books. It is true, that *Pliny* (*b*), after *Theophraſtus*, ſays, That *Euphrates* and *Tigris* have no Slime or Mud in them: But this muſt be only underſtood of them toward their Firſt Riſings; for there can be no great River, that runs thro' many Fat and Fertile Soils, but muſt have a great Deal of Slime and Mud in them. And our Modern

(*a*) Lib. 6. cap. 27. (*b*) Plin. lib. 18. cap. 17.

Travellers tell us, That the Waters of *Euphrates*, nigh to the Sea, are very Yellow and Muddy. Beſides all theſe Changes, the Sea, by its Encroachments, has made great Alterations: And the Inhabitants of theſe Parts ſhow, to this Day, the Place of a Great City, which is now under Water: And the Ruines of many Great Cities are to be ſeen alongſt the Borders of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, of whoſe Opulency and Greatneſs, we have ſurpriſing Accounts in Ancient Hiſtories.

In the next place, we are to ſpeak of the Rivers mentioned by *Moſes*, V. 11. *The Name of the Firſt is* Piſon, *that is it which Compaſſeth the whole Land of* Havila, *where there is Gold. And the Gold of that Land is good: There is* Bdellium *and the* Onyx-*Stone.* *Joſephus* and a great Number of the Ancient Fathers are of the Opinion (*c*), that this River was the *Ganges*; others, the *Indus*; others, *Hydaſpes*; others, the *Hyphaſis*. *Haython*, Prince of *Armenia* and a Religious of the Order of *Premonſtre*, takes it to be the River *Oxus*, which falls in the Eaſt-ſide of the *Caſpian* Sea. Several Rabbins, with the *Arabians*, take it to be the *Nile*; others, the *Phaſe*; others, the *Danube*; others, the *Naharmalca*, which is one of the Canals that joins the *Euphrates* to *Tigris*; and others, the Oriental Canal of thoſe Two, that part *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, after they have joined near to *Apamea* and before they enter into the Sea. This Laſt comes nearer to the Truth, than any of the forenamed Opinions; and was Firſt advanced by *Calvin*, for which he is very much Commended by *Scaliger* who embraced this Opinion, as ſeveral other Learned Men have done ſince. But it ſeems much more probable, to be the Occidental or Weſtern Canal of thoſe Two that Divide *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, after their joining; and this will appear from the following Conſiderations.

Moſes having Written the *Pentateuch* in *Arabia* the Stony, this River, being one of the Four he mentions, was next to him: So that it Naturally follows, that he ſhould have Named it Firſt. Then, that which preſented next, was the Oriental or Eaſtern Canal. Then, having paſſed that Canal, and turning to the Left to return to the Place he had left, the next to be met with was *Tigris*. Then the laſt, as being fartheſt off from him, is *Euphrates*. And this is the Order that *Moſes* follows. Moreover it is to be Obſerved, That *Moſes* has given more Marks for knowing *Piſon* than any of the reſt; becauſe, this being known, the reſt could not fail but be alſo known.

The Word, *Piſon*, according to the greateſt and beſt Part of the *Hebrew* Grammarians, comes from the Verb *Puſch*, which ſignifies *to Overflow, to be in Abundance, to Augment, to Multiply*; or from *Paſcha*, which ſignifies *to paſs over*, becauſe, as we have already Obſerved, the Overflowings of the Sea are ſo Violent and ſo High in that Extremity of the *Perſian* Gulph, that, notwithſtanding of their Dikes, they often run a great length into the Country; ſo that all that Side is full of Lakes, Mariſhes and Sands, as *Strabo* has Obſerved (*d*). In the Time of *Moſes*, when nothing of Art was imploy'd to keep off theſe Overflowings of the Sea, they needs muſt have been far greater than they now are. So that a fitter Name could not have been given to this Canal, ſo ſubject to Inundations, as that of *Piſon*, which *Joſephus* (*e*) has very well rendered by

(*c*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 2. Euſeb. de locis Ebr. Amb. de Parad. cap. 3. Epiph. Ancor. cap. 8. Hier. Epiſt. 4. ad Ruſt. cap. 1. & Quæſt. Ebr. in Geneſ. Auguſtin. de Geneſ. ad liter. lib. 8. cap. 7. (*d*) Strab. lib. 16. (*e*) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 2.

by the *Greek* Word πλησὺς, that's to ſay, *Abundance*; but *Scaliger* (*f*) far better by the *Greek* Word πλημμύρα, *the Flux of the Sea*: And the Author of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* makes an Alluſion to this, when he makes GOD to ſay Chap. xxiv. V. 25. *He filleth all things with His Wiſdom as* Piſon. Several Learned Men have given Hints of this. For *Schickard*, a Profeſſor in *Germany*, and who was well ſeen in the Oriental Languages and the Affairs of the *Eaſt*, when he is Writing in his Commentary upon the *Tarich* of the Kings of *Perſia*, ſays, That he is perſwaded, that *Piſon* muſt be found in *Arabia*; and that all the Rivers of Paradiſe fall into the *Perſian* Gulph, by Diſcharging themſelves into it, nigh unto one another. A great many other Learned Men (*g*) have expreſly called this Weſtern Canal, *Piſon*. And M. *Thevenot*, in his Voyages, ſays (*h*), That it paſſes betwixt the Firm Land of *Baſſora* and the Iſle *Chader*, running ſtraight towards the South. And that the Oriental or Eaſtern Canal has the ſame Name that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* bear, when joined both together, which is *Schat El-Arabar*, the *River of the* Arabians, and that theſe Two Branches form the great Iſle *Chader*, which *Teixeira* (*i*) makes more than Eighty Leagues, *viz. Spaniſh*, in length, which will be nigh to Twenty Six *French* Leagues. But the other Marks, that *Moſes* gives to this River, will clear this without Controverſy. And the Firſt is, that it compaſſeth the whole Land of *Chavilah* or *Havilha*. Now to find out this Land, there is no ſurer Method than to Examine what *Moſes* has ſaid of it.

In Chap. x. of *Geneſis*, where the Diſperſing of the Nations, after the Confuſion of *Babel*, is moſt exactly Deſcribed, and where the Names of the Patriarchs or the Founders of the Nations are, we find Two *Havilha*'s; the One the Son of *Chus*, and the Other the Son of *Joktan*. M. *Bochart*, who explains this Chapter in his *Phaleg*, with a great deal of Erudition, ſhows (*k*), That this laſt *Havilha* was Founder of the Nation, that Inhabites the Country *Chaulan*, Situated upon the Eaſt Coaſt of the *Arabian* Gulf to the Weſt of *Arabia* the Happy: But this is not the Country, that is Encompaſſed by *Piſon*, but that other, which took its Name from *Havilha* the Son of *Chus*, as the ſame M. *Bochart* informs us (*l*). *Moſes* and the Author of the Book of *Samuel*, very clearly point out the Situation of this Country (*m*), when, for expreſſing the Two Extremities of the *Arabia* Bordering upon the *Holy Land*, they Name *Chavilha* and *Sur*. Now *Sur* was a Deſert at the Entry of *Egypt*, towards the Extremity of the *Arabian* Gulph; therefore it muſt be that *Havilha*, which was at the other Side of *Arabia* towards the Extremity of the *Perſian* Gulf, that's to ſay, beginning at the Weſt, where the *Piſon* diſcharges it ſelf, and extending towards the Eaſt and alongſt the WeſtCoaſt of that Gulf, the Length of *Catif*. And *Joſephus* (*n*), relating the ſame things that *Moſes* and *Samuel* give us an Account of, marking out the Bounds, inſtead of *Sur*, has *Peluſa*, the Firſt City that is to be found in going from *Paleſtine* to *Egypt* alongſt the Sea-Coaſt: And in Place of *Havilha* he Places the Red or *Erythrean* Sea, deſigning clearly by theſe Words the Situation of *Chavilha*. Neither were the Inhabitants of this Country unknown to the Heathen Authors, who call'd them *Chavlotheans*, *Chablaſiens*, *Chavlaſians*

(*f*) De Emendat. Temp. lib. 5. (*g*) Kircher Turr. Babylon. lib. 1. cap. 5. Steuch. Coſmop. Gigg. Lexic. Arab. Tom. 3. pag. 1056. Gol. Lexic. Arab. pag. 1839. (*h*) M. Thev. Tom. 2. liv. 3. chap. 9 and 11. (*i*) Tex. Voyag. des Indes en Ital. chap. 3. (*k*) Boch. Phal. (*l*) Lib. 4. cap. 11. (*m*) Gen. 25. 18. 1 Sam. 15. 7. (*n*) Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 8.

and *Chaveleans*, Names manifeſtly taken from that of *Chavilah*; and they placed them betwixt the *Nabatheans* and the *Agreans*, People Originally *Iſmaelites*, Inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Deſert* nigh to the Extremity of the *Perſian* Gulf: And this Situation of *Chavilah* has been acknowledged by ſeveral Learned Men amongſt the Moderns, and amongſt others by (*o*) *Steuchus*, *Beroald*, *Grotius*, *Hornius* and *Bochart*.

Having thus found the Country, we muſt next enquire, if there be found in it Gold, *Bdellium* and the *Onyx* Stone. And Firſt as to the Gold, *Diodorus Siculus* tells us (*p*), that there was Natural Gold in *Arabia*, of ſo lively a Colour, that it reſembled the Brightneſs of the Fire; and ſo Pure, that there was no Neceſſity of Refining it. Towards the Eaſt of this Country, the Gold is in ſuch Abundance in the Countries of the *Alileans* and *Caſſanites*, that they eſteem it leſs than Iron. And we may Judge of the Riches of the *Sabeans* and the other *Arabians*, by the Preſents the Queen of *Sheba* and all the Kings of *Arabia* made unto *Solomon*. As to *Havilha*, which was upon the Weſt and the South of the *Perſian* Gulph, it cannot be doubted, but that the Prophet *Ezechiel* underſtands thoſe who were Situated upon the ſame Coaſt, when, ſpeaking of *Tyrus*, he tells us (*q*), The Merchants of *Arabia Dedan* and *Kedar*, were her Merchants for Precious Clothes; that thoſe of *Sheba* and *Raamah* were her Merchants in all Spices, Precious Stones and Gold; and that *Haran*, *Canneh*, *Eden*, *Sheba*h, *Aſhur* and *Chilmad*, were her Merchants in all Sorts of Things. Now all theſe Nations had great Commerce with one another by the *Euphrates* and by the *Perſian* Gulf. And here it is to be particularly Obſerved, That the Prophet joins *Eden*, the Region where Paradiſe was Situated, to *Sheba* in the Neighbourhood of *Havilah*. 'Tis likewiſe to this *Sheba*, the Words of *David* to *Jeſus Chriſt*, under the Perſon of *Solomon*, are to be referred in that Prophetic Pſalm (*r*), where he Predicts, That the Kings of *Sheba* ſhould offer him Gifts and Gold; a Prediction which was accompliſhed, when the Wiſe Men came from *Arabia* (*ſ*), according to the Opinion that is received by the beſt Interpreters, and preſented Him with Gold, Frankincenſe and Myrrh. And *Raamah* or *Regma*, of which *Ezechiel* ſpeaks, is yet a City of *Arabia*, Situated upon the ſame Gulph, Fertile in Gold and Precious Stones. *Arabia* then being ſo full of Riches, and of Gold, and of very Fine Gold, 'tis nowiſe to be doubted, but that there was a very great Commerce amongſt the Neighbouring Provinces Situated alongſt the *Euphrates*; and *Havilah* being the Frontier amongſt theſe States, of a Neceſſity, beſides the Native Product of their own Gold, they could not but have likewiſe great Stores, in their Magazines, by the frequent Paſſages and Impoſts put upon the Merchants.

Next, as to the *Bdellium*, the *Hebrew* Word, *Bedoloch*, is diverſly Tranſlated by Interpreters; but there be Two moſt Probable Opinions, whereof one is of thoſe, who think it was an Aromatic Gum; the other is of theſe who take it to be Pearls. And this laſt Opinion ſeems very plain from what is ſaid in *Numbers* Chap. xi. V. 7. Where *Moſes*, giving a Deſcription of the *Manna*, ſays, That it *was as Coriander Seed, and the Colour thereof as the Colour of* Bdellium. Now by another Deſcription of the

(*o*) Steuch. Coſmop. Beroald. Chronic. lib. 2. Grot. in Geneſ. 2. 11. Horn. in Sulpit. Sever. lib. 1. Bochar. Phal. Præf. & lib. 4. cap. 11. (*p*) Lib. 2. 3. (*q*) Ezek. cap. 27. v. 20. & ſeq. (*r*) Pſal. 72. v. 10, 15. (*ſ*) Matth. chap. 2. v. 1 & 11.

the *Manna*, *Exod.* Chap. xvi. V. 14. it appears, that it was white, and ſo the Septuagint Tranſlate it, which agrees to the Pearls, as well as that Figure of Roundneſs which is given to the *Manna*, but nowiſe to the Aromatic Gum called *Bdellium*. Hence it is, that the *Talmudiſts*, as the Learned M. *Bochart* has Obſerved, ſay *(t)*, That, in that Deſcription which is given of the *Manna* in *Numbers*, inſtead of ſaying, That it was of *the Colour of* Bdellium, it ſhould be ſaid, That it was of *the Colour of Pearls*, as the *Arabian* Tranſlation has it. But, whether the *Bedoloch* be taken for Pearls or for the *Bdellium*, both are found in the Land of *Havilah*. For as to the Pearls, it is certain, that there is no Part in the World where they Fiſh ſuch Fine ones, and in ſuch great Quantities, as in the Seas about *Baharen*, an Iſle of the *Perſian* Gulf, about Ten Leagues Diſtant from *Catif*, that is to ſay, in the Seas that beat upon the Coaſts of *Havilah*, where the *Piſon* Diſcharges it ſelf; for which a great many Citations might be brought, but I ſhall only produce a few for the Reader's Satisfaction. *Nearchus*, one of *Alexander* the *Great*'s Captains, who Conducted his Fleet from the *Indies* to the *Perſian* Gulf, ſays *(u)*, as we Learn from *Iſidore de Charax*, who lived but a little time after, That there was an Iſle in the *Perſian* Gulf, Fertile in Pearls. *Pliny* (*x*), after he has extolled the Pearls, that are to be found in the *Indian* Seas, ſays, That they, which are moſt to be Valued, are thoſe that are Fiſhed towards *Arabia* in the *Perſian* Gulf: And, in another Place, he makes mention of the Iſland of *Tylos*, for the Place of this Fiſhing, which many believe to be that of *Baharen*. *Arrian*, Author of *the* Periple *of the Red Sea*, preferrs the Pearls of *Arabia* to thoſe of the Red Sea. *Ælian* gives (*y*) an exact Deſcription of the Manner of Fiſhing them, and their Value. But thoſe, who are deſirous to have more of the Teſtimonies of the Ancients about this, will find them in this Learned Prelate's Notes upon *Origen*. And as for the Teſtimonies of our late Travellers, they are Numerous to this Purpoſe. *Teixeira* a *Portugueſe*, Deſcribes this Fiſhing with great Exactneſs, and ſays (*z*), That the Pearls of this Sea are Finer and Heavier than thoſe of other Places; and that, every Year, there is Sold, in the Iſland of *Ormuz*, to the Value of Five Hundred Thouſand *Ducates*. The Famous M. *Thevenot*, beſides the Fiſhing at *Baharen*, Deſcribes likewiſe that at *Carek* (*a*), another Iſle of the ſame Gulf, nigher to the Place where the *Piſon* Diſcharges it ſelf, and which is apparently the ſame, with that which the Ancients call'd *Ichara*.

Theſe that think, that the *Bedolach* is the *Bdellium*, will find it likewiſe here. The Teſtimony of *Dioſcorides* (*b*) is expreſs, and he preferrs the *Bdellium* of the *Saracenes* to that of the *Indies*; as does likewiſe *Iſidore* and *Sylvaticus* (*c*). *Galen* (*d*), comparing the *Bdellium* of *Arabia* with the *Bdellium* of *Scythia*, that is to ſay, with the *Bdellium* of the *Indies*, (for a Part of the *Indies* was call'd *Scythia* and *Indo-Scythia*) preferrs the Firſt to the Second. *Pliny* (*e*) preferrs the *Bdellium* of *Bactriana* before that of *Arabia*, but next to it he thinks that of *Arabia* the beſt; and he makes this Tree to grow in the Sands of the *Perſian* Gulf, which is frequently covered by the Flux of the Sea: And perhaps it is this Tree that *Strabo*

(*t*) Thal. Joma. cap. 8. Boch. Hieroz. part. 2. lib. 5. cap. 5. (*u*) Iſid. Charac. apud Athen. lib. 3. (*x*) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 28. & lib. 9. cap. 35. (*y*) Ælian de Anim. lib. 10. cap. 13. & lib. 15. cap. 8. vid. etiam Plin. lib. 9. cap. 35. Teix. Hiſt. de Ormuz chap. 19. (*z*) Ubi Sup. (*a*) Tom. 2. liv. 3. cap. 11. & Tom. 3. cap. 11. (*b*) Dioſcor. lib. cap. 81. (*c*) Iſid. Etymol. lib. 17. cap. 8. Sylvat. Pandect in Bdellium. (*d*) De ſimpl. Medic. fac. lib. 6. (*e*) Lib. 12. cap. 9.

deſigns, without Naming it, when he ſays(*f*), That it Grows in the Iſles that are before the *Euphrates*, that it has the Odour of Incenſe; and its Roots, being broken, have a moſt Odoriferous Juice. But, from whatſoever Part of *Arabia* it came, certainly all that came to be Tranſported to the Countries Situated along the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and to the reſt of the Northern *Aſia*, came to the Land of *Havilah*, which makes *Arrian* ſay (*g*), That, in the City of *Diridotis*, which is the ſame with *Teredon* (whoſe Ruines are to be ſeen at this very Day towards the Diſcharging of the *Piſon*) there was a great Sale of all Sorts of Aromatic Drugs of *Arabia*.

The *Hebrew* Word, *Schoham*, which is rendered the *Onyx*, was likewiſe to be found in this Country ; and *Pliny* tells us, That the Ancients were perſwaded, that the *Onyx* was no where to be found but in the Mountains of *Arabia* (*h*) : But it is ſo variouſly Tranſlated by Interpreters, ſome making it one Precious Stone, and ſome another (*i*), that it is not poſſible to know, what it was. Yet, ſince it was a Precious Stone, we have all the Reaſon in the World to Believe, that it was found in this Country ; becauſe *Arabia*, in Ancient Times, tho' not now, abounded in Precious Stones, as it appears from what was formerly cited from *Ezechiel* Chap. xxvii. V. 22. And *Nearchus*, who had Navigated the *Perſian* Gulf, as *Strabo* relates, ſays, That there were many Iſles in that Gulf, that abounded in Stones of great Beauty and Luſtre. The ſame *Strabo* ſays, That the Riches of *Arabia* (which conſiſted in Precious Stones and Excellent Perfumes, the Sale of which brought a great deal of Gold and Silver, beſides the Natural Gold of the Country,) obliged *Auguſtus* to ſend to them *Ælius Gallus* to keep Friendſhip with them, and to Profit by their Riches, or otherwiſe to Subject them. *Diodorus Siculus* (*k*) inlarges much upon the Advantages of *Arabia*, and principally upon the Precious Stones, found there, of all Sorts that are Valuable either for their Colour or Luſtre. *Pliny* alſo, whoſe laſt Book is intirely upon this Subject, and who Obſerves very Curiouſly the Countries where the ſeveral Precious Stones are found, makes thoſe of the Greateſt Value come from *Arabia*.

The next River, that *Moſes* makes mention of, is *Gihon*. Verſe 13. *And the Name of the Second River is* Gihon : *The ſame is it that Compaſſeth the whole Land of* Chus. There is as great a Variety of Opinions, concerning this River as concerning *Piſon*, according to the various Syſtems that the Authors have had of the Situation of Paradiſe. But from what is ſaid, this River can be no other but the Oriental Canal of theſe Two that Divide the *Euphrates*. For to go and ſearch for it any where elſe, were to Contradict the Words of *Moſes* that expreſly marks, that this River was joined to the Three others in Paradiſe : And this will more clearly appear by ſhowing, what this Land of *Chus* was, which this River Compaſſed. There were Three Provinces of this Name, *Ethiopia*, *Arabia* and *Suſiana*. The Two Firſt had the Name of *Chus*, which was a General Word, and comprehends the Countries that are on the Two Sides of the *Arabian* Gulf (*m*), commonly called the Red-Sea. This Region of *Chus* or of *Ethiopia* was then Divided into Two Tracts of Land,

(*f*) Lib. 16. (*g*) Arrian. Indic. (*h*) Lib. 53. cap. 7. (*i*) Lib. 16. (*k*) Lib. 2. (*l*) Vid. Phil. Demonarch. lib. 2. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 8 & 9. & de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. cap. 15. Hieron. Epiſt. 128. ad Fabiolam de veſte Sacerdotali. Aben. Ezra in Geneſ. 2. 12, &c. (*m*) Vid. Oper. Orig. cum Not. D. Huetii.

Land, by which it Terminated along the Two Sides of the *Arabian* Gulf, yea, and beyond where it Empties it ſelf, called, at this Day, *Babelmandel*; the Eaſt Tract made a Part of the Great *Peninſula* of *Arabia*; the Weſt is betwixt that Gulf and the *Nile*. *Homer*, *Herodote* (*n*) and ſome others, have thus Parted the *Ethiopians*, the Inhabitants of this Country, into Eaſtern and Weſtern, who were Neighbours to the *Egyptians*. And *Euſtathius*, tells us, that the Ancients thus underſtood the Words of *Homer*. From thence it is, that the *Homerites*, a People in *Arabia*, Situated upon the South Side, are called *Ethiopians* by the Geographer *Stephanus* (*o*). And the Learned *Holſtenius* not knowing this, according to the Laudable Cuſtom of the Critics, (ſays this Learned Prelate) of altering in the Works of the Ancients, what they themſelves do not underſtand, inſtead of Αιθιοπων put Αγαβων.

But that *Suſiana* had the Name of *Chus*, of Old and at this Day, will appear from theſe following Conſiderations. All our Modern Travellers tell us, That *Suſiana*, which is called *Cutha* in the Sacred Scriptures, is at this Day called *Chuzeſtan*, a Name compoſed of that of *Chus* and the *Perſian* Termination. *Benjamin* of *Navarre* ſays, That the Great Province of *Elam*, of which *Suſa* is the Capital and Watered by the *Tigris*, was ſo called. This Province of *Elam* is the *Elymaide*, which extends it ſelf to the Coaſt of the *Perſian* Gulf to the Eaſt of the Emptying of the *Euphrates*. The *Arabian* Geographers call it *Chureſtan*: But 'tis plain, that this Fault is from the Ignorance of the Tranſcribers, who have not diſtinguiſhed the Letter *r* from the Letter ز of the *Arabians*, which differ only in a Point. Yea the Inhabitants of the Country, if we believe *Marius Niger* (*p*), call it ſimply *Chus*. This ſame Region, as we have ſaid, is called *Cutha*, II. *Kings*, Chap. xvii. V. 24. according to the Diverſity of the Dialects; and they were a Part of thoſe whom *Shalmaneſer* Tranſported to Plant a Colony in *Samaria*, and ſent the Ten Tribes elſewhere: And this New Plantation, known afterwards under the Name of the *Samaritanes*, retain'd the Name of the Country from whence they came; for they were called *Cutheans*. This ſhows, how greatly Miſtaken *Scaliger* was (*q*), when he ſays, That the *Samaritanes* were called *Cutheans* from a City of *Colchida* Named *Cytæa*, where *Shalmaneſer* Tranſported the Ten Tribes to. Whereas the Ten Tribes were not Tranſported into *Colchida*, but into *Aſſyria*; and tho' it had been ſo, it is not to be imagined, the *Samaritanes* ſhould have taken their Denomination from a City where they never were, but only becauſe the Ten Tribes ſtay'd there. Yet it is not to be thought, as ſome have done, that the Name of the City of *Suſa* came from *Chus*, but from a Lily, that Country abounding in theſe Flowers, and the Lily is call'd *Suſan* in the *Hebrew* Language; and this City is now call'd *Schouſter*.

A great many other Footſteps of the Name of *Chus* are to be found. In *Suſiana* there are the *Coſſeans*, Neighbours to the *Uxians*, according to the Poſition of *Pliny*, *Ptolemy* and *Arrian* (*r*). *Schickard* thought (*ſ*), that theſe *Coſſeans* were ſo called from *Chuzeſtan*: But 'tis plain, they both come from *Chus*, as likewiſe does the Name of *Kiſſia* and *Kiſſians*, a ſmall Province of *Suſiana*, that has given its Name to all the *Suſians*. The Poet

(*n*) Homer. Odyſſ. α. Herod. Polymn. cap. 69, 70. (*o*) Step. in Ὁμηρῖται. (*p*) Marius Niger Com. (*q*) Scaliger Propert. lib. 1. Eleg. 1. (*r*) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 27. Ptol: lib. 6. cap. 3. Tab: 5. Aſiæ. Arrian Exped. Alexand: lib: 7. (*ſ*) In Tarich Reg: Perſar.

Eſchylus ſpeaks likewiſe of a City of this Name (*t*), ſituated in the ſame Country: And that which is Remarkable, is, that he notices it for its Antiquity. He likewiſe calls *Kiſſianna* the Mother of *Memnon*, that is to ſay, of *Aurora*. Now *Memnon* was the Son of *Tithon* and *Aurora*. *Tithon* was the Brother of *Priam* King of *Troy*; and to him they attribute the Foundation of the City of *Suſa*, the Capital of *Suſiana*. And from the Name of *Memnon* his Son the Citadel was call'd *Memnonium*; the Palace and the Walls, *Memnonians*; and *Suſa* it ſelf, the City of *Memnon*: And ſuch was their Veneration for him, that they erected a Temple to his Honour, where the *Aſſyrians*, according to *Oppian* (*u*), came and lamented his Death. Here, by the *Aſſyrians*, the People of *Suſiana* are to be underſtood.

This is the *Memnon* who came to the Relief of *Troy*, and was killed by *Achilles*. When the *Grecians* ſay, That he was the Son of *Aurora*, their Meaning is, That he came from the Eaſt, in Imitation of a very ordinary Expreſſion amongſt the *Hebrews*, and familiar to the Prophets, who call the Oriental Nations the *Sons of the Eaſt*: For thoſe Nations, thoro' which the *Euphrates* runs towards its Diſcharging it ſelf into the Sea, are properly the Eaſt; and many Interpreters pretend, that it is in this Senſe that *Iſaiah* Chap. XIV. 12. ſays of *Nabuchodonoſor* or *Balthaſar*, *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Luciſer, Son of the Morning?* As to the Stories concerning *Memnon*, all that is true in them may be Collected from *Diodorus* (*x*) and ſome other Authors, and is briefly thus. The Kingdom of *Troade* was a Part of the Empire of *Aſſyria*: *Tithon* Brother to *Priam*, who poſſeſſed this Kingdom, went to the Court of the King of *Aſſyria*, who gave him the Government of *Suſiana*. After this, tho' he was of a good Age, he married; and, becauſe his Wife was of a Country ſituated to the Eaſt of *Greece* and *Troade*, this made the *Grecians*, who turned all Hiſtory into Fictions, ſay, That he was married to *Aurora*. *Memnon* and *Emathion* were of this Marriage. The Wars of *Troy* afterwards falling out, *Priam* demanded Aid from *Teutamus*, King of *Aſſyria*, who gave him Twenty Thouſand Men and Two Hundred Chariots of War. *Diodorus* ſays, That theſe Succours were compoſed of Ten Thouſand *Ethiopians* and Ten Thouſand *Suſians*, (following the vulgar Error of Confounding the *Chus* of *Ethiopia* with the *Chus* of *Suſiana*) and the more to encourage theſe Auxiliaries, *Teutamus* gave the Command of them to the young Prince *Memnon*, who, being of a *Trojan* Race, could not but be ſuppoſed to intereſt himſelf more than any other in the Succour of *Troy*; and he kept *Tithon* with himſelf, becauſe of his Prudence (which render'd him uſeful to him in his Councils) and of his old Age, which render'd him unfit for ſuch an Expedition. *Memnon* met with ſome Reſiſtance, by the way, from the *Solymes* afterwards called *Piſidians*: But he defeat them and all others who oppoſed him, cleared all the Paſſages, repaired all the High Ways, and from him it was called the *Memnonian* Road. At length, having come up to *Troy*, he ſuſtained, with a great deal of Valour, the utmoſt Efforts of the *Grecian* Power; but at length was overcome and killed by *Achilles*.

The Third River mentioned by *Moſes*, and which was next in Order to his Situation when he made his Deſcription, is *Hiddekel*, or rather *Chiddekel*, which is call'd *Digalath* by thoſe of the *Levant*, and *Tigris* by the

(*t*) Perſ. & Coeph. & apud Strab. lib: 5. (*u*) Oppian Cyneg. lib. 2. (*x*) Diodor: lib. 2 & 4.

the *Europeans*. This may ſeem ſtrange to thoſe, who are not acquainted with Etymologies, an Art abſolutely neceſſary in the Uſe of the *Belles Lettres*, and which requires a great deal of Erudition; and for that End the Study of it is expreſly recommended by *Quintilian* (*y*). From the *Hebrew* Word, *Chiddekel*, is formed the Word *Tigris*. Thus the Firſt Word, *Chi*, is a ſtrong Aſpiration, and falls as in the Word *Chaboras*, which is the Name of a River in *Meſopotamia*, of which *Ptolemy* ſpeaks (*z*), and which *Strabo* calls *Aborras* (*a*). So from the Word *Cham*, the Name of *Noah*'s youngeſt Son, is formed the *Egyptian* Name *Ammun*, and the *Greek Ammon*, which they give to *Jupiter*. So from the *Greek* Word χλαῖνα, is formed the *Latine Læna*. This Aſpiration *Chi* being then taken from *Chiddekel*, there remains only *dekel*. Then by the Change of the *d* into *t*, as it is done in *Azotus*, which is formed from the *Hebrew* Word *Aſdod*; and *iota* from *jod*; *artaba* from the *Syriac ardab*; and *tenebræ* from δνοφερὸν. Then by the Change of the *k* into *g*, as from the *Hebrew* Word *Acbar* is formed *Agbarus*; from *Acragas*, *Agrigentum*; from *Caius* and *Cneius* is formed *Gaius* and *Gneius*. And laſtly by changing the laſt Letter *l* into *r*, as 'tis done in Βελιαρ from the *Hebrew Belial*; and from the *Chaldean*, *Sarbal*, is formed *Sarabara*; and the *Borax* is indifferently call'd *Tincal* and *Tincar*: And this Ancient Verſe of a *Grecian* Comedy ſhows ſufficiently the Affinity that is betwixt the *l* and *r* (*b*).

Ολᾶς, Θέωλ☉ τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακ☉ ἔχει.

I ſay by theſe Permutations of Letters, (which are the Ports of Communication, by which the Original Words and the Derivatives entertain a Correſpondence) the whole Myſtery of this River's being called by ſome *Chiddekel*; by others, *Diklat*; by others, *Dilgath*; by others, *Degil*; by others, *Diglito*; and by others, *Tigris*, is unravel'd. And this Word *Chiddekel*, is compoſed of Two *Hebrew* Words, *Chadda* (*Sharp*) and *Kal* (*Quick* or *Light*.)

The Courſe of this River went towards *Aſſyria*, as the Septuagint have Tranſlated it, and not towards the Eaſt of *Aſſyria*, as 'tis commonly Tranſlated; that neither being conſiſtent with the Geography of the Country or the Courſe of the River. Neither is it to be thought, that the *Tigris* goes towards *Aſſyria*, in reſpect of its Source or the Courſe of its Waters, but in relation to the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, and the Diſpoſition of the Bed of the *Tigris*; as when 'tis ſaid, *That a River went out of* Eden *to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted into Four Heads*.

The Fourth River mentioned by *Moſes* is the *Euphrates*, which comes from the *Hebrew* Root *Parah*, which ſignifies to *Augment*, and, in the Conjugation *Hiphil*, to *render fruitful*, becauſe this River, by augmenting in its Inundations, makes a Fertility in all the Countries which it Waters. But we have Spoke abundantly of this River before.

Beſides the Arguments above, brought from the Deſcription that *Moſes* gives of the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, to let us know where it was, ſome other things, that he ſays of it, are to be conſidered. The Firſt is the Fertility of the Country where it was: Now this Fertility was, in Part, Supernatural; and in Part, Natural. *Moſes*, ſpeaking of Paradiſe, ſays, *Geneſis* Chap. ii. V. 9. *And out of the Ground made*

(*y*) Quintil: lib: 1. cap: 4. 6. (*z*) Ptol. lib. 5. cap. 18. (*a*) Strabo lib. 16. (*b*) Ariſtoph. Veſp.

the LORD GOD *to grow every Tree that is pleaſant to the Sight and good for Food:* And in Chap. xiii. V. 10. ſpeaking of the Agreeableneſs and Fertility of the Country of *Sodom* before its Chaſtiſement, he compares it to the Garden of the LORD. And no doubt, but from this Place ſo Supernaturally formed by the Hand of GOD, the Heathen Poets took the Notions of their Fortunate Iſles, their *Elyſian* Camps, *Pluto*'s Meadow, the Gardens of *Heſperides*, *Adonis*, *Jupiter* and *Alcinous*. And when *Xenophon* Deſcribes theſe Fine Gardens, he makes uſe of no other Words than what *Moſes* has in the Deſcription of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe. But beſides the Ornaments that GOD extraordinarily embelliſhed this Place with, 'tis not reaſonable to believe, that GOD would have placed the Firſt Man in a Barren or Unpleaſant Soil, or a Frightful Deſert; but rather in a Country embelliſhed with all the Riches of Nature. Now, not only *Meſopotamia* and *Cœloſyria*, but likewiſe *Babylonia*, (which extended to the *Perſian* Gulf) and a good Part of *Syria*, were then the moſt Agreeable and Charming Countries in the World, for all the Riches and Pleaſures that the Earth could afford; and that unto ſuch a Degree, that the Fertility of the Gardens of *Syria*, the Paſſion of the People for Agriculture, and the Abundance of their Herbs and Fruits paſſed unto a Proverb. And the Region (where Paradiſe was placed, to wit, from the Joining of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* near to the City of *Apamea*, according to *Ptolemy*, till their Diſcharging themſelves into the Ocean there, Borders not only upon the Coaſt of *Suſiana*, but upon the Coaſt of *Arabia*,) was as Beautiful and Fruitful as any in *Aſia*; as is to be ſeen by all the Ancient and Modern Geographers.

Moſes, *Geneſis* Chap. iv. V. 16, 17. tells us, That when *Cain* had Kill'd his Brother *Abel*, *he went out from the Preſence of the* LORD, *and dwelt in the Land of* Nod, *on the Eaſt of* Eden. *And* Cain *knew his Wife; and ſhe Conceived and Bare* Enoch: *And he Builded a City, and called the Name of the City, after the Name of his Son,* Enoch. By which we may make another Argument for proving this to be the real Place of Paradiſe. For if *Suſiana* agrees to theſe Words of *Moſes*, then 'tis plain it was here. Now, as in the Firſt Verſe, where Mention is made of the Land of *Nod*, there is not the leaſt Footſtep to be found of a Conjecture for ſuch a Land: So we have Reaſon to believe, that the Septuagint Tranſlation is much better, where it is rendered κλαυθμῶν καὶ τρόμων, *Sobbing and Trembling*. For the *Hebrew* Word, *Nah*, which *Moſes* adds to that of *Nad*, may very well be rendered *inwardly moved*; ſo that it ſhould be rendered thus, *And* Cain *went out from the Preſence of the* LORD, *inwardly moved, and dwelt in the Land on the Eaſt of* Eden. And, as to the City here called *Enoch*, *Ptolemy* in the Deſcription of *Suſiana*, places a City exactly on the Eaſt of that Place, where Paradiſe was, which he calls (*b*) *Anuchtha*. The Syllable *tha*, at the end of this Word, is the ordinary Termination of the Feminine Names in the *Chaldaic* Language, and is no part of the Name it ſelf: So that there remains only *Anuch*, which is plainly the ſame with *Enoch*, the moſt Ancient City of the World.

We may likewiſe Conjecture of the Situation of Paradiſe by the Place, where the Ark reſted after the Deluge. *Moſes* ſays, That it was upon the Mountains of *Ararat*, that's to ſay, according to the beſt Interpreters,

(*b*) Ptol. lib. 6. cap. 3. & Tab. Aſiæ.

ters, upon the *Gordyan* Mountains, which were nigh to the Source of the *Tigris*, and the great *Armenia*, and which extended pretty far to the *Levant*, and to the South towards *Aſſyria*. Now ſince the Rains were not the ſole Cauſe of the Deluge, but likewiſe the Overflowing of the Ocean, as the Scripture tells us, *Geneſis* vii. V. 11. where we read, that the *Fountains of the great Deep were broken up*. This Overflowing, which came from the *Perſian* Sea, and which ordinarily is ſo Impetuous in that Gulf, coming from the South and meeting the Ark about the Place where Paradiſe was, carry'd it to the North towards the *Gordyan* Mountains, whoſe Meridian was not much diſtant from that of Paradiſe. To which if we add the Violence of the Rainy Winds of the South, which were then probably a blowing, and aſſiſted the Motion of the Waters, there is no Difficulty to conceive how the Ark (which by its Shape, was not very proper for Navigation, and by its Weight which made it draw a great deal of Water,) ſhould only make a League and a Half a Day towards the North. For at this Rate, we ſhall find, that the Ark (parting from the Place where *Ptolemy* places the City of *Aracca*, where Paradiſe was) would arrive at the *Gordyan* Mountains at the end of the Hundred and Fifty Days that the Deluge continued.

Now the Sum of all that has been ſaid upon this Head, is, That the Terreſtrial Paradiſe was Situated upon the Canal, the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* form when joined together, betwixt the Place of their joining and that of the Separation of their Waters before they fall into the *Perſian* Gulf. And ſince this Canal makes ſeveral Windings, it was in one of thoſe, that the Garden was placed, and apparently upon the Meridional Branch of the greateſt, which is marked by *Agathodæmon* in *Ptolemy*'s Geographical Tables. When this River returns towards the Eaſt, after it has made a long Winding towards the Weſt about 32 Degrees 39 Minutes of Northern Latitude, and 80 Degrees and Ten Minutes of Longitude, according to the Delineation of *Agathodæmon*, nigh that where he places *Aracca*, which is the *Eric* mentioned in the Scripture. The Four Heads of the River, that Watered this Garden, are the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates* before their joining, and the Two Canals by which they fall into the Sea after they ſeparate. The Weſtern Canal is the *Piſon*; and the Country of *Chavilah*, which it runs thoro', is a Part of *Arabia* the Happy, and a Part of *Arabia* the Deſert. The Eaſtern Canal is the *Gihon*, and the Land of *Chus* is *Suſiana*. This is the Learned Biſhop of *Avranche*'s Opinion about this perplexing Queſtion, on which our Author has given the Sentiments of ſeveral others, and to which I have added this as the moſt ſatisfying of them all.

The laſt Book, which our Author wrote, was *his great Mirror of Examples*, Printed at *Cologne* 1555; wherein he, by ſeveral Excellent Hiſtorical Alluſions, endeavours to ſhow the Vanity of this World and all Worldly things. A few of which, I ſhall here inſert, and by them the Reader may Judge of the reſt.

At the opening of a Vault, where a certain Count was Interred (c), they, who were preſent, perceived, upon the Face of the Dead Perſon, a Toad of an extraordinary Bigneſs, which, accompany'd with many Filthy and Lothſom Worms and Vermin, was Feeding upon his Fleſh, which ſtruck them with ſo great a Horrour and Amazement, that they

(c) Tom. 2. Ex. 21.

all Fled. So ſoon as this came unto the Knowledge of the Son of that Count, who was then in the Flower of his Age, he would needs go and behold the Spectacle, and looking ſeriouſly upon it, broke forth into theſe Speeches, " Theſe are the Friends, which we breed and provide " for with our Delicacies. For theſe we reſt upon ſoft Beds, and lodge " in Gilded Chambers, adorned with Tapeſtries ; and make them grow " and increaſe with the Vanity of our Dainties. Were it not better to " prevent them by Faſts, Penances and Auſterities, in our Life, that " they may not thus inſult upon us after Death ? With this Conſideration, quitting his fair Poſſeſſions, he retired from the World, and ſpent the Remnant of his Days in great Auſterities and Devotion.

A certain Soldier had ſerved a Marquis, for many Years (*d*), with great Fidelity ; for which he was Favoured, by his Lord, with a ſingular Reſpect and Affection. The Soldier chanced to fall into his laſt Infirmity, which no ſooner came into the Knowledge of the Marquis, but he inſtantly came to Viſit him, accompany'd with diverſe expert Phyſicians ; and having enquired of his Health, and ſpoken many things unto him of much Comfott and Dearneſs, offered himſelf to aſſiſt him in all things which might conduce to his Health or Content ; and deſired him boldly to demand, what might be Uſeful or Available for him, aſſuring him, that it ſhould be granted without ſparing Coſt or Trouble. The Sick Soldier, after much Importunity, at laſt intreated the Favour of Three Things; either That he would afford him ſome Means to eſcape from Death, which, he perceived, was now ready to ſeiſe upon him; or That he would mitigate thoſe great Pains, he then ſuffered, but for the Space of one Hour ; or That, after he was Departed this Life, he would procure him a good Lodging, tho' but for one Night and no longer. The Marquis Anſwered, That thoſe were only in the Power of GOD ; and wiſhed him to demand things Feaſible here upon Earth, and he would not fail to ſerve him. Unto whom the Sick Soldier Reply'd, I now perceive too late all my Labour and Travel to be loſt ; and all the Services, which I have done you, in the whole Courſe of my Life, to be Vain and Fruitleſs. Then, turning himſelf unto thoſe who were preſent, ſpoke thus unto them, with much Feeling and Tears in his Eyes, " My Brethren, behold how vainly I have ſpent my Time, " being ſo precious a Jewel, in the ſerving of this Maſter, obeying his " Commands with much Care and great Danger of my Soul, which at " this inſtant is the Grief I am moſt ſenſible of. See how ſmall is his " Power, ſince in all theſe Pains, which afflict me, he is not able to " give me Eaſe for one Hour's Space. Wherefore I admoniſh you, that " you open your Eyes in time, and let my Error be a Warning unto " you, that you preſerve your ſelves from ſo Notable a Danger ; and " that you endeavour, in this World, to ſerve ſuch a Lord, as may not " only free you from theſe preſent Perplexities, and preſerve you from " future Evils, but may be able to Crown you with Glory in another " Life. And, if the LORD, by the Interceſſion of your Prayers, ſhall " be pleaſed to reſtore me my Health, I promiſe hereafter not to imploy " my ſelf in the Service of ſo Poor and Impotent a Maſter, who is not " able to Reward me : But my whole Endeavour ſhall be to ſerve Him " who hath Power to Protect me and the whole World by His " Di-

(*d*) Tom. 2. Ex. 21.

" Divine Power. With this great Repentance he Died, leaving us an Example to Benefit our ſelves by that Time, which GOD beſtows upon us here for obtaining of an Eternal Reward.

There were Two Religious Perſons (*e*) of Holy and Unblamable Converſation, who did mutually Love one another with great Affection. One of them chanced to Die, and, after Death, Appeared unto the other, being then at Prayer, in poor and torn Garments, and with a moſt Sorrowful and Dejected Countenance. He, who was alive, demanded of him, What was the Cauſe of his Appearing in that ſad manner? To whom he Anſwered, repeating it Three Times, *No Man will believe, No Man will believe, No Man will believe.* And, being urged to declare further what he would ſay, he proceeded thus, *No Man can imagine, how ſtrict GOD is in taking His Accompts; and with what Rigour he Chaſtiſes Sinners:* And in ſaying this he Vaniſhed.

There was a Mighty King, who, having no Heir to Succeed him in his Kingdom(*f*), took up a Beautiful Boy at the Church-Door, and Nouriſhed him as his Son; and, in his Teſtament, commanded, That, if at Ripe Years his Condition were Vertuous and ſuitable to his Calling, he ſhould be received as Lawful King, and Seated in his Royal Throne: But, if he proved Vicious and unfit for Government, they ſhould Puniſh him with Infamy, and ſend him to the Gallies. The Kingdom Obeyed this Command, Provided him excellent Maſters and Tutors: But he became ſo Untoward and Ill inclined, that he would Learn nothing, flung away his Books, ſpent his Time, amongſt other Boys, in making Houſes of Dirt and other Childiſh Fooleries, for which his Governours Corrected and Chaſtiſed him, and Adviſed him of what was fitting for, and of greateſt Importance to him; but all did no Good. Only, when they Reprehended him, he could Weep, not becauſe he Repented, but becauſe they hindered his Sport; and, the next Day, did the ſame. The more he grew in Age, the worſe he became: And altho' they informed him of the King's Teſtament, and what behoved him to do, all was to no Purpoſe, until at laſt, after all poſſible Care and Diligence, his Tutors and the whole Kingdom, weary of his ill Conditions, in a Public Aſſembly, declared him Unworthy to Reign, diſpoiled him of his Royal Ornaments, and Condemned him with Infamy to the Gallies. Let every Chriſtian apply this Story to himſelf, and he will find, That he is the Fooliſh Boy, who rejects the Kingdom of Heaven upon eaſy Conditions, imploying himſelf wholly upon the Dirty Fooleries of this Earth. By theſe few Inſtances, as I have ſaid, the Reader will ſee, what the Method and Deſign of this Work is.

He returns to *Scotland*, and is made Profeſſor of Divinity at S. *Andrews*.

After our Author had Taught Theology, for ſeveral Years, in the Univerſity of *Paris*, he returned to his own Country, about the Year 1520 (*g*), and was made Profeſſor of Divinity, and Provoſt of S. *Salvator*'s College in the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, where he Taught with great Applauſe; and in the Year 1528, he went over again to *France*, where he ſtaid till the Year 1530, and then came back to S. *Andrews*, where he Taught till his Death, which happened in the Year 1540, in the Sixty Second Year of his Age.

His Death.

(*e*) Exemp. 8. (*f*) Ibid. (*g*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. pag. 4. Novel. Biblioth. des Aut. Eccleſ. Tom. 14. pag. 160. Demp. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 12. pag. 481. Scots Hiſt. lib. pag. 101. Spotſ. Ch. Hiſt. lib. 2. pag. 68. Academ. Pariſien. illuſtrata pag. 652. Le Grand Dict. Hiſt. par. Mr. Vaultier.

His Character.

Tho' *Buchanan* acknowledges (*h*), that our Author was Famous for his Knowledge in Theology, whilſt he was but a Youth; yet he treats him but ſcurvily afterwards, as appears from the following Epigram (*i*).

In Joannem *Cognomento* Majorem, *ut ipſe in fronte Libri ſui ſcripſit.*

Cum ſcateat Nugis ſolo Cognomine Major,
Nec ſit in immenſo Pagina ſana Libro.
Non mirum Titulis quod ſe veracibus ornat,
Nec ſemper mendax fingere Creta *ſolet.*

And that, which the more aggravates *Buchanan*'s Fault in this, is, that when he had returned out of *France*, and was in great Neceſſity, our Author, in the Year 1524, upon *Buchanan*'s Recovery out of a dangerous Diſeaſe, knowing he had an Excellent Spirit, Invited him to the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*; where, upon his own Charges, he both Maintained him, and Taught him his Philoſophy: And, when our Author went over again into *France*, in the Year 1528, he took him along with him, where he kept him for Two Years. For all which he ought to have had a more Grateful Return. And yet *Buchanan*, in the Account he gives of himſelf in his Life, ſmooths this whole Affair over in theſe Terms, *Early in the Spring he was ſent to S.* Andrews, (ſpeaking of himſelf) *to hear the Lectures of* John Major, *who, tho' very Old, read Logic or rather Sophiſtry in that Univerſity. The Summer after, he accompanied him into* France, *and there he fell into the Troubles of the* Lutheran *Sect.*

The Reverend and Learned Biſhop *Spotiſwood*, in his *Hiſtory of the Church of* Scotland (*k*), gives this Character of him, "That he was a "Man well Inclined, Ingenious, and, according to theſe Times, not "Unlearned. He Wrote the Story of his Country, howbeit in a *Sor-* "*bonic* and Barbarous Stile, yet very truly and with a great Liberty of "Spirit; not ſparing the Uſurpation of *Rome*, and taxing, in divers pla- "ces, the Lazineſs and Superfluity of the Clergy, which could hardly "be done in thoſe Times without Danger.

Dempſter ſays (*l*), That he was one of the moſt Learned Men of his Age; but that, in's Hiſtory there were ſome things Good; ſeveral things Erroneous; ſomethings, Ridiculous, as that which he relates concerning the Bridge of *Haddingtoun*; ſeveral things are wanting; and laſtly, all is Negligently Written, for which he blames not him ſo much, as the Age in which he lived. *Sed venia*, ſays he, *rudi illi Ævo danda.*

But Foreigners have been much more Favourable to his Memory in their Cenſures of him than his own Country-Men: A great many of which I could here produce; but I ſhall only mention Two, and refer the Reader to the reſt. The Firſt is that of the Learned M. *Du Pin* (*m*), *Des tous les Theologiens*, ſays he, *qui avoient fait juſqu' alors des Commentaires ſur l' Ouvrage du Maître des Sentences, aucun n' en avoit encore fait de ſi ſcavans ni de ſi remplis que ceux que compoſa* Jean Major; *ce qui lui a fait donner à juſte tître bien des Eloges.* That is to ſay, *Of all the Theologues that have made, till this Time, Commentaries upon the Work of the Maſter of the Sentences, none of them has made either ſo Learned, or ſo full ones, as thoſe compoſed by* John Major; *for which he has juſtly got a great many Elogiums.*

The

(*h*) Lib. 7. Reg. 91. (*i*) Lib. 1. Epig. (*k*) Ch. Hiſt. lib. 2. pag. 68. (*l*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 12. pag. 481. (*m*) Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccleſ. ubi ſup.

The other is that of the Learned M. *de Launoy*, in his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of *Paris* (*n*), where he ſays, That of all thoſe that have Written upon the Maſter of the Sentences, there was never, till his Time, any that Wrote ſo fully and ſo Learnedly upon them, as he did. And this, no doubt, was the Reaſon that Two Eminent Theologues of *Paris* have praiſed him ſo much. The Firſt is, *Judocus Clicthoveus*, who calls him an Eminent Theologue and a moſt Famous Doctor of *Paris*. The other is, *Antonius Coronellus*, who calls him the moſt Eminent Prince of the *Pariſian* Theologues and Philoſophers; from whom, as from a moſt clear and perpetual Fountain, all the Arts, Flouriſhing at *Paris*, Sprung. And certainly, ſays M. *de Launoy*, he exerciſed himſelf and compoſed Books in moſt of the Sciences. His Words are, *Cæterum inter Eccleſiaſticos, qui votis ſoluti, Magiſtrum Sententiarum interpretati ſunt, nullus copioſiores ac doctiores Commentarios ad illam uſque Ætatem reliquit. Quod in cauſa ſine dubio fuit, cur* Pariſienſes *Theologi duo, hinc Judocus Clicthoveus* Majorem inſignem Theologum, & celeberrimi apud Pariſios nominis Doctorem *vocet in defenſione diſceptationis, quam de* Magdalena *inſtituit*; *inde Antonius Coronellus*, Theologorum Pariſienſium ac Philoſophorum Principem eminentiſſimum nominet, a quo tanquam a quodam lucidiſſimo & perenni fonte omnes Artes Pariſiis vigentes emanarunt, *in fine Commentariorum in poſteriora* Ariſtotelis. *Et certe in omni fere Doctrinæ genere ſeſe exercuit libroſque compoſuit.* How Juſt this Encomium of him is, will evidently appear to any, that will conſider the Numerous Learned Works he compoſed (*o*); the Catalogue of which is as follows.

(*n*) Reg. Nav. Gymnaſ. Pariſ. Hiſt. pag. 654. (*o*) Antonius Poſſevinus in Appar. Sacr. And. du Val. Apol. cont. Richer. Jacob. Breulius Antiq. Pariſ. lib. 2. pag. 664. Le grand Dict. Hiſtor. par M. Vaultier Tom. 3. Bellarm. de Script. Eccleſ. Voſſius de Hiſt. Latin. lib. 3. le Mire in Auct. Gilbert. Gray. Oratio de illuſtrib. Scotiæ ſcript. Publiſhed in the Firſt Volume of this Work.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *INtroductorium in* Ariſtotelicam *Dialecticen, totamque Logicam*, Pariſiis *apud* Joannem Lambert.
II. *Quæſtio de Complexo ſignificabili.*
III. *Primus Liber Terminorum cum Figura.*
IV. *Secundus Liber Terminorum.*
V. *Summulæ cum Figura quatuor Propoſitionum & earum Converſionum.*
VI. *Prædicabilia cum Arbore* Porphyriana.
VII. *Prædicamenta cum ſua Figura.*
VIII. *Syllogiſmi.*
IX. *Poſteriora cum Textu* Ariſtotelis *primi & ſecundi Capitis, Libri primi.*
X. *Tractatus de Locis.*
XI. *Tractatus Elenchorum.*
XII. *Tractatus Conſequentiarum.*
XIII. *Abbreviationes parvorum Logicalium.*
XIV. *Parva Logicalia.*
XV. *Exponibilia.*
XVI. *Inſolubilia.*
XVII. *Obligationes.*

XVIII. *Argumenta Sophiſtica.*
XIX. *Propoſitum de Infinito.*
XX. *Analogus inter duos Logicos & Magiſtrum.*

Hæc omnia ſimul Edita ſunt *Lugduni* MDXIV. apud *Antonium Ryum*, in Folio.

XXI. *In Quartum Sententiarum Commentarius, Anno* 1509. *apud* Joannem Granjonium, Pariſiis; *Anno* 1516. *ibidem recuſus amplior apud* Jodocum Badium Aſcenſium.

XXII. *Commentarius in Phyſica* Ariſtotelis, Pariſ. 1526.

XXIII. *In Primum & Secundum Sententiarum totidem Commentarii*, Pariſiis; *Anno* 1510. *apud eundem. Commentarius in Secundum, Anno* 1519, *prodiit auctior apud* Joannem Granjonium.

XXIV. *Commentarius in Tertium, Anno* 1517, *ibidem apud eundem.*

XXV. *Literalis in* Matthæum *Expoſitio, una cum trecentis octo Dubiis & Difficultatibus ad ejus elucidationem admodum conducentibus paſſim inſertis, quibus perlectis pervia erit quatuor Evangeliſtarum ſeries*, Pariſiis, *Anno* 1518, *apud* Joannem Grandjonium.

XXVI. *De Hiſtoria Gentis* Scororum *Libri ſex, ſeu Hiſtoria* Majoris Britanniæ, *tam* Angliæ *quam* Scotiæ, *e veterum Monimentis concinnata*, Pariſiis, *Anno* 1521, *apud* Jodocum Badium.

XXVII. *Luculentæ in quatuor Evangelia Expoſitiones, Diſquiſitiones & Diſputationes contra Hæreticos. Ad calcem hujuſce operis quatuor Quæſtiones: Prima, utrum Lex Gratia ſit ſola vera? Secunda, quid ſit Veritas Catholica, & quot ſint Gradus ejus? Tertia, de Numero Evangeliſtarum. Quarta, de Terræ Promiſſionis ſitu*, Pariſiis, *Anno* 1529, *apud eundem* Badium.

XXVIII. *Catalogus Epiſcoporum* Lucionenſium, *apud* Anton. Demochar. *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 26.

THE LIFE of JOHN FRAZER, of the Order of S. *Francis.*

His Birth, Parentage and Education.

OUR Hiſtorians make the *Frazers* to have come from *France*, in the Reign of King *Malcolm Canmoir*, about the Year 1066, as we have formerly Obſerved. We find *Simon Frazer*, in the Reign of King *Malcolm* IV. (*a*) about the Year 1152, giving to the Abbacy of *Kelſo* the Kirk of *Keith* and ſome Lands there. Of this Noble and Ancient Family was our Author Deſcended; he was Born about the Year 1480, in the Reign of King *James* III. and, having Finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies at Home, his Parents ſent him over to *France*, where

He goes over to *France*.

(*a*) MS. Hiſtory of the Frazers. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 9. pag. 395. Sir James Dalrymple's Coll. Preſ. pag. 77. The Biſhop of Hereford's Annals of England, Tran. by Morgan Godwin. M. Du Pin, Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccleſ. Tom. 13. pag. 135.

where he Studied for ſome time at the Univerſity of *Paris*; from thence he went to *Italy*, where he entred into Holy Orders, and took upon him the Habit of S. *Francis*, in which Order he lived Retiredly and Devoutly till his Death. This is all we know of him, ſave that he has left us a large and accurate Account of the Divorce of King *Henry* VIII. which hapned thus (*b*).

From thence to *Italy*, where he enters into Holy Orders, and becomes a *Franciſcan*.

He writes the Hiſtory of K. *Henry* VIII.

An Account of this Hiſtory.

Henry VII. King of *England* Marry'd his Eldeſt Son *Arthur*, Prince of *Wales*, to *Catharine* Daughter to *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*. Their Marriage was Solemnized at *London*, upon the 14th of *November* 1501. This Young Prince Dying ſome Months after, a Propoſal was made of giving *Catharine* in Marriage to *Henry*, Duke of *York*, Second Son to the King of *England*; and ſince this could not be without a Diſpenſation, one was asked of Pope *Julius* II. who granted it by his Bull of the 26th of *December* 1503, wherein the Pope Declares, That, tho' *Catharine* was Marry'd to Prince *Arthur*, and that perhaps the Marriage was Conſummated; yet *Arthur* being Dead, *Henry* his Brother and ſhe being deſirous to Marry, and thereby to Eſtabliſh a firm Peace betwixt the Two Kingdoms, he (the Pope) Declares, That, to contribute all he could to ſettle a firm Peace amongſt Catholic Kings and Princes, he Diſpenſed with their Propinquity of Blood, notwithſtanding of all the Ordinances and Apoſtolic Conſtitutions to the contrary; and permits them to Marry, or if they were already Marry'd, he Diſpenſes with it. This Diſpenſation being obtained, *Henry*, who as yet was but Minor, Marry'd the Widow of his Brother. 'Tis not known, by what Motive his Father obliged him to make a Proteſtation againſt this Marriage, which he did upon the 27th of *June*, in the Year 1505, in the Hands of *Fox* Biſhop of *Winchester*, in which he Declared, That being now Major he retracted the Marriage, made with the Widow of his Brother, as being againſt the Laws. Yet nothing more was done in it, till, a conſiderable Time after, *Henry* VII. Dying upon the 27th Day of *April* 1509, the young King cauſed Examine the Validity of his Marriage in his Council, where it being approved by the Majority of Votes, he Marry'd Publicly *Catharine* upon the 25th of *June* 1509. This Princeſs had ſeveral Children, but all of them were Dead Born, or lived but a ſmall time, ſave one Daughter call'd *Mary*, Born upon the 19th of *February* 1516.

Henry lived with *Catharine* till the Year 1525 without any Scruple about his Marriage: Then, falling in Love with *Anne Bolen*, he begun to think of Diſſolving of his Marriage; his want of Male Children and her Infirmities, did not a little contribute to this; but all that he pretended to, was a Scruple of Conſcience. At this Time, he had, for his Principal Miniſter of State, *Thomas Wolſey*, a Man who from the meaneſt Extract had raiſed himſelf to the higheſt Dignities. For he was the Son of a Butcher at *Ipſwich*, and was brought up at *Oxford*, in *Magdalen*-College; afterwards he became Maſter of the Free-School there. Among other Scholars the Sons of the Marquis of *Dorſet* were committed to his Truſt; and, for his Care over them, the Parſonage of *Limington*, in *Somerſetſhire*, was beſtowed on him. Aſſoon as he had ſet Footing there, the Biſhop of *Hereford* ſays (*c*), That he was clapt in the Stocks by Sir *Amias Powlet*, a Puniſhment not uſually inflicted upon any but Beggers and baſe People; but what the Affair betwixt them was, is not known.

(*b*) M. Du Pin, Tome 13. pag. 135. (*c*) Hereford's Ann. pag. 29.

Falling intimately Acquainted with Sir *John Nafant* Treaſurer of *Calis*, he made him his Chaplain, and, finding him a Man of Parts, committed the Management of his Affairs to him, when he turned Old, which he did ſo much to his Satisfaction, that he recommended him to King *Henry* VII. who made him one of his Chaplains, and he was ſo well pleaſed with him, that he preferred him, Firſt to the Deanrie of *Lincoln*, and then made him his Almoner. *Henry* VIII. Succeeding to his Father, he had a great Influence over him by his agreeable Temper: But that which gained King *Henry* VIII's Affection to him intirely, was, that when the Old Counſellors were Adviſing the Young King to ſit every Day in Council, and hear their Debates, ſo that by Daily Practice and Experience he might accuſtom himſelf to the Management of State Affairs, he ſaid, "That the King's Youth would not be able to brook their tedious Conſultations. Every Age of Man had its Seaſons and Delights agreeable; and therefore he thought, that they did not do well, that would force the King to Act an Old Man before his time, Youth being utterly averſe from the Severities of Old Age. And that it would come to paſs hereafter, if GOD were ſo pleaſed, that what was now troubleſome to him, would not be diſagreeable to riper Years, nay prove perhaps a great Pleaſure. And ſo he thought, until that Time came, he ſhould enjoy the Preſent, and not, by hearkning to others needleſs Suggeſtions, any way interrupt that Felicity which the Largeneſs of his Dominions could afford him. Wherefore he Adviſed him to Hawk and Hunt, and to uſe ſuch innocent Recreations as he pleaſed; and, if he deſired ſuddenly to become an Old Man by intermeddling with Old Men's Cares, there would not be wanting ſome (meaning himſelf) that would in the Evening, in One or Two Words, relate unto him the Effect of a whole Day's Conſultation. This being calculated for the King's Humor, pleaſed him ſo well, as I have ſaid, that he became his great and only Favourite, and was Firſt Sworn one of his Privy Counſellors, then he made him Biſhop of *Tournay* in *France*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and in the Year 1515, upon the 7th of *September*, he was created Cardinal of S. *Cecilia* (*d*); and in the Year following, upon the 7th of *December*, he was conſtituted Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and Legate *a latere* for the Kingdom of *England*. So that there was nothing done, either in Church or State, but what he had the greateſt Hand in; and, finding the King inclinable to a Divorce, he, to be Revenged on the Emperor *Charles* V. who had promiſed him the Papacy, but had fail'd in his Word to him, promoted the Divorce ſo effectually, that it was he alone that was the Principal Agent in that Affair: For by this Means, he thought, as I have ſaid, to be ſufficiently Revenged on the Emperor, becauſe Queen *Catharine* was Siſter to *Jean* Queen of *Arragon*, Mother to *Charles* V. The Firſt, who was Conſulted upon this Affair, was *Richard Pacey*, Dean of S. *Paul's*, a Man of great Learning; but he remitted it to Dr. *Wakefield*, and, upon the News of King *Henry*'s Deſign of falling out with the Emperor, went Diſtracted. Not long after this, the Biſhop of *Trabes*, Ambaſſador from the King of *France* to the King of *England*, in Concluding the Peace betwixt the Two Crowns, told King *Henry*, That many Perſons condemned his Marriage with Queen *Catharine*, and that he ſhould

(*d*) Vid. Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1.

ſhould, for the Satisfaction of his Conſcience, cauſe the Matter to be nicely Examined. Cardinal *Wolſey*, having gone over to *France*, where he was received with all imaginable Reſpect and Honour, told the King of *France* King *Henry*'s Reſolution of being Divorced; and made a Propoſal of a Marriage between him and one of the Princeſſes of *France*. Theſe Meaſures being taken, King *Henry* ſent to *Rome* Dr. *Knight* to join himſelf with *Caſal* his Agent at *Rome*, and Ordered them both to Purſue vigorouſly for his Divorce. On the other hand, Queen *Catharine* ſent one of her Almoners into *Spain*, to Advertiſe the Emperor *Charles* V. of what was adoing, and to require his Aid and Aſſiſtance. The Emperor employed the General of the *Cordeliers* to Negociate this Affair with Pope *Clement* VII. who was then lying in Priſon. This *Cordelier* was a Man, that was very acceptable to the Pope, becauſe he was endeavouring to get him ſet at Liberty, obtained the Pope's Promiſe, That nothing ſhould be done in that Affair, till ſuch time as the Emperor were acquainted with it: And by this Means he prevented the Envoys of the King of *England*, who were not permitted to ſpeak to the Pope, till ſuch time as he was ſet at Liberty; and then they earneſtly intreated his Holineſs, to cauſe the Diſpenſation, granted by Pope *Julius* II. to King *Henry*, to be Examined. The Pope remitted the Affair for that time, and ſhortly after he emitted a Bull, by which he permitted King *Henry* VIII. to Marry whom he pleaſed, providing that his Marriage with Queen *Catharine* was found Null and Declared ſo. But this Bull did no Prejudice to Queen *Catharine*; for ſtill the Queſtion, concerning the Validity of the Marriage, remained undecided: And King *Henry* was extremely perplexed about the Meaſures, that ſhould be taken in order to get it declared Null; and therefore he intreated the Pope to iſſue out another Bull, in which he ſhould declare his Marriage with *Catharine* Null and Void. The Pope, to pleaſe King *Henry*, ſent over to *England* Cardinal *Campegius* as his Legate, impowering him and Cardinal *Wolſey* to Examine this Affair; and, further to oblige him, he gave a Bull to the Cardinal in King *Henry*'s Favours, but Enjoined him not to Publiſh it till he had his further Orders. The Contents of this Bull are not well known. For ſome ſay, That the Pope by it only Promiſed, That the Cauſe ſhould never be called to *Rome*, and that he would confirm the Judgment of the Legates. Others ſay, That by this Bull, he Diſſolved the Marriage, in caſe that the Matters of Fact, alledged by the King, ſhould be found Proven by the Legates. This laſt Opinion indeed ſeems to be the trueſt: For King *Henry* was Overjoy'd with it, and the Pope afterwards was vexed with himſelf for having granted it.

Cardinal *Campegius*, having arrived, in the Beginning of *October*, in the Year 1528, and being extremely troubled with the Gout, was brought privately into the City of *London*, where, after a few Days Reſt, he was brought before the King, to whom the Cardinal's Secretary made a *Latin* Oration, wherein he expreſſed, how much the Pope and the whole College of Cardinals thought themſelves Obliged to him: And he was Anſwered by *Edward Fox*, afterward Biſhop of *Hereford*. After theſe mutual Complements had paſſed in Public, the Legates and the King had a Conference in Private; and *Campegius* ſhowed him and Cardinal *Wolſey* the Bull he had in the King's Behalf, and that he had Authority to Publiſh it, but not to give Sentence till he received new Inſtru-

ctions, being very willing that the King ſhould enjoy the Benefit of it: But that the Pope's Circumſtances were ſuch, that it was neceſſary to delay it till ſuch time, as he had ſecured himſelf from the Emperor. After this, the Legates begun to inſtruct the Proceſs; and the Queen produced a Brief, containing a Diſpenſation much more ample than that of the Bull, upon which, the Legates were to Judge of this Affair. For it bore a Permiſſion to *Henry* to Eſpouſe *Catharine*, even altho' her Marriage, with his Brother Prince *Arthur* had been Conſummated. Whereas in the Bull, there was only the Word, *forſitan (Perhaps.)* Whereupon Agents were diſpatched to *Rome* and *Spain*, to Examine the Truth of this. In the mean time, the Affairs of the Emperor proſpering Daily in *Italy*, and the Pope, deſigning to join in a League with him, ſent an Expreſs to Cardinal *Campegius* with Orders, That he ſhould burn his Bull, and prolong the Affair of the Divorce. Mean while the King, having Aſſembled all the Nobles of the Kingdom, ſeveral Judges, Lawiers and as many of the better Sort of Commons as could conveniently attend, upon the 8th of *November*, made the following Speech to them.

" Twenty Years have almoſt run their Courſe, Faithful and Loving " Subjects, ſince we Firſt began our Reign among you. In all which " Tract of Time, we have by God's Aſſiſtance ſo behaved our ſelf, that " we hope, we have neither given you Cauſe to Complain, nor our " Enemies to Glory. No Foreign Power hath endeavoured ought a- " gainſt you, but to his own Loſs; neither have we employ'd our Arms " any where, but we have Triumphantly erected our Glorious Tro- " phies. So that whether you conſider the ſweet Fruits of Plentiful " Peace, or the Glory of our Warlike Exploits, we dare boldly avouch, " We have ſhew'd our ſelf not Unworthy of our Anceſtors, whom (with- " out Offence be it ſpoken) we have in all Points equall'd. But, when " we reflect upon the neceſſary End of our frail Life, we are ſurpriſed " with Fear, leſt the Miſeries of Future Times ſhould ſo obſcure the " Splendour and Memory of our preſent Felicity, that as the *Romans* " did after the Death of *Auguſtus*, ſo you may hereafter be forced to wiſh " with Tears, either that we had never been, or might have perpetu- " ally lived to Govern you. We ſee many here preſent, who, in re- " gard of their Age, might have been Parties in the late Civil Wars, " which for Eighty Years together ſo miſerably rent this Realm, no " Man knowing whom to acknowledge for his Sovereign, until the Hap- " py Conjunction of our Parents did not Reſolve, but took away all " Cauſe of further Doubt. Conſider then, whether after our Death " you can hope for better Days, than when the Factions of *York* and " *Lancaſter* diſtracted this Realm. We have a Daughter, whom we the " more affectionately tender, becauſe ſhe is our ſole Iſſue. But we " would have you know, that having lately treated with our Dear Bro- " ther of *France*, concerning a Match between this our Daughter and " *Henry* Duke of *Orleans* his younger Son, both of us were well plea- " ſed with the Alliance, until one of his Privy Council made a Queſtion " of our Daughter's Birth; for it was much to be doubted, leſt ſhe were " to be held Illegitimate, being Begotten of us and that Mother, who " had been before Married to our deceaſed Brother: Saying, That it " was utterly repugnant to the Word of God, that any one ſhould Mar- " ry his Brother's Widow; wherefore he was of Opinion, that this

" Match,

" Match, with our Beloved Spouſe, was to be deemed no other than In-
" ceſtuous. How grievouſly this Relation Afflicted us, God the Sear-
" cher of our Heart knows. For theſe Words did ſeem to Queſtion, not
" only our dear Conſort and our Daughter, but even the very State of
" our Soul, which, after Death, muſt neceſſarily undergo Eternal and
" Inevitable Torments, if, being Admoniſhed of ſo horrible an Inceſt,
" we ſhould not endeavour an Amendment; and for your Parts you can-
" not but foreſee, how great Dangers, by reaſon of this Doubt, do
" threaten you and your Poſterity. Being therefore deſirous (as the
" Caſe indeed required) to be reſolved in this Point, we Firſt conferred
" with our Friends, and then with the moſt Learned in the Laws both
" Divine and Human; who indeed were ſo far from ſatisfying us, that
" they left us more perplexed. We therefore had Recourſe to the Holy
" Apoſtolic See, to the Decree whereof, we think it fitting, that our
" ſelf and all others ſhould be Obedient. To this and no other end (we
" call the Immortal God to Witneſs) have we procured this Venerable
" Legate. As for the Queen our moſt beloved Conſort, whatſoever
" Women may tattle, or Ill-willers mutter in Private, we do willingly
" and ingenuouſly profeſs, That in Nobleneſs of Mind ſhe far tranſcends
" the Greatneſs of her Birth: So that, if we were now at Liberty and
" free for a Second Choice, we take God to Witneſs, among all the
" Plenty of the World's Beauties, we would not make Choice of any
" other (if Lawfully we might) than of this our now Queen, One in
" regard of her Mildneſs, Wiſdom, Humility, Sanctity of Mind and
" Converſation, (we are verily perſwaded) not to be parallel'd. But,
" when we conſider, that we are beſtowed on the World to other Ends
" than the Purſuit of our own Pleaſures, we have thought it meet rather
" to undergo the Hazard of an Uncertain Judgment, than to commit
" Impiety againſt God, the Liberal Giver of all Bleſſings; and Ingratitude
" againſt our Country, the Well and Safety whereof each one ſhould
" prefer before his Private Life or Fortunes. Thus much have you heard
" from our own Mouth: And we hope, that you will hereafter give no
" Heed either to Seditious Detractions, or Idle Rumours of the People.

Notwithſtanding of the Pope's Orders to the Legates, yet they continued the Inſtruction of the Proceſs; and the King and Queen Named their Proctors, and were Perſonally Summoned to appear before them about the Beginning of *April* 1529. Accordingly they appeared, a Chair of State, whereto was an Aſcent of ſome Steps, was placed above the reſt for the King; and, by the Side of it, another, but a little lower, for the Queen (*e*). Before the King, at the Fourth Step, ſat the Legates; but ſo, that the one ſeemed to ſit at his Right Hand, and the other at his Left. Next to the Legates, ſtood the Apparitors and other Officers of the Court; and, among them, *Gardiner*, (afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) who was appointed Regiſter in this Buſineſs. Before the Judges, within the Limits of the Court, ſate the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* with all the other Biſhops of the Kingdom. At the farther end of each Side, were the Advocates and Proctors for each Party. For the King was *Sampſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; *Bell*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and *Peters*; all Doctors of the Law. For the Queen, was *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; *Standiſh*, Biſhop of S. *Aſaph*; and Dr. *Ridley*.

(*e*) See the Biſhop of Hereford's Annals, and Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Refor. of the Ch. of England.

All things being thus Formally ordered, the Apparitor, being desired by the Register to cite the King, cried, Henry, *King of* England, *come to the Court*; who Answered, *Here I am.* The Queen being likewise cited, Catharine, *Queen of* England, *come into the Court.* She made no Answer, but, rising from her Seat, went directly to the King, to whom, on her Knees, purposely raising her Voice, that every one might hear her, she said,

" Sir, I humbly beseech your Majesty so to deal with me at this pre-
" sent, that I may neither have Cause to Complain of Injustice, nor
" that you have debarred me of the Favour of your wonted Clemency.
" I am here a Woman and a Stranger, destitute of Friends and Council:
" So that Plead for my self I cannot; and whom I may else employ, I
" know not. My Kindred and Friends are far off, neither can I safely
" rely on any here, in a Matter of so great Consequence. They that
" are here retained for me, are no other than whom you have been
" pleased to appoint, and are your own Subjects, who if they would
" deal uprightly, (which few will believe they dare do) yet can they
" not here withstand your Determined Will and Pleasure. But what
" have wretched I committed, that, after Twenty Years spent in Peace-
" able Wedlock, and having Born you so many Children, you should
" now at length, think of putting me away? I was, I confess, the Wi-
" dow of your Brother, if at least she may be accounted a Widow, whom
" her Husband never knew. For I take Almighty God to Witness,
" and, I am perswaded, you cannot be ignorant of it, that I came to
" your Bed an Unspotted Virgin; from which Time, how I have be-
" haved my self, I am content to Appeal even to them, whosoever they
" are, that do wish me least Good. Certainly, whatsoever their Ver-
" dict may be, you have alwise found me a most Faithful Servant, (I
" may better say than Wife,) having never to my Knowledge withstood
" your Pleasure so much as in Shew. I alwise loved those, whom I
" thought you Favoured, without questioning their Deserts. I so
" carefully further'd and procured your Pleasures, that I rather fear, I
" have Offended God in too much endeavouring your Content, than
" that I have any way failed in the least Performance of my Duty. By
" this my Observance unto you, if so be you ever thought it worthy
" of Regard, by our Common Issue, by the Memory of my Father
" whom you sometimes held Dear, I do humbly beg, That you would
" be pleased to defer the further Hearing of this Cause, until, having
" sent into *Spain*, I may thence be Advised by my Friends, in this Case
" what Course to take. If then, in Justice, it shall be thought meet
" to rend me from you, a Part of whom I have so long been, (the Ap-
" prehension whereof doth more terrify me than Death) I will, even in
" this, continue my long observed Course of Obedience. But as often
" as I bethink me of the Wisdom of our Parents, by whose Endeavours
" and Consent this Match was Ratify'd, I cannot but hope very well of
" my Cause. Your Father, for his admirable Wisdom, was accounted
" a Second *Solomon*; neither can *Spain*, throughout the whole Succession
" of the Kings of so many Kingdoms, produce any one, who may pa-
" rallel my Father *Ferdinand:* And what kind of Counsellors, must we
" think, these Princes had, that all should as it were Conspire to hurl
" us into the Miseries of an Incestuous Marriage? No Question was

then

" then made concerning the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage; and yet " theſe Times afforded Learned, yea and (whereof to my Harm I have " had Experimental Knowledge) in Holineſs of Life and Love of the " Truth, far ſurpaſſing the Flatterers of theſe Times.

Theſe laſt Words ſhe ſpoke, becauſe ſhe had heard, That all the Biſhops of the Realm had given their Conſent to a Decree Pronounced againſt their Marriage. Indeed ſuch a Decree, Subſcribed and Sealed by each of them, was afterward, in the Preſence of the King, read Publicly in the Court: And *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, excepted againſt it, and denied, that he had put his Hand to it; but on the contrary, he ſaid, That the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had cauſed Counterfeit his Hand and Seal.

After the Queen had ended her Speech, ſhe made an Obeiſance to the King; and, when every one expected that ſhe would have returned to her Seat, ſhe went with great Haſte out of the Court; which the King perceiving, he commanded the Apparitor to call her back again. The Apparitor obeying, the Gentleman, who ſupported her, told her, She was call'd: To which ſhe Anſwered, *I hear very well: But go you on, I cannot hope for Juſtice in this Court; let them proceed againſt me in what manner they will, I am reſolved not to ſtay.* So away ſhe went, and would never after be perſwaded to make her Appearance, either Perſonally or by a Proctor: And being cited, upon the 25th of *June*, to make her Appearance before them, ſhe made an Act of an Appeal, by which ſhe refuſed the Place, the Judges and her own Advocates, and Appealed to the Pope. This Appeal being read, and the Queen not appearing, ſhe was declared Contumacious: And, notwithſtanding of her refuſing to appear before them and of her Appeal, the Legates continued the Inſtruction of the Proceſs, drew up an Information, and heard ſeveral Witneſſes that Deponed about the Conſummation of her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*. In the mean time, the Imperial Miniſters preſs'd the Pope to call this Cauſe before him; and *Campegius*, for his Part, did all he could to prolong the Proceſs by many Meetings, and remitted the Deciſion of it till the Month of *October*, under the Pretext, that the Conſiſtory would be in Vacation till then. But, before that time came, they had the News in *England*, That the Pope had call'd the Cauſe to *Rome* before himſelf, and had cited the King and Queen to appear there, which was accordingly done. The Power of the Legates ceaſing by this Revocation, *Campegius* was obliged to retire from *England*, Cardinal *Wolſey* was Diſgraced, turned out of all his Offices, purſued before the Parliament for having Acted againſt the Laws in the Exercing the Functions of Legate, Arreſted in order to be Impriſoned in the Tower of *London*, and Died by the Way, at *Leiceſter*, the 28th of *November* 1530.

King *Henry*, finding that he could expect no Favourable Sentence from the Pope, addreſſed himſelf to all the Univerſities of *Europe*, and required their Opinions concerning the Validity of his Marriage. Upon this, many hot Debates aroſe amongſt the Divines that were for and againſt him. The Members of the Univerſity of *Oxford* being extremely divided in their Sentiments, the Deciſion of it was referred to Three and Thirty Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, who were of the Opinion, That the Marriage of King *Henry* with Queen *Catharine* was Null, and againſt the Law of Nature. The Seal of the Univerſity was appen-

ded to this Deciſion of theirs, upon the 8th of *April* 1530, but without the Conſent of the whole Univerſity. In the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *Gardiner* and *Fox*, the King's Two great Agents there, thought to have got it to paſs in a General Meeting of the Univerſity: But they only (and that with a great deal of Difficulty too) obtained, that it ſhould be referred to Ten Doctors, Sixteen Batchelors with the Vice-Chancellor and the Two Proctors of the Univerſity. At Firſt, the Doctors and Batchelors were divided in their Votes: But *Gardiner* and *Fox* found out a Way, to gain over to their Party Four of thoſe that were againſt the Divorce, by which Means a Deciſion was framed, Declaring the Marriage Null and Unlawful.

The Faculty of the Theologues at *Paris* were no leſs divided in their Sentiments: For *Noel Beda* had a ſtrong Party againſt the King; but Mr. *du Belly*, Biſhop of *Baionne*, had a ſtronger Party for him. At length it being brought to the Vote, there were 53 for the Divorce, and 42 againſt it, and 5 who were for remitting it to the Pope. But it carry'd according to the Plurality of Votes; and notwithſtanding of the great Oppoſitions, made by *Beda* and the other Doctors who were for the Queen, their Sentence was expeded, and delivered as the Opinion of the Univerſity of *Paris*, upon the 2d of *July*. At *Angers*, the Faculties of Law and Theology were contrary to one another: For the Lawiers gave their Opinion in Favours of the King; and the Theologues, in Favours of the Queen. At *Orleans*, *Bourges* and *Tholouſe*, they declared the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. Null and Void.

The Univerſities of *Pavia*, *Ferrara*, *Padua* and *Bolonia* were all for the Divorce: And Dr. *Crooke*, whom King *Henry* the VIII. had ſent to *Italy* to Agent his Affair there, ſent the Opinions of a great many *Italian* Divines in Favours of his Divorce.

In *Germany*, the *Low Countries* and *Spain*, the Univerſities would not give their Opinions. And all his Intereſt could not obtain a general Approbation of the Proteſtants: But on the contrary, *Melancthon* and the other *Lutheran* Divines ſuſtained, That his Marriage with Queen *Catharine* was Good and Valid; but *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* ſuſtained, That the Marriage was Null and Void.

They, who ſuſtained, That this Marriage was Void and Null, ſaid, That in the Diſpenſation of *Julius* II. it was affirmed, That *Henry* and *Catharine* deſired the Marriage for Procuring of the Public Peace, which is Falſe; for none of them had that Motive: Neither could *Henry* have any Deſire after Marriage, being then only about the Twelfth Year of his Age. And this was the main Argument that was uſed before the Legates, not that they doubted of the Pope's Power of granting a Diſpenſation: But that the Diſpenſation, granted by Pope *Julius*, was Surreptitious, and conſequently Null. Afterwards the King, by the Advice of Biſhop *Cranmer*, ſtated the Queſtion thus, *If the Law, in* Leviticus, *forbidding a Man to Marry his Brother's Wife, was a Law of Nature or not?* For if it was a Law of Nature, it was plain, that the Pope could not diſpenſe with it. They, who were of this Opinion, ſaid, That the Laws of *Moſes*, concerning Marriage, were not Peculiar to the *Jews*, but for all Nations and for all Times; and that they were Founded upon Natural Honeſty. That God calls the Breach of theſe Laws, ſuch Crimes and Abominations as He would not fail to Puniſh ſeverely. That the

the Sin, for which the *Canaaneans* were Exterminated, was, becauſe they were defil'd by ſuch ſort of Impurities. That the Prohibition of a Man's not Marrying his Brother's Wife is as Binding, as all the other Laws concerning Marriage that are mentioned there. That this Law was never aboliſhed or explained by *Jeſus Chriſt* or his Apoſtles: But on the contrary, that S. *John Baptiſt* reproved *Herod* for Marrying his Brother's Wife. And that the Apoſtle S. *Paul* had ſufficiently pointed out, how much the Goſpel was againſt theſe Monſtrous Marriages, in Condemning ſo ſeverely the Inceſtuous *Corinthian*, who had Married his Mother, as an Action, contrary to the Laws of Nature, Acknowledged and Obſerved even by the Heathens. That the Primitive Chriſtians had alwiſe lookt upon theſe Laws as Inviolable. That *Tertullian*, *Origen*, S. *Baſil*, S. *Jerome*, S. *Chryſoſtome*, S. *Ambroſe*, S. *Auguſtine* and *Heſychius* have Expreſly Condemned the Marriage of a Man with his Brother's Wife, and maintained, That this Law was not particularly calculated for the *Jews*, but in general for all Mankind. That the Council of *Neocæſarea* Excommunicated thoſe who Married their Siſters-in-law, and theſe who Married their Brethren-in-law; and that this Decree was re-iterated in a Council held under *Gregory* II. That in all the Councils, where the Degrees of Affinity are ſet down, within which it is forbidden to Marry, That of a Man with his Siſter-in-law is alwiſe one. That Pope *Gregory*, having been Conſulted by *Auguſtine* the Monk and Apoſtle of *England*, Whether he might allow one to Marry his Siſter-in-law? is ſaid to have Anſwered thus, That all ſuch Marriages were Unlawful; and that if any of thoſe, who had been newly Converted to the Chriſtian Religion, had done this, they ſhould be ordered to abſtain from their Wives: And yet there was never a more Favourable Occaſion for Diſpenſations of this Nature, if the Church had then aſſumed a Power to do it. That the Popes, *Calixtus*, *Zachary* and *Innocent* III. had declar'd themſelves openly againſt ſuch ſort of Marriages, Grounding their Reaſons upon that of *Leviticus*, which they looked upon as a perpetual Law. And Laſtly, they produced a great many Citations, out of the Scholaſtic Divines and Canoniſts, in which they Declared, That all thoſe Marriages, contracted within the Degrees Prohibited in *Leviticus*, were Null; and one of the Errors, for which *Wickliffe* was Condemned, was his ſaying, That the Law of God did not Prohibit ſuch Marriages.

Then, as to the Conſummation of the Marriage, it was ſaid, That the Validity and Accompliſhment of a Marriage did not depend upon its Conſummation, but upon the mutual Conſent betwixt the Man and the Woman. And it was for this Reaſon, that *Adonias* could not Marry *Abiſhag*, becauſe ſhe was the Wife of his Father *David*, tho' he never knew her. For this Reaſon likewiſe it was, that by the Law of *Moſes*, if a Maid, promiſed in Marriage, did take another Man, ſhe was Stoned to Death as guilty of Adultery. And it is upon this Principle, that the Marriage of *Joſeph* with the Bleſſed Virgin is ſuſtained as a true Marriage; as likewiſe that of *Adam* with *Eve*, before he knew her. That the Councils, the Fathers and the Theologues, make the Eſſence of Marriage to conſiſt in the Contract and Sacrament; and that the beſt Part of the Canoniſts are of the ſame Opinion. And laſtly, That as to the Matter of Fact, That Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage was really Conſummated

with Queen *Catharine*, it was proven as clearly as any thing of that Nature could be.

Thoſe who Pleaded for the Queen, ſaid, That there was no Nullity in the Bull of Diſpenſation, granted by Pope *Julius* II; for the Reaſon given was really true, there being no Way more effectual for ſettling a laſting Peace betwixt *England* and *Spain* than this Marriage: And it can never be proven, that the Marry'd Perſons themſelves had no ſuch Deſign. That it was nowiſe neceſſary, that *Henry* and *Catharine* ſhould have demanded it of the Pope themſelves, it being ſufficient, that it was done in their Name, and that none of them diſowned it. That the Diſpenſation of the Pope did extend ſo far, that he approved of it, even tho' the Marriage with Prince *Arthur* had been Conſummated. And 'tis nowiſe certain, that it was Conſummated, all the Proofs, alledged for it, being only meer Conjectures. Whereas on the contrary there are very good Proofs, that it was not Conſummate: For the Queen had openly declared in Court, that the King found her a Virgin; and that he did not oppoſe it, which he would not fail to have done, if he had had but the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect the contrary. And this was what was ſaid for the Queen before the Legates.

As to the Queſtion, If the Pope had a Power of granting ſuch a Diſpenſation? They, who Wrote for the Queen, affirmed, That the Prohibition made in *Leviticus*, of a Man's Marrying his Brother's Wife, was not a Law of Nature but a Poſitive Law. That *Moſes* had ſufficiently explained himſelf about this, when, in *Deuteronomy*, he orders a Brother to Marry his Brother's Widow, if he die without Children; an Exception which plainly ſhows, that this Law was not indiſpenſible, and conſequently that it could not be a Law of Nature. That before *Moſes*, it was not Obligatory: For *Jacob* had Marry'd *Leah* and *Rachel*, who were Two Siſters; and *Judah*, after having given Two of his Sons to *Thamar*, promiſed her the Third. That it is not ſaid, the *Canaaneans* were Puniſhed preciſely for not having Obſerved this Law, but in general for all the Abominations that they had committed. That in the New Teſtament, *Jeſus Chriſt* approves of this Exception of *Deuteronomy* in his Anſwer to the *Saducees* who had cited this Law unto him. That S. *John* the *Baptiſt* had reproved *Herod* for taking his Brother's Wife, either becauſe his Brother was not dead, or becauſe his Brother had left Children with her behind him. That the Example of the Inceſtuous *Corinthian* had no Relation to the preſent Debate, becauſe that Man had not Married his Siſter-in-law, but his Mother-in-law. That tho' it has been alwiſe forbidden by the Church, for any one to Marry his Siſter-in-law; yet they never conſidered it as a Law of Nature: And the Fathers have alwiſe lookt upon the Law of *Deuteronomy*, as an Exception to that in *Leviticus*. That in the Ancient Apoſtolic Canons, he, who Marries Two Siſters, one after another, is only excluded from the Clergy: And, in the Council of *Elviris*, Three Years Penance was only Impoſed upon them. That the Civil and Eccleſiaſtic Laws, which diſcharge ſuch Marriages, diſcharge likewiſe others, that certainly the Prohibition of them are nowiſe Founded upon the Law of Nature. That the Popes, who have Condemned theſe Marriages, have not denuded themſelves of the Power of Diſpenſing with them in certain Caſes, tho' they have done it but rarely: And we have ſeveral Examples of Marriages, contracted

tracted within the Prohibited Degrees in *Leviticus*, that have been owned as Lawful. That tho' the Theologues and Canoniſts have taught, That the Marriages, contracted within the Prohibited Degrees in *Leviticus*, are Null; yet they never ſay, That they were Founded upon the Law of Nature, eſpecially as to that of a Brother and Siſter-in-law, particularly when the Firſt Husband dies without Children. And *Turrecremata*, who is one of thoſe who ſpeak moſt fully and amply againſt theſe Marriages, acknowledges, That in this Caſe the Marriage of the Brother and Siſter-in-law is not Prohibited, and that the Pope may permit it. That many have put a great Difference betwixt a Marriage that is Conſummate and one that is not: That in the Firſt Caſe, there are Two Hinderances, the Firſt is Public Decency, and the other Carnal Affinity; whereas in the latter Caſe, there is no other Hinderance but that of Public Decency. And this was the Subſtance of the Reaſonings of both Parties upon this great Affair.

The Pope, as we have ſaid, having call'd this Cauſe before himſelf, a Letter was ſent by the Barons of *England* to him, wherein they repreſented to his Holineſs, That not only the King of *England*, but the whole Kingdom had Reaſon to Complain, that he had deferred ſo long to Judge in an Affair, wherein they were all ſo much Intereſted. That the Univerſities of *England* and *France*, and the moſt Learned Men in *Europe* thought, That the Marriage of King *Henry* was Null; and that all *England* wiſht, his Holineſs would Confirm their Opinion herein, as the only Way to prevent the Calamities and Civil War that would infallibly happen, if the King Died without Heirs-Male. Therefore they Conjure his Holineſs to grant their Requeſt, and that, if he did it not, they would look upon a further Delay, as a Refuſal, and they themſelves would ſearch for a Remedy elſewhere. And that they were afraid, they would be obliged to take ſuch Methods, as might not pleaſe him: But that it was with them as with a Sick Perſon, who ſearches for a Cure, that may eaſe him, wherever he can have it. This Letter is Dated upon the 13th Day of *July* 1530, and Signed by Cardinal *Wolſey*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Four Biſhops, Fourty Two Lords, Twenty Two Abbots, and Twelve Members of the Houſe of Commons. The Pope, in Anſwer to this, Writes a Letter Dated upon the 27th of *September*, wherein he tells them, he Pardons them for the harſh Expreſſions they make uſe of in their Letter to him, and attributes it to the Paſſion they had for their Prince. He adds, he is not to be blamed for the Divorce its not being Judged before this time, ſince he ſent his Legates to *England* for that Effect whenever they were required: And that, ſince the Queen would not acknowledge them, but Appealed from them to him, he could not but, upon her Appeal, call the Cauſe before himſelf; and that, ſince ever it was brought before him, the King had produced nothing in Defence of himſelf, or ſent any Proctor to *Rome*. That thoſe, whom the Queen had ſent, deſired Judgment to be paſs'd; but that, out of the Reſpect he had for the King, he had hitherto deferred it. That he would be as Favourable to the King, as Juſtice and Equity would permit. That the Threats, they make Uſe of in the end of their Letter, were nowiſe Reaſonable; and that he hoped, they would come to have better Thoughts: But as for him, he was reſolved to do nothing againſt his Conſcience. This Anſwer of the Pope was

no ſooner received in *England*, but the King diſcharged all his Subjects, for the future, to Addreſs themſelves to *Rome* for any Affair whatſoever; and reſolved to take other Methods for Diſſolving of his Marriage.

For this End he aſſembled a Parliament, upon the 16th Day of *January* 1531, and preſented before them the Deciſions of the Univerſities, and all the Writings that had been Publiſhed, to prove the Nullity of his Marriage: Yet notwithſtanding of this, there was nothing done in it by this Parliament. But the King brought another Affair about, which proved a Diſmal Stroke to the Court of *Rome*. There is a Law in *England*, which begins with theſe Words, *Præmunire facies*, made under the Reign of King *Richard* II. by which, all the King's Subjects were diſcharged from Soliciting the Court of *Rome* for Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Expeditions, contrary to the Rights of the Kingdom, under Pain of Confiſcation of Goods and Impriſonment. Now tho' this Law was never Revoked, but to the contrary was Confirmed on different Occaſions; yet, till this very time, it had never been put in Execution; the Popes having alwiſe been accuſtomed to ſend their Legates as formerly, with the ſame Power of giving Bulls, Sentences of Excommunication, and Expeditions. Cardinal *Wolſey*, having been Named the Pope's Legate, as we have ſaid, by Vertue of this Legation, diſpoſed Sovereignly of the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of the Kingdom, and conſequently Counterveen'd the Law of *Præmunire*; and the whole Body of the Clergy, having made their Addreſſes to the Court of this Legate, were thereby all involved in the ſame Fault, and expoſed to the Rigour of the Law. The Clergy ſaid in their Vindication, That the Law was never put in Execution; and that, the Legate being the Principal Miniſter of State, and who did nothing but with the King's Conſent and Approbation, they could not but have Obeyed him, without being Guilty of High Treaſon. Howbeit the Parliament would not hear of this Excuſe, but Declared, That they were now no more under the King's Protection, but liable to the Puniſhments inflicted by the Law. The Clergy, to extricate themſelves out of this Labyrinth, were obliged to make Offers of great Sums of Money to the King. The Clergy of *Canterbury*, being at that time aſſembled, preſented a Petition to the King, wherein they intreated him to accept of a Hundred Thouſand Pound *Sterling* for their having Tranſgreſſed the Law: And it was propoſed in this Meeting or Synod, that, in the Title of the Petition, the King ſhould be Deſigned the *Supreme Head and Protector of the Church and Clergy of* England. This Propoſal was at firſt rejected by the greateſt Part of the Deputies. But *Cromwel* and the King's other Miniſters, that were there, told them, The King would not receive their Petition unleſs they gave him that Title. Upon this, the Deputies knew not what to do, till *William Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* told them, That he would take their Silence as a Conſent. Whereupon all of them with one Voice ſaid, *We ſhall all of us hold our Peace.* Yet ſome were of the Opinion, that there ſhould be added to the Title this Modification, *as far as the Law of God will permit it:* And ſome ſay, That accordingly it was added, but afterwards blotted out. Whatever Truth be in this, 'tis certain, that King *Henry* would not receive their Petition without it, which they at length condeſcended to. The Clergy of *York* made likewiſe ſome Scruple in giving him the Title: But they were prevail'd upon,

upon to imitate theſe of *Canterbury*, and preſented him with the Sum of Eighteen Thouſand Eight Hundred and Fourty Pound *Sterling*.

The King, having obtained his Will over the Clergy, granted them an Indemnity: But the Laics not being comprehended in the Indemnity, and ſeverals of them being guilty of the ſame Fault, a Petition was given in in behalf of them. At Firſt, the King Anſwered, That he was Maſter of his own Favours, and that he might grant it or refuſe it as he pleaſed: Yet afterwards he granted it, and both of them had the ſame Favour beſtowed upon them, which was Ratify'd by the Parliament.

After this Parliament was up, the King cauſed Propoſe to the Queen, that ſhe ſhould deſiſt from her Appeal: But ſhe, continuing firm in her Reſolution, was Ordered to retire from the Court, for he would ſee her no more. The Pope, on the other hand, iſſued out a Brief, by which he diſcharged the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all other Prelates and Judges, to meddle with the Divorce. Yet, at the Solicitation of the *French* Ambaſſador, he granted the King ſome Time to conſider what he would do. But this Time being expired, and Queen *Catharine* renewing her Complaints to the Pope againſt the King's Conduct with his Miſtreſs *Anne Bolen*, whom he now treated as his Wife, the Pope ſent him a Brief, Dated upon the 25th of *January* 1532, in which he tells him, That he ſaw, with a great deal of Sorrow, *Catharine* Supplanted by *Anne Bolen*; that this Conduct of his was the more Scandalous and the more to be blamed, becauſe it was done before the Proceſs was ended, and againſt the expreſs Prohibitions of the Holy See. Therefore he exhorts him to put away his Miſtreſs, and to take back his Queen; and that, in caſe he did not follow this his Advice, he hereby cites him and *Anne Bolen* to *Rome*, to Anſwer for their Scandalous Behaviour of living as Man and Wife, contrary to and in Contempt of all the Cenſures of the Church. The King would ſend no Proctor to *Rome*, becauſe he would not acknowledge that Tribunal: But he ſent an Embaſſy, to ſhow and vindicate the Juſtneſs of his Proceedings.

A New Parliament being called, new Attempts were made againſt the Pope and Clergy. The Houſe of Commons accuſed the Clergy of ſeveral Miſdemeanours, and particularly inſiſted againſt their Method of Proceeding, in their Eccleſiaſtic Courts, againſt thoſe who were accuſed of Hereſy: But the King, on the other hand, deſiring them to paſs an Act in Favours of him and his Nobility, and, they refuſing to do it, nothing was concluded about theſe Propoſitions, and the Parliament was Adjourned to the Month of *April*. In this Seſſion of Parliament, both Houſes agreed to a Law for Aboliſhing the Annates. For the underſtanding of which 'tis neceſſary to know (*f*), That the Pope ſometimes granted to a Biſhop either all the Fruits, or the Firſt Year, of all the Benefices of his Collation, that had been ſometime vacant; and this was given him, to pay the Debts of his Church (*g*): And this was the Firſt Beginning of the Annates. Pope *John* XXII. took them to himſelf (*h*), for a certain time, over the whole Church. At length they became perpetual, from *Boniface* the IX's Time till the Schiſm of *Avignon*. Now the Annate is not the effectual Revenue of a Year, but that which is Regulated by the Ancient Taxes of the Chancellary at *Rome*: And they

(*f*) Honor. III. C. 32. extra. de verbor. ſign. (*g*) Bonif. VIII. de Reſcrip. C. 10. in 6. & C. 26. de Præb. ibid. (*h*) Raynold. An. 399. N. 12.

were paid before the Expedition of the Bulls, becauſe they would not have been ſo well paid after the Beneficed Perſon was in Poſſeſſion. Theſe Annates were Condemn'd by the Council of *Baſle* (*i*); and the Decree was inſerted in the *Pragmatic Sanction*, but was one of thoſe Points that were abrogated by the *Concordate*. In *France*, they were reduced to Conſiſtorial Benefices: But, in *Scotland* and *England* they were over all Benefices. At length they were aboliſhed in *England*, as we have ſaid, by this Act of Parliament, which bears, That the Popes had drawn immenſe Sums out of the Kingdom by the Annates; and that ſince the Second Year of King *Henry* VII. there had been ſent more than Eight Hundred Thouſand *Ducates* to *Rome*. That there were a great many Biſhops very Old; and that, when they came to Die, the Pope would exhauſt the whole Kingdom of Money, if ſome Remedy were not taken to prevent it. Upon theſe Conſiderations, the Parliament intirely Aboliſhes the Annates, and Diſcharges the Payment of them, upon Pain of Confiſcation of their Goods; reſerving notwithſtanding to the Court of *Rome* the Twentieth Part of the Firſt Year of the Liquid Revenues of the Biſhoprics, for the Expedition of Bulls. And, incaſe that the Pope refuſed to deliver them for that Price, it Orders, That the Arch-Biſhops ſhall Conſecrate the Biſhops; and Two Biſhops of the King's chooſing to Conſecrate the Arch-Biſhops. Some time after this, the Parliament being met, a Propoſal was made for Aboliſhing the Oath that the Biſhops made to the Pope, upon the Day of their Ordination; and inſtead of it to make them take one to the King, wherein they ſhould acknowledge, that they held their Biſhoprics of him only. But the King, being unwilling to make an intire Breach with *Rome*, put not theſe Laws in Execution at that time. The Pope on the other hand, notwithſtanding of all that King *Henry* had done, granted him a Liberty of Erecting Six New Biſhoprics, and to ſuppreſs and ſeiſe upon the Revenues of ſeveral Monaſteries, and continued to prolong the Affair of the Divorce.

In the Month of *October* 1532, there was an Interview between the King of *France* and the King of *England*, at *Boloigne*; where, amongſt other things, it was Agreed betwixt them, That the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandmont*, who were going to *Rome*, and ſent by the King of *France*, to Complain of the Annates and other Exactions of that Court; and to demand an Interview betwixt the King and the Pope, that they might Regulate ſeveral other Difficulties; as likewiſe that the King of *England* might be preſent at their Interview. The Two Kings, I ſay, agreed, That theſe Two Cardinals ſhould endeavour all that in them lay, to get his Holineſs perſwaded to paſs the Divorce. *Anne Bolen* the King's Miſtreſs, whom he had made Marchioneſs of *Pembrook*, was preſent at this Interview, and King *Henry* upon his Return, not being able longer to Reſiſt the Influence of her Charms, told *Roland Lee*, afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, That the Pope had permitted him to Marry her privately. Whereupon he Marry'd them, ſome few being Witneſſes to it.

The Time being now expired, that the Pope had aſſigned for the King of *England*'s Proctorſhip, and none appearing, *Capiſuchi* Dean of the *Rota* cited him anew; and the Pope, upon the 25th of *November*, Declared theſe Citations Valid. Yet notwithſtanding of this, the King's Agents

(*i*) Sect. 12. & 42. Pragmat. Tit. 9.

Agents at *Rome* made ſeveral Overtures of Accommodation. The Firſt of which was, to Nominate for Judges, in this Affair, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Clergy of his Province. The Second was to remit the Deciſion to Four Arbitrators; the Firſt of which ſhould be either Chancellor *More* or the Biſhop of *London*, which of them the King pleaſed to make Choice of; the Second ſhould be choſen by Queen *Catharine*; the Third, by the King of *France*; and that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſhould be the Fourth. A Third Propoſal was, That the Divorce ſhould be Judged in *England*: And that, incaſe of an Appeal by the Queen, it ſhould be diſcuſſed by Three Arbitrators that ſhould be Named, One by the Pope, another by the King of *France*, and the Third by the King of *England*. But all theſe Overtures of the King's Agents were rejected; and the Pope, on the other hand, propoſed, That if the Court of *England* would Name a Neutral Place, he would ſend a Legate and Two Auditors of the *Rota* to inſtruct the Proceſs, and afterward he would give the Definitive Sentence himſelf. But this Propoſal was rejected by the King's Agents.

Upon the 4th of *February* 1533, the Parliament met again, and, by an Act, Declared, That the Kingdom of *England* was abſolutely Independent, and did not Acknowledge the Juriſdiction of any Foreign Power whatſoever over them, either in Spirituals or Temporals. That all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes ſhould be Judged within the Kingdom, without any Appeal to the Pope, that is to ſay, the Particular Cauſes by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs; and incaſe of an Appeal, by the Arch-Biſhop of the Province. By the ſame Parliament, the Authority of the Convocation to make Canonical Conſtitutions, unleſs the King gave his Royal Aſſent, was Abrogated. It was alſo enacted, That the Collation of all Biſhoprics, the Sees being Vacant, ſhould be henceforth at the King's Diſpoſal; and that no Man ſhould be choſen by the Chapter, or Conſecrated by the Arch-Biſhop, but he on whom the King, by his *Congé d' eſlire*, had conferred that Dignity. And whereas many Complained, That, by the Prohibiting of all Commerce with *Rome*, all Means were taken away of mitigating the Rigour of Eccleſiaſtical Laws by a Diſpenſation, a Papal Authority was granted to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the King reſerving to himſelf the Power of Diſpenſing in Cauſes of greater Moment. And that all Appeals, formerly made from the Arch-Biſhop to the Pope, ſhould now be from the Arch-Biſhop to the King, who, by Delegates, ſhould determine all ſuch Suits and Controverſies. And it was further Enacted, That, if any Clergy-Man ſcrupled to obey theſe Acts, they ſhould be Impriſoned for a Year, and liable to what Fine the King ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them. And that no Regard ſhould be had to the Excommunications and Cenſures of the Church of *Rome* for putting a Stop to theſe Acts: And any, who obtained them or made uſe of them, ſhould be liable to the Puniſhments inflicted by the *Præmunire facies*.

A little before this, to wit, upon the 23d of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1532, Died *William Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in the 83 Year of his Age, after he had been in that Dignity for 21 Years, and exerced his Function with great Reputation. For he was a Prelate of great Firmneſs and Staidneſs of Mind, Religious and Zealous both for the Intereſt of Church and State, a great Lover of Learning, Protector and Encoura-

ger of Learned Men: And to him ſucceeded *Thomas Cranmer*. This Man was Born in the Province of *Nottingham*, and having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies was made a Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. The Peſtilence breaking out at *Cambridge*, *Cranmer* went to the Country, with Two of his Pupil's Sons, to one Mr. *Creſſey*. The King happening then to be at an Hunting-Match near *Waltham*, where this Gentleman lived; *Stephen Gardiner*, Principal Secretary of State and afterwards Biſhop of *Winton*, with *Fox*, the King's Almoner afterwards Biſhop of *Hereford*, were Billeted in Mr. *Creſſey*'s Houſe, where, among other things that they were talking of at Table, they fell upon the King's Divorce, which had depended ſo long in the Court of *Rome* undecided. *Cranmer* ſaid, That he wonder'd, the King required not the Opinions of the moſt Famous and Learn'd Men that were any where to be found, and follow'd not their Sentiments rather than the Pope's, who was but one of them. This being told to the King, he ſaid, *The Fellow had hit the Nail upon the Head:* And immediately ſent for him, and commended him for his Advice. Afterwards he employed him in that Affair, not only in *England* but at the Courts of *Rome*, *France*, and *Germany* where he happened to be at the Time of Biſhop *Warham*'s Death. The King, knowing his Abilities and Zeal for his Service, wrote immediately for him: But at that time, he was engaged in an Amour with a young Maid, a Neice of *Oſiander*'s Wife, which made him linger in *Germany* for Six whole Months. At length, having gained his Miſtreſs's Favour, he Marry'd her privately, came over to *England* and was made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. The Pope, being deſired to Confirm his Election by a Bull, made no Scruple in granting it: And *Cranmer* accepted of it, paying only Nine Hundred *Ducates* without the Annates; and he was Conſecrate upon the 13th Day of *March* 1533, by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter* and S. *Aſaph*. His Predeceſſor, Biſhop *Warham*, plainly foreſaw that *Cranmer* would ſucceed him. For Mr. *Wood* (*k*) tells us, That he did more than once ſeriouſly ſay to his Nephew Sir *William Warham*, *If ever, after his Death, any call'd* Thomas, *ſhould ſucceed him in the See of* Canterbury, *he ſhould in nowiſe ſerve him or ſeek his Favour and Acquaintance. For there ſhall* (ſaid he) *one of that Name ſhortly enjoy this See, that ſhall as much, by his vicious Living and Wicked Hereſies, diſhonour, waſte and deſtroy the ſame and the whole Church of* England, *as ever the Bleſſed Biſhop and Martyr S.* Thomas *did before benefit, bleſs, adorn and honour the ſame:* And, for this, he cites *Nich. Harpesfeild*, who had it from Sir *William*'s own Mouth.

The Firſt thing, that *Cranmer* did after his Promotion, was to take his Place in the Convocation of the Clergy, where they were then Examining the Two Queſtions ſo often Debated, to wit, *If the Divine Law did not Prohibit a Brother to Marry the Widow of his Brother, when the Marriage was Conſummated? And if Prince* Arthur *had Conſummate his Marriage with* Catharine? The Lower Houſe, which conſiſted only of 23 Deputies, was divided about the Firſt Queſtion: 14 Voted, That ſuch Marriages were forbidden by the Divine Law; 7, That they were not forbidden; and 2, That the Pope could Diſpenſe with them. In the Higher Houſe this Queſtion was, for a long time, Debated betwixt *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who affirmed, That ſuch Marriages were Va-

(*k*) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 1. pag. 572.

Valid; and *Stockley*, Biſhop of *London*, who ſuſtained the contrary: But, by the Plurality of Votes, it was carry'd, That ſuch Marriages were Null. The Second Queſtion was remitted to the Faculty of the Canon Law, who Decided, That the Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was Conſummated; and the Clergy Approved of it.

After this Declaration of the Clergy of *England*, the Queen was ſtrongly Solicited to reſile from her Appeal: But ſhe poſitively refuſed to do it, and told them, That ſhe would acknowledge no other Judge in that Affair, but the Pope. In the mean time, *Anne Bolen* became big with Child, ſo that her Marriage could be no longer concealed; and Right or Wrong, Queen *Catharine*'s Marriage was to be Declared Null and Void. And tho' the Cauſe was dependent, and the Pope had reſerved the Judging of it to himſelf; yet *Cranmer* took it upon him, and cited both the King and Queen to appear before him. The King appeared by a Proctor: But the Queen, not appearing, was Twice cited, and then condemn'd as Contumacious; and her Marriage with the King Declared Null by a Sentence, paſſed upon the 23d Day of *May*, in which the Arch-Biſhop aſſumes to himſelf the Quality of Legate to the Holy See. Five Days after this, the King's Marriage with *Anne Bolen* was Confirmed, and ſhe made her Entry into *London* upon the 29th of *May*, where ſhe was Magnificently Entertain'd, and, on the Day following, was Proclaimed Queen; and the King ordered all his Subjects, to acknowledge her as ſuch, under the Pain of Confiſcation of their Goods and perpetual Impriſonment; as likewiſe they were Diſcharged to give the Title of Queen any more to *Catharine*.

The News of this coming to *Rome*, the Pope was ſo highly Offended with the King's Procedures and *Cranmer*'s, that he Revoked all he had done, and pronounced a Sentence of Excommunication againſt the King and *Anne Bolen*, unleſs they appeared at *Rome* before the End of *September*, and were ſeparate before that time. *Henry*, on the other hand, did all he could to create a Miſunderſtanding betwixt the King of *France* and the Pope, and to put a Stop to the Meeting that was to be betwixt them at *Marſeilles*; and Ordered the Duke of *Northfolk*, then in *France*, to return immediately to *England*. Howbeit the *French* King, who had his own particular Views and Deſigns, would by no means break with the Pope: But, on the contrary, he prevailed ſo far with *Henry*, that he engaged him to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Marſeilles* againſt that time; and he hoped, by that Means, to reconcile him with the Pope. In the mean time the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandmont* influenced the Pope to give a New Delay to King *Henry*, which made People believe, that this Affair might terminate in an Amicable Agreement when they ſhould meet at *Marſeilles*. At this Meeting, the *French* King having propoſed the Affair to the Pope, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were call'd for, who told, They had no Orders from their Maſter to ſubmit to the Pope's Judgment; and, on the contrary, *Bonner* cauſed ſignify to him, in the Name of his Maſter the King of *England* and of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, That he did not in the leaſt acknowledge him as ſuch; and that they Appealed, from all he had done, to the Firſt General Council. This Conduct of King *Henry*'s Ambaſſadors ſo irritated the Pope, that he remitted the Deciſion of the Affair to the Conſiſtory. The *French* King, not being able to appeaſe his Holineſs, at his Return from *Marſeilles*,

ſent over to *England* M. *Du Bellay* Biſhop of *Paris*, to complain of the Conduct of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Marſeilles*, and to engage King *Henry* to enter into a new Negotiation with the Pope. The Biſhop of *Paris*, who had been Ambaſſador in *England* before, and was very Zealous for King *Henry*, prevailed with him to make an Attempt upon the Pope once more: And, to ſhow his Zeal for his Service, he told the King, That he was willing to go to *Rome* himſelf; and accordingly he went in the Height of the Winter Seaſon, where he managed Affairs ſo, that there were great Hopes of an Accommodation. Yet, when it was propoſed in the Conſiſtory, upon the 23d of *March* 1534, of Two and Twenty Cardinals that were preſent, Nineteen were of the Opinion, That the Marriage was Valid; and that King *Henry* ſhould be obliged to take back his Queen, under the Pain of incurring the Higheſt Eccleſiaſtic Cenſures. Accordingly the Sentence was drawn up, and Pronounced conform to the Plurality of Votes; and all the Procedures, for Annulling the Marriage, were declared Invalid; and the Children, born and to be born of that Marriage, Legitimate; and they peremptorily Order him to take back his Queen, and to purſue no more for a Separation. Two Days after this Sentence was pronounced, a Courier arrived at *Rome*, with a Submiſſion from King *Henry* to the Pope; and Letters, from the King of *France*, deſiring earneſtly the Pope to accept of it: But all was in vain, for the Sentence was already paſt.

The King of *England* call'd the Parliament to meet upon the 15th of *January*, in which the Pope's Authority was intirely Aboliſhed, and the King's Supremacy Eſtabliſhed. For it was Enacted, That after this none ſhould go to *Rome* for any Affair whatſoever. That no Bulls or Proviſions for Benefices ſhould be brought from thence. That none ſhould ſolicite for Diſpenſations any more there; but to apply to the Two Arch-Biſhops of the Kingdom, who had full Power to Diſpenſe in all things that were not of Divine Right, and with which the Church uſed to Diſpenſe. That the King was Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and conſequently had the Right of Ordering and Confirming the Elections of Biſhops and Abbots, of Judging in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, of Viſiting of Monaſteries, of Examining their Privileges, and the Exemptions granted to them by the Church of *Rome*; and, in a Word, to Exerciſe the Juriſdiction, that the Pope uſed formerly in *England*. Yet they Confirmed all the Expeditions, got from *Rome* before the 12th of *March* 1534. They further Declare, That neither they nor the King withdraw themſelves from the true Doctrine of *Jeſus Chriſt*; nor from the Articles of Faith received by the Catholic Church. And this was agreed to by both Houſes of Parliament: But, in the Houſe of Lords, there were only of the Clergy, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Landaff* and *Carliſle*, with Twelve Abbots. This ſame Parliament Revoked the Law made againſt Heretics, under the Reign of *Henry* IV. by which the Biſhops had Power to Impriſon all Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy: But they confirmed thoſe, that were made againſt Heretics, under *Richard* II. and under *Henry* V. And it was Enacted, That none ſhould be Accuſed for the Crime of Hereſy, but upon an Accuſation in the Forms of Law, and the Teſtimony of Two Witneſſes: After which, the Perſon Accuſed ſhould be ſent to Priſon, but that he ſhould have Liberty to Defend himſelf in full Court;

and

and that, if he be found Culpable and refuſes to Abjure, or if he Relapſes, the Judges may Condemn him Capitally, but not to put the Sentence in Execution without the King's Permiſſion. They likewiſe ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown, in Favours of the Children that ſhould be Born betwixt the King and *Anne Boulen*; and the Princeſs *Mary*, Queen *Catharine*'s Daughter, was Excluded. The King Named Two and Thirty Commiſſaries, *viz.* Sixteen out of the Two Houſes of Parliament, and Sixteen out of the Clergy, to Examine the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and to Confirm or Annul ſuch as they believed to be contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom. About this time happened the Story of *Eliſabeth Barton*, which we have already related in the Life of *Alexander Aleſſius*.

After the Parliament was up, the King ſent Commiſſaries to all the Parts of his Kingdom to make his Subjects Subſcribe and Swear to the Act, acknowledging him and the Children begotten and to be begotten betwixt him and *Anne Bolen*; and that they ſhould not acknowledge any Power or Foreign Juriſdiction, but the King for the Sovereign Head of the Church of *England*. This Act was Ordered to be Signed by all the Biſhops, Abbots, Curates, Monks, and all other Perſons of any Conſideration in the State: Amongſt others it was preſented to Sir *Thomas More*, and *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and both of them, refuſing it, were committed to Priſon in the Tower of *London*, where they were moſt Barbarouſly uſed, and ſhortly after put to Death. *John Fiſher* was Born in the Dioceſs of *York*, about the Year 1455; having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, (where he received likewiſe his Degree of Doctor of Divinity) he became very eminent for his Learning and Exemplary Life, and was choſen Confeſſor to *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, Mother to *Henry* VII. King of *England*. It was alſo by his Advice, that that Princeſs Founded *Chriſt*'s-College and S. *John*'s in *Cambridge*; that ſhe gave Funds for the Maintenance of Profeſſors of Theology in the Univerſities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, and diſtributed great Sums of Money amongſt the Clergy and the Poor. It was likewiſe by his Advice, that a great many, eminent Profeſſors in the Languages and Theology, were brought over to *England*. He was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and preferred to the Biſhopric of *Rocheſter* by *Henry* the VII. without any Solicitation of his own or of any others whatſoever. And when *Henry* VIII. came to the Throne, being convinced of his great Merit and Parts, he profer'd him a Richer Biſhopric; but he could not be prevail'd upon to accept of it. And as he was thus Conſpicuous for his great Piety and Charity; ſo he was no leſs for the many Learned and Elaborate Treatiſes he left behind him. But, notwithſtanding of all theſe eminent Endowments, upon his refuſing to take the Oath of Supremacy, he was ſent Priſoner to the Tower of *London*, where he was kept cloſe for a Year's Time, and, as I have ſaid, moſt Barbarouſly uſed. Pope *Paul* III. during his Impriſonment, to expreſs his Eſteem for him, Created him a Cardinal: But this did nothing but haſtned his Death. For the King, taking it as an Affront put upon him, cauſed him to be Tried upon the 17th of *June*, and he being found Guilty, was Condemned, and had his Head cut off upon the 22d of the ſame Month. The other, Sir *Thomas More*, was one of the greateſt Ornaments of his Age. He was Son to Sir *John More*, Knight, one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench; and was Born in *Milk*-Street in

London, about the Year 1480, having Learned his Grammar in S. *Anthony*'s-School in that City, he was ſent to *Oxford*, where having Finiſhed his Studies, he apply'd himſelf to the Laws, and became a Barreſter. At length the Fame of his Parts and Endowments increaſing, King *Henry* VIII. took particular Notice of him, and having ſent for him to Court, he became one of the King's principal Favourites. For, after he had Knighted him, he ſent him Ambaſſador to *France* and the *Low Countries*, about ſeveral Affairs of State, in which Station he acquit himſelf ſo well, that King *Henry* beſtowed ſeveral other Honourable Employments upon him; making him Maſter of the Requeſts, Treaſurer of the Exchequer, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*. At laſt, upon the Removal of Cardinal *Wolſey*, he had the Great Seal Delivered to him, and was made Chancellor of *England*: But, foreſeeing the Troubles that were like to ariſe about the Divorce of Queen *Catharine*, he delivered up the Great Seal with his Office of Chancellorſhip to the King, and retired to his Houſe at *Chelſey* near *London*, where he ſpent the Remnant of his Days in great Piety and Devotion, till ſuch time as the Oath of Supremacy brought him to Priſon, and afterwards to the Scaffold at *Tower-Hill*, where he had his Head cut off upon the 6th of *July* 1535. In his Younger Years, he had a great Inclination to the Prieſthood; but finding the Bent of his Youth to a Marry'd Life too violent and ſtrong, he made Choice, ſays *Eraſmus*, rather to have the Character of *a Chaſt Husband*, than that of *a Prieſt that could not want a Woman*. If the Reader be deſirous to know how great a Man this was, let him read the 30th Letter of the 10th Book of *Eraſmus*'s Letters directed to *Ulric Hutten*, wherein he is repreſented as an Accompliſhed Perſon, Pious, Learned, Vertuous, Prudent, Juſt, of good Humour, agreeable in Converſation, Humble, Charitable, Conſtant, and, in a Word, Adorned with all the Noble Qualities that a Man can wiſh. For his Houſe was like the Domicil of the Muſes; he Wrote excellently well in *Latin*, but much better in the *Greek*. No Perſon ſpoke better than he *extempore*; his Memory never fail'd him; and whatever he Wrote was ſo well done, that it procured him the Reſpect of all the Learned Men of his Age. Beſides theſe Two Illuſtrious Perſons, there were others that ſuffered for the ſame Fault: Amongſt whom were ſeveral *Chartereux* Monks, one *Reginald* a Doctor of Theology, a Secular Prieſt Named *Holt*, and many more.

The King, having thus Eſtabliſhed his Supremacy, made *Cromwel* his Vicar-General and Vicegerent in all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, as we have formerly Obſerved in the Life of *Alexander Aleſſe*. *Cromwel* apply'd himſelf immediately to his Office, and to ſatisfy the King's Intentions; as likewiſe did *Cranmer*, in his Archi-epiſcopal Viſits in his own Dioceſs: The Reſult of all which was the Suppreſſion of 276 Abbacies, which was Ordered by the Parliament Aſſembled in the Month of *February* 1536, and their Goods Confiſcate to the King.

Whilſt theſe things were adoing, the Misfortunate Queen *Catharine* Died at *Kimbolton*, upon the 8th of *January* 1535, in the 50 Year of her Age, after ſhe had reſided in *England* 33 Years. Biſhop *Burnet*, in his *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* England, ſays, That this Princeſs was Illuſtrious for her Piety and Devout Life, which ſhe ſpent in great Auſterities and Mortifications, working with her own Hands, and taking Care, even in the midſt of all her Greatneſs, to make her Maids

Maids of Honour to do the ſame. She had a Great Soul, and ſhowed as great a Firmneſs and Conſtancy of Mind in her Adverſity, as ſhe had ſhown of Moderation and Meekneſs in her Proſperity. She ſuſtained her Diſgrace till the very laſt with an invincible Patience and a true Chriſtian Humility, without doing any thing prejudicial to her Quality or the Intereſt of her Daughter; notwithſtanding of all the Attempts that had been made to make her do things that might Invalidate her Marriage. And, when ſhe was making her Approaches to Eternity, ſhe Wrote a moſt Paſſionate and Affectionate Letter to the King her Husband, wherein ſhe deſired him to think ſeriouſly upon his Salvation, and that ſhe Heartily Pardoned him for all the Miſeries and Sorrows he had brought upon her: That ſhe hoped, he would take care of their only Child *Mary*, Conjuring him to ſhow a Fatherly Affection to her. She likewiſe intreated him, that he would procure Honourable Matches to her Three Maids of Honour; and give a Year's Wages, over and above of what was owing, to the reſt of her Servants. Then ſhe concludes her Letter, That of all Earthly Things the Deſire of her Soul was moſt towards him. King *Henry* appeared to be very ſenſibly touch'd with this Letter, and gave Orders, ſhe ſhould be Royally Interred in the Abbacy of *Peterborough*, now erected into a Cathedral.

Anne Bolen, upon the Death of Queen *Catharine*, could not conceal the Pleaſure ſhe had of Enjoying the King without any Rival. But this her imagined Happineſs was of no long Duration; for the King, falling in Love with Lady *Jane Seymour* Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, cauſed the Queen to be apprehended, upon the Firſt Day of *May*, together with her Brother *George* Viſcount of *Rochfort*; *Henry Norris*, *William Brierton*, *Francis Weſton*, Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber; and *Mark Smeton* a Muſician. On the Second Day of *May* ſhe was Impriſoned in the Tower; upon the Fifteenth Day ſhe was Arraigned and Tried before the Duke of *Northfolk*, who ſat as High-Stewart, and Six and Twenty other Peers, among whom was her own Father. She was Accuſed of having committed Inceſt with her own Brother; and Adultery with all the reſt: And the Accuſers having given in their Evidences, and the Witneſſes produced, they found her Guilty. Whereupon the Duke of *Northfolk*, proceeding according to the Verdict of the Peers, Condemned her to Death, either by being Burned or Beheaded as his Majeſty ſhould think fit. But, before this Sentence was put in Execution, they obliged her to Declare, before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Eccleſiaſtical Court, That, before ſhe was Marry'd to the King, there was a Promiſe or Contract of Marriage betwixt her and my Lord *Percy* afterwards Earl of *Northumberland:* And, upon this Declaration, *Cranmer*, by a Sentence, Declared, That her Marriage with the King was Null; and her Daughter *Eliſabeth* was Declared Illegitimate. Upon the Nineteenth Day, ſhe was Beheaded, having ſhown a great deal of Weakneſs and Puſillanimity of Spirit in this laſt Period of her Life. The very next Day the King Marry'd Lady *Jane Seymour*.

Her Brother, *Norris*, *Brierton*, *Weſton* and *Smeton* were Beheaded upon the *Tower-Hill*; all of them denying the Crime they were Accuſed of, ſave the Muſician. 'Tis ſaid, that the King was very much grieved for *Norris*, and therefore offered him his Life, if he would but own the Crime. But he Anſwer'd like a Man of Honour, *That, in his Conſcience,*

he thought her Guiltleſs of what was laid to her Charge: But, whether ſhe was ſo or no, he could not Accuſe her of any thing; and that he would rather undergo a Thouſand Deaths than Betray the Innocent. This being reported to the King, he cried out, *Hang him up then, Hang him up then.*

In the Parliament, that was held in the Month of *July* 1536, a ſevere Law was made againſt all thoſe, who ſhould acknowledge the Pope's Authority; and by another Law, all Graces, Immunities or Exemptions, granted by the Popes, were taken away. In the Convocation of the Clergy, they took into their Conſideration the Controverted Points of Religion: And, after a great many Diſputes, they agreed upon the following Articles. I. That all Biſhops and Miniſters ſhould recommend to the People, only to believe that which is in the Sacred Scriptures and in the Apoſtolic, *Nicene* and *Athanaſian* Creeds, and to Condemn all Hereſies againſt them. II. That Baptiſm is a Sacrament neceſſary for Children, for obtaining of Eternal Salvation and the Remiſſion of Original Sin. III. That Penance, inſtituted by *Jeſus Chriſt*, is neceſſary for the obtaining of the Remiſſion of our Sins; and that it conſiſts of Three Parts, Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction. That Confeſſion to the Prieſt is neceſſary; and that the Abſolution was inſtituted by *Jeſus Chriſt*, who has given to his Prieſts the Power of Remitting Sins. That Auricular Confeſſion is according to the Inſtitution of the Goſpel and the Primitive Church: And that the Satisfaction of Chriſt does not take away the Obligation of Penance and the Works of Satisfaction, ſuch as Prayer, Faſting, Alms, *&c.* IV. That, in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, we receive truly and in Subſtance, under the Species of the Bread and Wine, the ſame very Body that *Jeſus Chriſt* received from the Virgin *Mary*. V. For the obtaining of Juſtification and Remiſſion of our Sins, we muſt have Contrition, Faith and Charity. VI. That the Uſe of Images might be permitted; as likewiſe the Offering up of Incenſe, and Kneeling before them, providing that this Honour be alwiſe looked upon, as a Relative Worſhip terminating in God and not in the Image. VII. That it is good to Honour the Saints, and to Pray to them to Interceed for the Faithful. VIII. That the Ceremonies of the Church were to be kept up, as Good and Laudable; ſuch as the Ornaments of the Prieſt, the Uſe of Holy-Water, lighted Candles, *&c.* IX. That the Praying for the Souls of the Dead, is a Good and Charitable Action; as likewiſe the ſaying of Maſſes for their Delivery: For tho' the Sacred Scriptures neither tell us the Place where theſe Souls are, nor the Nature of the Pains that they ſuffer; yet we ought to recommend them to the Mercy of God: But ſeveral Abuſes were to be Aboliſhed, ſuch as the Vertue attributed to the Pope's Indulgences for bringing of Souls out of Purgatory, the Vertue of certain Maſſes, ſaid in ſuch Places before ſuch Images, *&c.* The King cauſed all theſe Articles to be Publiſhed and Notify'd to the People by the Biſhops.

After this, King *Henry* cauſed ſeveral Proteſtants to be Impriſoned, and put a great Number of them to Death; as he likewiſe did of *Roman* Catholics, expelling them out of their Abbacies and Monaſteries, cauſing their Revenues either to be annexed to the Crown, or ſold to the Nobility and Gentry at eaſy Rates. For the Parliament had Ordered, That all Monaſteries, the Revenues whereof exceeded not Two Hundred Pounds a Year, ſhould be at the King's Diſpoſal. The People, being ex-

extremely incenſed at his Procedures, made ſeveral Inſurrections. Amongſt the reſt, the Commons in *Lincoln*-Shire got together to the Number of Twenty Thouſand Men: But the King having ſent againſt them a great Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Kent*, they were ſo terrify'd, that every one of them went to his own Home. Yet ſhortly after, there happened a more Formidable Inſurrection in *York*-Shire, where about the Number of Fourty Thouſand, who call'd themſelves *Fellows of the Holy Pilgrimage*, took Arms, and, on their Enſigns, Painted on the one Side, our Saviour hanging on the Croſs; and on the other, the Chalice with the Bleſſed Sacrament. Againſt theſe Rebels were ſent the Dukes of *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. The Day of Battle being appointed, a lucky Accident happened for the Good of them both. For a little Brook, running betwixt the Two Armies, ſo ſhallow that in ſome Places it was paſſable without the Danger of wetting one's Foot, the Night, before the appointed Day of Battle, ſuch a prodigious Shower of Rain falling, that, the next Day, the Brook was impaſſable either for Men or Horſe: Both Armies taking this to be a Sign of God's Will and Pleaſure, that they ſhould not ſhed one another's Blood, the King's Army offer'd them a Pardon, confirmed by the King; and a Promiſe of Redreſſing the Diſorders they Complained of, if they would lay down their Arms, which the Rebels accepting of, they Disbanded and went Home. But the King did not only Inrich himſelf and his Vaſſals, by Demoliſhing the Abbacies and Monaſteries, ſeiſing on their Revenues, and putting to Death all that oppoſed him; but likewiſe by the Rich Chalices, Crucifixes and Images, that were to be found thorowout his Dominions: Among theſe none were ſo Richly Adorned as that of S. *Thomas Becket* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and our Lady of *Walſinghame* as they call'd her; both which *Eraſmus* tells us he had ſeen and admired. The Shrine of S. *Thomas* was covered with Plates of Gold, and decked with Golden Chains of great Weight, and ſeveral Precious Stones and *Uniones* or Pearls of the largeſt Size. The Spoil of this Monument, wherein nothing was meaner than Gold, filled Two Cheſts ſo full, that each of them required Eight ſtrong Men for the Portage. Amongſt the reſt was a Stone of great Luſtre and Value, call'd the *Royal of France*, becauſe it was given by *Lewis* VII. King of *France*, in the Year 1179, together with a great maſſy Cup of Gold: At which time, he alſo beſtowed on the Monks of that Church a Preſent of a Hundred Tuns of Wine. This Stone was ſo much Valued by the King, that he alwiſe wore it upon his Thumb. As for the Bones of S. *Thomas* they were taken out and Burnt.

Reginald Pool, who was of the Royal Blood, being deſcended by his Mother's Side of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* IV. and Ally'd to King *Henry* in the ſame Degree by the Father's Side, had gone out of the Kingdom, and retired into *Italy*, becauſe he would not approve of the King's Divorce or of his Rupture with *Rome*. He (I ſay) Wrote, about this time, a Book of *Eccleſiaſtic Union*, wherein he Exclaims moſt bitterly againſt King *Henry*'s Conduct, for taking upon him the Title of Head of the Church, which only belonged to the Pope as *Chriſt*'s Vicar upon Earth: And that it was not a troubled Conſcience, nor the Fear of God, but meer Luſt that made him forſake his Lawful Queen,

and take *Anne Bolen*, whom above all Women he ought not to have Marry'd, ſince he had kept her Siſter before as his Concubine; neither ought he to have preferred the Daughter of a Whore before one that was Legitimate and a moſt Vertuous Princeſs. For, if we may believe him (*k*), and ſeveral other Authors of that Age (*l*), this Marriage of King *Henry* with *Anne Bolen*, was the moſt Monſtrous Conjunction that ever was heard of. For they ſay, That King *Henry*, falling in Love with the Wife of *Thomas Bolen*, raiſed him from the Station of a Private Gentleman to great Honours and Employments; and, that he might Enjoy his Amours with his Wife the more freely, he ſent him over to *France* upon the Pretext of ſome Secret Negotiation, where, after he had ſtaid for near Two Years, he was informed, that his Wife was Big with Child. Upon this, he came over in great Haſte to *England*, and intented a Proceſs of Divorce againſt her before the Official of *Canterbury*. She, not being able to produce the leaſt Shadow of a Reaſon in her own Defence, fell down upon her Knees, and, with Tears in her Eyes, begged he would Pardon her for not having that Vertue and Conjugal Fidelity ſhe owed to him, being Overcome by the Majeſty of a Prince who had Importuned her with an unwearied Aſſiduity: But that, for the Future, he ſhould have no Reaſon to Complain. This coming to the King's Ears, he ſent the Marquis of *Dorſet* to him with his expreſs Commands, That he ſhould let the Proceſs fall, and own her for his Wife as he had formerly done. He, being afraid of Offending his Sovereign, at the Solicitations of the Marquis, owned and brought up the Child as his own, under the Name of *Anne Bolen*. This having ingratiate the whole Family with the King; he fell at length in Love with *Mary Bolen* her Uterine Siſter, and kept her as his Concubine for ſome Years. At that time there was in the Court, one, Sir *Francis Brion* Related to *Bolen*, whom the King was much taken with, he, one Day asked him, What Sort of Sin they committed, that lay both with the Mother and Daughter? *Brion* Anſwered, That it was like that of eating a Hen and her Chicken. Upon which, the King Laught very Heartily, and told him, That he deſerved to be made *Vicar of Hell:* And he was ever afterwards call'd *The Vicar of Hell*. *Anne Bolen*, when ſhe had attained to the Fifteenth Year of her Age, fell with Child to her ſuppoſed Father's Chaplain. Whereupon ſhe was ſent over to *France* to conceal her Misfortune, where ſhe ſtaid for ſome time with a Gentleman, in the Country of *Brie*, a Friend of her ſuppoſed Father. Thereafter ſhe went to the Court of *France*, where ſhe played her Cards ſo well with *Francis* I. then King of *France*, that he became extremely Enamour'd of her, and it was nowiſe doubted, but they were too Familiar together; in ſo much that, at that Court, ſhe was commonly call'd the King's Mule. At length coming over to *England*, King *Henry* fell deſperately in Love with her: For they repreſent her, as being endowed with many excellent Accompliſhments both of Body and Mind. She Sung, Danced and Play'd on many Muſical Inſtruments, to great Perfection. She was of a tall and ſtreight Stature of Body, Black Haired, long Viſaged: But her Skin was ſo Yellow, that ſhe alwiſe appeared, as if ſhe had had the Jaundice. In

(*k*) Reginal. Polus, pro Eccleſiaſticæ Unionis defenſione, lib. 4. & de Reform. Eccl. Ang. (*l*) Ferdinand. Braſilien. Epiſcop. ad Tract. Alvari de Gomaſii Conjugio Regis Angliæ. vid. etiam Martyr. de la Reyne d'Eſcoſſe par Mr. Blacwood, &c.

In her upper Row of Teeth, there was one that ſtuck out above the reſt, in her Right Hand ſhe had Six Fingers; and, beneath her Chin, there was a little Tumor, to conceal which, ſhe wore her Clothes ſo as to cover it and her Neck. So did the other Ladies likewiſe about the Court, in Imitation of her: Whereas before they went with their Breaſts and Necks bare. Her Head was well proportioned to her Body, and ſhe was alwiſe neat and genteel in her Clothes. About this time, *Anthony Brown* and Sir *Thomas Bolen* were Ambaſſadors in *France*. Sir *Thomas*, being informed of the King's intended Marriage with his reputed Daughter, was ſo ſurpriſed with the Impious Deſign, and ſo Zealous for putting a Stop to it, that, without acquainting his Colleague or any other Body, he went over to *England*; and, being Introduced to the King by *Henry Norris*, he, falling down upon his Knees, minded the King of what had paſſed betwixt him and his Wife. To which the King Anſwered, *Hold your Peace, you Fool; for a Hundred beſides me had to do with your Wife: So I know not, to which of us ſhe belongs; but I am reſolved ſhe ſhall be my Wife, and return you to your Poſt.* And ſo left him. This Story is refuted at large by Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, to which I refer the Reader *(m)*. Whatever Truth was in it, it was no Wonder, that King *Henry* was ſo incenſed againſt *Pool*, for accuſing him of Inceſt and the other Crimes he lays to his Charge, that he deprived him of all his Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Temporal Poſſeſſions in *England*. But the Pope and the Emperor took Care to repair theſe his Loſſes: And *Paul* III. rewarded him with a Cardinal's Hat.

The News of the Diſorders in *England* being brought to *Rome*, Pope *Paul* III. Succeſſor to *Clement* VII, who had hitherto deferred the publiſhing of his Bull, by which he Depoſed King *Henry*; and the Interdiction againſt his Kingdom, which he had given upon the 30th of *Auguſt* 1538, did it now by a Bull, Dated the 17th of *December* 1538, commanding it to be executed: And Declaring, That the affixing it at *Diepe* or *Bulloign*, in *France*; at S. *Andrew*'s or *Caliſtren* (that is *Callſtream*, a Town near the Borders of *England*) in *Scotland*; or *Tuam* or *Artifert* in *Ireland*; or any Two of theſe, ſhould be a ſufficient Publication. Whereupon the King procured a Declaration, againſt the Pope's Pretenſions, to be Signed by all the Biſhops of *England*, in which, after they had Declared againſt the Pope's Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, they concluded, "That the People ought to be Inſtructed, That *Chriſt* did expreſly forbid His Apoſtles or their Succeſſors, to take to themſelves the Power of the Sword or the Authority of Kings: And that, if the Biſhop of *Rome* or any other Biſhop aſſumed any ſuch Power, he was a Tyrant and Uſurper of other Men's Rights, and a Subverter of the Kingdom of *Chriſt*. This was Subſcribed by Nineteen Biſhops, all that were then in *England*, and Twenty Five Doctors of Divinity and Law: And was done before *May* 1538; for *Edward Fox*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, who was one that Signed it, Died the 8th of *May* that Year. Yet the King, to let the World know he would not depart from the Church of *Rome*, proceeded more violently than ever againſt the Sacramentarians and *Lutherans*: And, in the Year 1539, the following Six Articles were agreed to by him and both Houſes of Parliament. I. That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration, there remain'd no Sub-

(*m*) Vol. 1. Book 2. pag. 41 and 42.

ſtance of Bread and Wine: But, under theſe Forms, the Natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt* were preſent. II. That Communion in Both Kinds was not Neceſſary to Salvation to all Perſons, by the Law of God: But that both the Fleſh and Blood of *Chriſt* were together in each of their Kinds. III. That Prieſts, after the Order of Prieſthood, might not Marry by the Law of God. IV. That Vows of Chaſtity ought to be Obſerved by the Law of God. V. That the Uſe of Private Maſſes ought to be continued, which as it was agreeable to God's Law, ſo Men received great Benefit by them. VI. That Auricular Confeſſion was expedient and neceſſary, and ought to be retained in the Church. The Parliament Thanked the King for the Pains he had taken in theſe Articles; and Enacted, That if any, after the 12th of *July*, did Speak, Preach or Write againſt the Firſt Article, they were to be Judged Heretics, and to be Burnt without any Abjuration, and to Forfeit their Real and Perſonal Eſtates to the King: And thoſe, who Preached or obſtinately Diſputed againſt the other Articles, were to be Judged Felons, and ſuffer Death as ſuch without Benefit of Clergy: And thoſe, who, either in Word or Writing, ſpake againſt them, were to be Priſoners, during the King's Pleaſure, and Forfeit their Goods and Chattels for the Firſt time; and, if they Offended ſo the Second time, they were to ſuffer as Felons. All the Marriages of Prieſts are Declared Void. And if any Prieſt did ſtill keep any ſuch Woman, whom he had ſo Marry'd, and lived Familiarly with her as with his Wife, he was to be Judged a Felon: And if a Prieſt lived Carnally with any other Woman, he was, upon the Firſt Conviction, to Forfeit his Benefices, Goods and Chattels, and to be Impriſoned, during the King's Pleaſure; and, upon the Second, was to ſuffer as a Felon. The Women ſo Offending were alſo to be Puniſhed in the ſame manner, *&c.*

In the ſame Parliament, on the other Hand, they proceeded againſt the Religious Orders, Enacting, That all the great Monaſteries, Abbacies or Priories, that were remaining, ſhould be ſuppreſſed: And the King Founded ſome new Biſhoprics out of their Revenues. He likewiſe ſeiſed upon the Lands, Rents and Revenues of ſeveral Hoſpitals; and particularly upon thoſe of the Order of S. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. He proceeded likewiſe very ſeverely againſt all Cardinal *Pool*'s Friends. The Marquis of *Exeter* (the King's Couſin-german by his Mother who was *Edward* IV's Daughter) the Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Edward Nevil* Brother to the Lord *Abergaveny* were Try'd, Condemn'd and put to Death, for holding a Correſpondence with the Cardinal.

After theſe Executions, followed the Parliament in the Year 1539, in which, not only theſe Attaindors, that were already paſſed, were confirmed; but New ones, of a ſtrange and unheard of Nature, were Enacted. "It is a Blemiſh, *ſays Biſhop* Burnet (*n*), never to be waſht off, "and which cannot be enough Condemn'd, and was a Breach of the moſt "Sacred and unalterable Rules of Juſtice, which is capable of no Excuſe. "It was the Attainting of ſome Perſons, whom they held in Cuſtody, "without bringing them to a Trial, concerning which, (ſays he) I ſhall "add, what the Great Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook* Writes. *Altho' I queſtion "not the Power of the Parliament: For without queſtion that Attaindor ſtands "of Force in Law; yet this I ſay of the manner of proceeding*, Auferat obli-

"vio,

(*n*) Hiſt. of the Refor. Vol. 1. page 359.

" vio, ſi poteſt; ſi non, utrumque ſilentium tegat. *For the more High* " *and Abſolute the Juriſdiction of the Court is, the more Juſt and Honourable it* " *ought to be in the Proceedings, and to give Example to Inferior Courts.* The Chief of theſe were, the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Old Counteſs of *Sarum* the Cardinal's Mother, who were put to Death without Trial or Witneſſes brought againſt them. At the ſame time that the Cardinal's Friends were put to Death, the Cardinal himſelf, *Michael Throgmorton* Gentleman, *John Hilliard* and *Thomas Goldwell* Clerks, and *William Peyto* a *Franciſcan* of the Obſervance, were Attainted in Abſence; becauſe they owned the Authority of the See of *Rome*.

On the 12th of *October*, in the Year 1537, the Queen, after a long and difficult Labour, was ript up, ſays the Biſhop of *Hereford* (o), and Prince *Edward*, who ſucceeded to his Father, taken out of her Womb; ſhe, living only Two Days after, was Buried at *Windſor* in the Middle of the Quire, with this Epitaph Ingraved upon her Tomb.

Phœnix Janna *jacet, nato Phœnice; dolendum,*
Secula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.

The King, by the Perſwaſion of *Cromwel*, inclined to take for his Fourth Wife *Anne* of *Cleve:* And, hearing very much of her Beauty, *Hans Holbin* was Ordered to Draw her Picture and ſend it over to the King. But in that he beſtowed the common Compliment of his Art too Liberally on a Lady, that was in a Way to be Queen, the King liked the Picture, and the Match was concluded. In the End of *December*, ſhe was brought over to *England*; and the King, being impatient to ſee her, went down *incognito* to *Rocheſter*. But, when he had a Sight of her, he Swore, They had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him; and, not finding in her theſe Charms he expected, and was made to believe, he not only did not like her but took an Averſion to her, which he could never after Overcome: Yet he Marry'd her upon the 6th of *January* 1540. The next Day the Lord *Cromwel* asked him, How he liked her then? He told him, *He was not every Man*; therefore he would be free with him: He liked her worſe than he did; that he ſuſpected ſhe was no Maid; and had ſuch ill Smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever. This was ſad News to *Cromwel*, who had Adviſed him to this Marriage, and knew his Revengeful Temper: And indeed ſo it happened to be. For the King, who had made him his Vicegerent in Spirituals, Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Eſſex*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, and Maſter of the Rolls, cauſed him to be Arreſted for High Treaſon, and ſent Priſoner to the Tower upon the 13th of *June*; and he had his Head cut off upon the 28th of *July*.

Cromwel's Diſgrace was the Firſt Step towards the King's Divorce from his New Queen, whom he never Loved, but now had a ſtrong Averſion to; having faln in Love with Lady *Catharine Howard*, upon the 24. of *June* he ſent the Queen to *Richmond*, pretending that the Country-Air would agree better with her. On the 6th of *July*, a Motion was made and aſſented to in the Houſe of Lords, That they ſhould make an Addreſs to the King, deſiring him, That he would ſuffer his Marriage

(o) Hereford's Annals of England, page 157.

with the Queen to be Try'd. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton* and the Biſhop of *Durham* were ſent down to the Commons, to repreſent the Matter to them: To which they agreed, and ordered Twenty of their Number to go along with the Peers. So the whole Houſe of Lords, and theſe Commons went and repreſented the Affair to the King. To which he conſented, and made a deep Proteſtation, as in the Preſence of God, that he ſhould conceal nothing that related to it, and all its Circumſtances; and that there was Nothing he held dearer than the Glory of God, the Good of the Common-Wealth, and the Declaration of Truth. So that a Commiſſion was iſſued out to the Convocation to Try it. *Cromwel*, being required by the King to ſend a full Account of the Marriage under his Hand, did ſo, concluding his Letter with theſe abject Words. "I am a moſt Woful Priſoner ready "to take the Death, when it ſhall pleaſe God and your Majeſty; And "yet the frail Fleſh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace "for Mercy, and Grace for mine Offences. And thus *Chriſt* ſave, pre"ſerve, and keep you. Written at the *Tower*, this *Wedneſday* the laſt "of *June*, with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your High"neſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable Priſoner and poor Slave, Tho"*mas Cromwel.* And a little below that, *Moſt Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.*

Upon the 10th of *July*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* reported to the Houſe of Lords, That the Convocation had Judged the Marriage Null, both by the Law of God and the Law of the Land. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* delivered the Judgment in Writing, which being read he enlarged upon all the Reaſons of it: This ſatisfy'd the Lords, and they ſent down him and *Cranmer* to the Commons to give them the ſame Account. The next Day, the King ſent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to let the Queen know, what was done, who was not at all troubled at it, and ſeemed not ill pleaſed. They told her, That the King would, by Letters Patents, Declare her his Adopted Siſter, and give her Precedency, before all the Ladies of *England*, next his Queen and Daughters, and aſſign her an Eſtate of 3000 Pound *Sterling* a Year; and that ſhe had her Choice, either to live in *England* or to return Home again. She accepted the Offer, and, under her Hand, Declared her Conſent and Approbation of the Sentence; and choſe rather to live ſtill in *England*, where ſhe was in greater Honour, than to return to her own Country with that Diſgrace.

Upon the 12th of *July*, the Bill, for annulling the Marriage, was brought in and paſs'd both Houſes without any Difficulty. The Reaſons, that were given for annulling the Marriage, were, I. That there had been a Contract between the Marquis of *Lorain* and the Queen, which was only alledged, and not well proven. II. That the King, having Marry'd her againſt his Will, had not given a pure inward and complete Conſent: And ſince a Man's Act is only what is Inward; Extorted or Forced Promiſes do not bind. III. That he had never Conſummated the Marriage. To theſe was added, the great Intereſt the whole Nation had in the King's having more Iſſue, which they ſaw he could never have by the Queen. And both Houſes of Convocation, without one Con-

Contradictory Vote, moſt ſcandalouſly Signed the Sentence; and the Two Arch-Biſhops Seals were put to it. For as Biſhop *Burnet* Obſerves (*p*), "They all knew, there was nothing of Weight in that Precon-" tract; ſo they laid down a moſt pernicious Precedent for invalidating " all public Treaties and Agreements: Since if one of the Parties being " unwilling to it, ſo that his Conſent were not inward, he was not " bound by it, there was no Safety among Men more. For no Man " can know, whether another Conſents inwardly. And when a Man " does any thing with great Averſion, to infer from thence, that he " does not inwardly Conſent, may furniſh every one with an Excuſe to " break looſe from all Engagements: For he may pretend he did it un-" willingly, and get his Friends to declare, that he privately ſignify'd " that to them. And for that Argument which was taken from the " Want of Conſummation, they had forgotten what was pleaded on " the King's behalf Ten Years before. But as the King was reſolved on " any Terms to be rid of this Queen, ſo the Clergy were alſo reſolved " not to incur his Diſpleaſure. *Cromwel*, as we have ſaid, had his Head cut off upon the 28th of *July*, being accuſed of Hereſy, keeping Intelligence with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, Concuſſion and Extortion; for which he was Condemned, by the Parliament, as a Heretic and Traitor to the State, and all his Goods Confiſcate to the King.

Immediately after the Annulling of this Marriage, the King Marry'd, for his Fifth Wife, Lady *Catharine Howard*, Daughter to the Lord *Edmond Howard* and Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*. Thoſe, who were Named by the King to conſider the Affairs of Religion, drew up a long Declaration of the *Chriſtian Doctrine for the Neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*; wherein, after they have explained the Articles of the Creed, they acknowledged the Seven Sacraments; then explained the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the *Ave* Maria, or the Angel's Salutation to the Bleſſed Virgin, &c. And in all things they agreed with the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, ſave that of the Supremacy. This their Expoſition of the Chriſtian Faith was Publiſhed in a Book by the King's Authority, and nothing altered in it as to the Exterior Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*. *Robert Barnes* Doctor of Divinity, *Thomas Gerard*, and *William Jerome*, who had been Prieſts and turned *Lutherans*, were Apprehended and Impriſoned for Preaching againſt ſome of the Articles of this Book, and ſhortly after Burnt alive for the ſame. At the ſame time, *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, *Edmond Brindholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, were Hanged for denying the King to be the Supreme Head, on Earth, of the Church of *England*. In the Month of *Auguſt*, the Prior of *Doncaſter* and Six others were Hanged for Defending the Inſtitution of a Monaſtical Life, which was now lookt upon as a Capital Crime. In a Word, he put to Death promiſcuouſly both Proteſtants and Papiſts; the one for denying the foreſaid Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, and the other for denying his Supremacy.

Whilſt the King was making a Progreſs with his Queen, whom he Loved to ſuch Exceſs, that he gave Public Thanks to God for the Bleſſing of his Marriage, his Joy was ſuddenly turn'd into Sorrow. For, the very next Day, *Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* told him, She

(*p*) Ubi ſup. pag. 281.

was but a Lewd Woman, and had Carnal Dealing with many more than him. At Firſt, the King was unwilling to believe it: But the Arch-Biſhop, having got his Witneſſes, proved the Matter of Fact. The Parliament having met, in the Year 1542, on the 28th of *January*, the Lord Chancellor moved the Houſe of Lords, to conſider the Caſe the King was in by the Queen's ill Carriage; and, that there might be no Ground of Suſpicion or Complaint, he propoſed, That ſome of their Number ſhould be ſent to Examine the Queen. Whereupon the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* were ſent to her. How much ſhe Confeſſed to them is not very clear, neither by the Journal, nor the Act of Parliament which only ſays, That ſhe Confeſſed, without mentioning the Particulars. Upon this, an Act paſſed in both Houſes, in which they Petitioned the King.

" *Firſt*, Not to be troubled at the Matter, ſince that might be a Mean " to ſhorten his Life.

" *Secondly*, To Pardon every thing that had been ſpoken againſt the " Queen.

" *Thirdly*, That the Queen and her Complices might be Attainted " of High Treaſon, for her taking *Dairham* into her Service, and another Woman into her Chamber who had known their former ill Life, " by which it appeared what ſhe intended to do; and then admitting " *Culpeper* to be ſo long with her, in a vile Place, ſo many Hours, and " in the Night. Therefore 'tis deſired, that ſhe and they, with the " Bawd the Lady *Rochford*, may be Attainted of Treaſon; and that the " Queen and the Lady *Rochford* ſhould ſuffer the Pains of Death.

" *Fourthly*, That the King would not trouble himſelf to give his Aſ- " ſent to this Act in his own Perſon, but grant it by his Letters Patents, " under his Hand and Great Seal.

" *Fifthly*, That the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, the Counteſs of " *Bridgewater*, the Lord *William Howard* and his Lady, Four other " Men and Five Women, who were already Attainted by the Courſe of " the Common Law, (except the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* and the Counteſs " of *Bridgewater*) that knew the Queen's Vicious Life, and had conceal- " ed it, ſhould be all Attainted of Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

" It was alſo Enacted, that whoſoever knew any thing of the Incon- " tinence of the Queen (for the Time being) ſhould reveal it, with all " poſſible Speed, under the Pains of Treaſon. And that, if the King or " his Succeſſors ſhould intend to Marry any Woman, whom they took " to be a Pure and Clean Maid, if ſhe, not being ſo, did not declare " the ſame to the King, it ſhould be High Treaſon; and all, who knew " it and did not reveal it, were Guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. And " if the Queen or the Prince's Wife ſhould procure any, by Meſſages " or Words, to know her Carnally; or any other, by Meſſages or " Words, ſhould ſolicite them, they, their Counſellors and Abettors are " to be adjudged High Traitors.

This Act being Aſſented to by the King's Letters Patents, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the 12th of *February*. The Queen Confeſſed the Miſcarriages of her former Life, before the King Marry'd her; but ſtood abſolutely to her Denial as to any thing after that: And Proteſted to Doctor *White* afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, That ſhe took God and his Angels to be her Witneſſes, upon the

the Salvation of her Soul, that ſhe was Guiltleſs of that Act of Defiling her Sovereign's Bed, for which ſhe was Condemned.

It was thought extreme Cruelty to be ſo Severe to the Queen's Kindred for not diſcovering her former ill Life, ſince the making of ſuch a Diſcovery had been inconſiſtent with the Rules of Juſtice or Decency. The Old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, being her Grand-mother, had Bred her of a Child: And it was ſaid, For her to have gone and told the King, That ſhe was a Whore, when he intended to Marry her; as it was an unheard of thing, ſo the not doing of it could not have drawn ſo ſevere a Puniſhment, from any but a Prince of that King's Temper. But the King Pardoned her, and moſt of the reſt; tho' ſome continued in Priſon after the reſt were diſcharged.

But for the other Part of this Act, obliging a Woman to reveal her own former Incontinence, if the King intended to Marry her, it was thought a Piece of grievous Tyranny. Since if a King, eſpecially one of ſo Imperious a Temper as this was, ſhould deſign ſuch an Honour to any of his Subjects, who had fail'd in their former Life, they muſt either Defame themſelves by publiſhing ſo Diſgraceful a Secret, or run the Hazard of being afterwards attainted of Treaſon. Upon this, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, thoſe who took an indiſcreet Liberty to rally that Sex unjuſtly and ſeverely, ſaid, That the King could induce none, that was reputed a Maid, to Marry him. So that not ſo much Choice as Neceſſity put him on Marrying a Widow, Two Years after this, call'd Lady *Catharine Parr*, Widow to the Lord *Latimer*, and Siſter of *William Parr* lately created Earl of *Eſſex*, in the Right of his Wife ſole Daughter and Heir to the late Earl *Henry Bourchier*. Tho' this Queen was a great Favourer of the Proteſtants; yet he proceeded to put ſuch of his Subjects to Death, as were Accuſed either of *Lutheraniſm* or *Zwinglianiſm*; and he died in the ſame Sentiments, but without having Reconciled himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, upon the 27th of *January* 1547, in the 56 Year of his Age.

This Prince Exerciſed ſo much Severity upon all his Subjects whether Proteſtants or Papiſts, that both Parties have repreſented him as a Wicked and Lewd Prince, whoſe Favourites were nothing but Devils inveſted with Humanity, the more conveniently to infeſt Human Kind, and incenſe every Man againſt his Neighbour, and to turn the Nation upſide down.

His Death and Character.

Our Author Died at *Naples*, in the 50 Year of his Age, 1530; and *Petrus Paulus Caporella* Publiſhed his Book the next Year. He is extremely Commended, for his Learning in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and for his Zeal in Inſtructing and Converting of Souls, by *Eligius Panhormius*, *Junius Albinus Terminæus*, *Deodatus de Sancta Fide*, *Bartholomæus Turris Seliuntius*, and *Ant. Blandus Cuchareus*.

The Catalogue of his Works.

QUæſtio *de Matrimonio Reginæ* Angliæ, Neapol. 1531, *per* Antonium *de* Jubenis, *in* 4*to*.

THE LIFE of *HECTOR BOEIS*, Principal of the King's College at *Aberdeen*.

His Birth, Parentage and Education.

THE *Boſcoes* or *Boeiſes*, from whom this Gentleman is Deſcended, were a very Ancient and Conſiderable Family. For we find *William de Boſco* Chancellor to King *William* (*a*), in all his Charters before the Year 1200; and in Three Grants of *Alexander Stuart* to the Abbacy of *Paſley*, which he Founded, *Thomas de Boſco* is call'd his *Seneſcallus*, about the Year 1246. Our Author was Born at *Dundee* in the Country or Shire of *Angus*, as he himſelf informs us (*b*), and was a Son of *Boeis* of *Panbride*. Having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies in the *Belles Lettres* at *Dundee*, he was ſent over by his Parents to the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he Study'd his Philoſophy in the College of *Montague*, and became afterwards a Profeſſor of it there. During which time, he had the Opportunity of being intimately acquainted with ſeveral Learned Men, who were then applying themſelves to their Studies in this great Nurſery of Learning; among whom, he mentions *Petrus Syrus* an Eminent Theologue, *Petrus Rolandus* who taught him his Logics, *Joannes Gaſſerus* Famous for his Commentaries upon the Decretals, and the Great *Eraſmus* whom he calls the Splendor and Ornament of his Age. Beſides theſe, he tells us, that there were at that time, in the Univerſity of *Paris*, the following Eminent Scholars of our own Nation.

He goes over to *Paris*, where he becomes acquainted with ſeveral Learned Men, and among thoſe were ſeverals of his own Country.

An Account of the Learned Men of our own Country that he mentions, and of their Works.

Mr. *Patrick Panter*, a Man of great Learning and Prudence, whom King *James* IV. made Governour to his Natural Son (*Alexander Stuart* Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrews*) and afterwards one of the Members of his Privy-Council, and his Secretary; and, if we may believe *Dempſter*, this Gentleman Publiſhed and Dedicated to that King a Book of Political Obſervations, *Edidit*, ſays he (*c*), *ad eum Politicas Obſervationes*.

Walter Ogilvy, who was ſo great a Maſter of Eloquence, that by the Copiouſneſs of his Language, and the handſome and fine Turns of his Periods, he not only Delighted his Hearers, but Charmed them into an Admiration of him. And it is upon this Account, that *Dempſter* (*d*), if I be not miſtaken, makes him Author of Two Books: The one of which he calls, *The Flowers of Rhetoric*; and the other, *A Book of Orations*. *Edidit*, ſays he, *Rhetorices Flores*. *Orationes varias*.

George Dundaſs, a Perſon of great Knowledge in the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages, was afterwards made Superior of the Knights of S. *John* of *Jeruſalem* in *Scotland*. *Dempſter* tells, That this Gentleman has Written the Hiſtory of his Order moſt Diligently and Laboriouſly in Two Books, *Scrip-*

(*a*) MS. Coll. of Geneal. by Alex. Baillie of Caſtlecarie. (*b*) Vit. Epiſcop. Aberdon. Fol. 27. The Biſhop of Carl. Scots Hiſt. Librar pag. 104. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 2. pag. 97. Spot. Church Hiſt. pag. 68. Voſſius de Hiſt. Latin. la Grand Dict. Hiſt. & Geograph. par M. Vautier, &c. (*c*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 15. pag. 541. (*d*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 14. pag. 14 & 515.

Scripſit, ſays he (*e*), *diligenter & laborioſe Hiſtoriam Equitum* Hieroſolymitanorum.

Theſe Knights of *Jeruſalem* had their Firſt Riſe upon this Occaſion (*f*): Whilſt the *Saracens* poſſeſſed the City of *Jeruſalem*, the Caliph of *Egypt* granted to the *Syrians* and their Patriarch a Fourth Part of it, upon Condition that they ſhould pay him a certain Tribute. The Pilgrimages into the *Holy-Land* being at that time very frequent, ſome Private Men of *Lombardy*, and of *Amalfi* in the Land of *Lavoro*, reſolving to Traffick there, did, by their Preſents and Commerce, obtain of the Caliph Permiſſion to Build a Monaſtery, where they might make uſe of the *Latin* Liturgy; becauſe, in the Churches of the *Syrians*, all their Services were in the *Greek*. Preſently after they Built an Hoſpital; and, it being without Revenue, the Abbot of the *Latin* Church uſed to ſend, what remained of the Tables of the Two Monaſteries, with the Alms of the Charitable to the Sick. When the City of *Jeruſalem* was taken by *Godfrey* of *Bouillion*; a Brother, who had ſerved a long time in the Hoſpital, called *Gerard*, with ſome others of the ſame Employment, took upon them the Habit of Regulars, fixed a White Croſs upon their Breaſts, and took upon them a ſolemn Vow to Obſerve the Rules of the Inſtitution. This Vow was of Poverty, Chaſtity and Obedience, in the Name of S. *John Baptiſt*; and not of S. *John* the Almoner, as ſome Writers have delivered. This Order, in Proceſs of Time, purchaſed ſeveral Lands over all *Europe*. And I ſhall here give a brief Account of their Great Maſters, as they were call'd, from their Firſt Inſtitution till our Author's time.

The Firſt of them, as I have ſaid, was Brother *Gerard* of *Martigues* in *Provence*, who Founded this Noble Order, Confirmed, in the Year 1113, by Pope *Paſchal* III. Succeſſor to *Urban* II. under whom the moſt of the Princes took the Croiſade for the Conqueſt of the *Holy Land*. He Died in the Year 1118, and had for his Succeſſor *Raymond du Puy* of the Ancient Houſe of the *Du Puys* in *Dauphiné*. This Man join'd the Militia to the Hoſpital of S. *John*, and reduced the Statutes of the Order into better Form, which, by the General Chapters, were augmented or diminiſhed by the Maſters that ſucceeded. By his Inſtitution, the Knights carry'd a Croſs of White Stuff upon a Black Cloak, which Pope *Calixtus* confirmed in the Year 1120. He Died in 1160; and *Auger de Balben* ſucceeded. After his Death, *Arnaud de Comps*, who was Born in *Dauphiné*, was choſen in the Year 1163. His Succeſſor was *Gilbert de Aſſalt* or of *Sally*. By this Great Maſter's Advice, *Emery* King of *Jeruſalem* Beſieged the City of *Belbeys*, and by the Aſſiſtance and Valour of the Knights of this Order, it was taken. This Great Maſter, by his Prodigality, brought the Order into Debt more than a Hundred Thouſand Crowns: For which he was ſo Heartily ſorry, that he quit his Dignity, in the Year 1169, after he had been Maſter but about Two Years; and, reſolving to ſpend the remnant of his Life in *England*, he was Shipwracked, the ſame Year, upon that Coaſt, with his whole Company.

To him ſucceeded one *Gaſt* or *Caſte*, who accompany'd the ſame King of *Jeruſalem* to the Siege of *Damiata* with Two Powerful Armies, the one by Land, and the other by Sea. In this Expedition, the greateſt Part of the Ships, that had been furniſhed by *Manuel* Emperor of *Con-*

(*e*) Ibid. lib. 4. pag. 434. (*f*) M. Chevereau's Hiſt. of the World. Vol. IV.

ſtantinople, were either Burnt, or Diſperſed by Storm; and the Land-Army periſhed by Want and Famine. So that *Aſſodo-di* and *Salah-oddin* had all the Advantages they could hope for againſt them. *Gaſt* Died ſhortly after, having lived only one Year after his Election.

His Succeſſor was one *Tourbet*, whoſe Country is not well known. He bought, in *Syria*, with his own proper Money, Two Fair Houſes for his Fraternity: And *Raimond* Duke of *Narbonne*, the Count *de Toulouſe*, and the Marquis of *Provence*, gave conſiderable Privileges to the Order in his Time. He had the Government for Ten Years; and was ſucceeded by *Roger de Moulin*, a Brave and Generous Gentleman, who was kill'd in Battle, Fighting Valiantly againſt *Saladin*, in the Year 1187. *Garnier de Naplouzê*, Eight Leagues from *Samaria*, and Lord of *Krach* ſucceeded him, he Died Two Months after his Election, and left the Lands call'd *The Stone of the Deſert*, or *Mount Royal* to them. *Emengard Daps* ſucceeded him. In his Time, *Salah-oddin* took the City of *Jeruſalem*, after a Siege of Thirty Days, being ſurrendred upon Compoſition on the 2d of *October* 1187. *Saladin* having expelled out of *Jeruſalem* the Knights of S. *John* and other Orders; *Emengard Daps*, with his Brotherhood, was obliged to retire into the Fortreſs of *Margat* in *Phœnicia*, where he Dwelt Four or Five Years, and Died in the Year 1192. The City of *Ptolemais* was taken a little after by *Philip Auguſtus*, where *Godfrey de d' Huyſſon* or *Don Jon* was choſen Maſter of the Order in the Year 1192, and Died in the Year 1194. *Peter Alphonſo*, who was Born in *Portugal*, ſucceeded him: But he, having an Eye upon the Crown of *Portugal*, quitted his Dignity, and returned to his own Country, expecting to be Crowned King; where, failing in his Hopes, he Died in the Year 1207. *Geoffrey de Rat* a *French* Man ſucceeded him, in the Year 1195, and Died in the Year 1206. *Gubrin de Montaigue*, Born in *Auvergne*, ſucceeded him, and Died in the Year 1230. *Bernard Taxi* was choſen the ſame Year, and Died in the Year 1240. *Bertram de Camps*, Born in *Dauphiné*, was next, he received a Wound in a Battle againſt the *Turks*, whereof he Died in the Year 1248. *Peter de Villebride*, his Succeſſor, Died in the Year 1251, and *William* of *Chateaumeuf* ſucceeded him. In this Great Maſter's Time, Pope *Alexander* IV. gave the Caſtle of *Bethany*, with its Revenues and Dependencies, to this Order, to help them to pay the Gariſons which they maintained at *Mount Royal*, where were Sixty Knights and a great many other Soldiers. He Died in the Year 1260; and *Hugh Revel*, who was Born in *Dauphiné*, ſucceeded him. In his Time, the Sultan of *Egypt* took *Antioch*, where Fourty Seven Thouſand *Chriſtians* were ſlain, and a Hundred Thouſand made Slaves. *Mount Royal* was alſo taken; and the Religious in all the Convents cut off their Noſes to preſerve their Virginity, believing that thereby the Infidels would not be Enamoured of them. This Great Maſter Died in the Year 1278. *Nicholas de Lorgue* a *French* Man ſucceeded him; he was choſen at *Ptolemais* in the Year 1278, and Died in 1288. *John de Villers* ſucceeded him. In his Time the *Saracens* took the City of *Ptolemais*, and he and his Knights retired to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, where he Died in the Year 1294. *Odon de Pins*, who was Born in *Provence*, ſucceeded. He was Elected in *Cyprus*, at the Town of *Limiſſus*: But he had been hardly Two Years in this Dignity, when he was accuſed, by his Brethren, of Hereſy; and being ſummon'd to ap-

appear at *Rome*, he Died in his Way thither. *William de Villaret* Grand Prior of S. *Giles* was choſen in his Place, in the Year 1296, and Died in 1308. *Foulques de Villaret* ſucceeded him, and was choſen at *Limiſſus* in *Cyprus*. He, finding that the King of *Cyprus* was become jealous of the Order upon the Account of their great Riches and Power, went and ſolicited the Protection of *Andronicus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who gave him the Inveſtiture of the Iſle of *Rhodes*. This Gift was confirmed by Pope *Clement* V. with Power given him to Name an Arch-Biſhop, as often as the See ſhould become vacant. Whereupon he raiſed an Army, and having Shipped them at *Brunduſium* in *September* 1308 he arrived at *Limiſſus*, with Twenty Five Gallies, ſome Ships of the Order, and ſome others of the King of *Sicily* and of *Genoua*. With theſe he attacked the Iſland of *Rhodes*, and forced the City, in the Year 1309, on the 15th of *Auguſt*; and ſhortly after took Five other Cities. Then he fixed the Convent of the Order in this City: But the next Year, *Othoman* I. King of the *Turks* Beſieged it, and had reduced them to the Neceſſity of Capitulating; if *Amadeus* IV. Count of *Savoy* had not gone to ſuccour it with an Army. In which Expedition, he proved ſo ſucceſsful, that he forced *Othoman* to raiſe the Siege; and he was ſo well pleaſed with his Succeſs that he took for his Device, in his Coat, theſe Four Letters, F. E. R. T. *Fortitudo ejus* Rhodum *tenuit*. Which his Succeſſors have retained; and in place of the Eagle, which his Anceſtors bore in their Arms, he took, in his Standards, the Croſs of the Order with Eight Points of *Pateé* in a Field *Gules*. After this, the Knights were call'd *The Knights of* Rhodes; and, upon the Fame of this Victory, the Extermination of the *Templars* happened, of which I have given an Account in the Firſt Volume of this Work in the Life of *Simon White*. At length, *Villaret*, who had Enriched himſelf at the Expence of the Order, and minded nothing but his Pleaſures, and had turned inſupportably Proud, was expell'd in the Year 1317; and *Maurice de Pagnac* was choſen in his Place. But the Pope, who had reſerved to himſelf the Choice, made *Gerard de Pins* Grand-Vicar, with expreſs Command, that the Knights ſhould Obey him, in the Year 1321. *Orcan* the Son of *Othoman*, King of the *Turks*, ſet out a Fleet of Fourſcore Sail to make himſelf Maſter of the Iſle of *Rhodes*. Upon this, *Gerard de Pins*, with great Expedition, Armed Twenty Veſſels, Four Gallies and Six of *Genoua*, which were then in the Port. Theſe Two Fleets met; and, after a Bloody Battle, *Orcan* was Defeat; and they cut to Pieces Ten Thouſand of the *Turks*, which *Orcan* had brought with him to ſerve in the Siege, and to People the Iſle, nowiſe doubting of his Victory. About this Time Died *Maurice de Pagnac*, as ſome believe, for Grief, that his Election was not altogether ſo ſucceſsful as he hoped; and *Folque de Villaret* was Re-eſtabliſhed in his Place. But ſhortly after, he reſigned it, having only got it to ſave his Honour; or as others think, becauſe he deſpaired of the Paying the Debts he had engaged the Order in. By this Reſignation, the Grand Prior of S. *Giles*, *Elion de Villenueve*, was choſen at *Avignon*, and Died in the Year 1346, after he had paid moſt of the Debts that his Predeceſſor had contracted. To him ſucceeded *Deodate de Gozon*, of whom this Story is related.

A Dragon making terrible Ravages in this Iſle, and the Shepherds being afraid to lead their Flocks to Feed, ſeveral Knights reſolved to

Attack this Monſter, moſt of whom became a Prey to him. Whereupon the Grand Maſter, *Helion de Vilneuve*, believed that it was impoſſible to deſtroy him. *Gozon* had gone ſeveral times to Fight with him; but alwiſe returned without the Knights that accompany'd him, who were devoured by this Monſter: Upon which there aroſe a Suſpicion amongſt them, that he never had the Courage to attack him. Under this Trouble of being reputed a Coward, he went to *France*, where he cauſed a Dragon of the ſame Bigneſs to be made, and as like him that he had ſeen as he could; and, upon a certain Noiſe like that of the Hiſſing Dragon, he looſed Two Fierce Dogs upon this Counterfeited Dragon, who faſtned themſelves alwiſe upon his Belly. Having taught them to do this for a long time, he repaſſes to *Rhodes*, and, without communicating his Deſign, goes ſtraight to the Place, where he had often before ſeen the Dragon; and finding him, he hounds his Dogs upon him, who, ſeiſing and holding him by the Bottom of the Belly, gave our Knight Time and Opportunity to kill him. After an Execution ſo unexpected, he enters *Rhodes*, where he was applauded by all the People: But, becauſe he had done it contrary to the Command of the Grand Maſter, they took from him his Knight's Habit for Formality, yet quickly gave it back again to him; and, upon the Death of the Grand Maſter, *Gozon* was preferred. After that, there was an Order made, that no Knight of the Election ſhould be made Grand Maſter. *Stochue*, in his Voyage to the *Levant*, ſays, That, upon one Side of S. *John*'s Gate, he hath ſeen the Head of the Dragon with Horns as big as a Bufulo, but the Mouth or Muzzle ſhorter or more pointed. *Gozon* Died in the Year 1353, and *Peter de Cornillian*, who ſucceeded him, Died in 1355. Then in Order ſucceeded theſe, *Roger de Pins*, who died in 1365. *Raimond Berenger*, who died in 1373. *Robert de Julic* Grand Prior of *Arragon*, who died the ſame Year. *John Ferdinand d' Herodia*, who died in 1396 at *Avignon*. To him ſucceeded *Philbert* of *Noillac* Prior of *Aquitain*, who was ſo Faithful a Friend to *Sigiſmund* King of *Hungary*, that he never abandoned him in his greateſt Diſtreſs. For, after he had been Overthrown in Battle by *Bajazet*, he paſſed the *Danube* with him, accompanied him to *Conſtantinople*, then to *Rhodes*; from whence he parted upon the Gallies of the Order to *Dalmatia*; and from thence by Land, to his own Kingdom of *Hungary*. *Antonio Fulvian*, a *Spaniard* and Grand Prior of *Catalogne*, ſucceeded him; and, he having died in the Year 1437, *John de Laſtic*, who was a *French* Man and Grand Prior of *Auvergne* did ſucceed next. In this Man's Time, the *Saracens* Landed in *Rhodes*, Pillaged the Iſle, and laid Siege to the City: But the Grand Maſter, with his Knights, made ſuch a Vigorous Defence, that the Infidels were conſtrained to return to *Alexandria*. *Laſtic* died in the Year 1454, and was ſucceeded by *Jobert* or *Jaques de Milly*, a *French* Man, Prior of *Auvergne*. In his Time, *Mahomet* Emperor of the *Turks*, after he had taken *Conſtantinople*, ſeiſed upon ſeveral Iſles of the *Morea*: And the Grand Maſter not being in a Condition to oppoſe his Forces, one of the Knights, call'd *Peter d' Aubuſſon*, Commander of the *Salines*, obtained of King *Charles* VII. a Hundred Thouſand Crowns; with which he bought Artillery, Powder, Ball and other Ammunition, which he ſent into *Rhodes*, and thereby put them out of all Danger. This Maſter died upon the 7th of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1461. *Raimond Zacoſta*,

a *Spaniard*, was choſen the 24th thereafter; and died the 21ſt of *February*, at *Rome*, in the Year 1467. *John Baptiſta de Urſinus*, a *Roman*, was choſen, after him, by Pope *Paul* III. and by the Knights of the Order who were then at *Rome*, after the Celebration of the Chapter-General. In his Time, *Negropont*, a Principal City of the *Morea*, was taken by *Mahomet* II. This Maſter Died at *Rhodes*, on the 8th of *June* 1476. Upon the 17th of the ſame Month, *Peter d' Aubuſſon*, Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, and Captain of the City of *Rhodes*, was choſen in his Place; and, upon the 9th of *March* 1488, he got a Cardinal's Hat. In his Time, *Mahomet* laid Siege to the City of *Rhodes* with a Fleet of a Hundred and Sixty Sail of Ships; and a Land-Army of a Hundred Thouſand Fighting Men: And, after he had Beſieged it Three Months; and Batter'd the Walls with Sixteen great Pieces of Cannon of Twenty Two Foot long, and Balls of Ten Foot Circumference; ſpent Three Thouſand and Five Hundred Shot, without counting thoſe that were made from the Leſſer Artillery: I ſay, notwithſtanding of all this, the Grand Maſter forced him to raiſe the Siege, kill'd Nine Thouſand of his Men, and Wounded 15000; but himſelf, being dangerouſly Wounded, Died upon the 9th of *July* 1503, being above Fourſcore of Years Old. *Emery d' Ambois*, Grand Prior of *France*, tho' abſent, was choſen in his Place, upon the 10th of *July* 1503; and Died at *Rhodes*, in the Year 1512. *Guy de Blanchifort*, Grand Prior of *Auvergne*, ſucceeded him, and Died on the 24th of *November* 1513. *Fabricius de Carette*, of the Houſe of the Princes of *Final* near *Genoa*, ſucceeded him, and Died upon the 10th of *January* 1521, to whom ſucceeded *Philip de Villiers* of the Iſle of *Adam*. In his Time, *Solyman* laid Siege to the City of *Rhodes*, which was done at the Inſtigation of *Andrew d' Amaral*, Prior of *Caſtile* and Chancellor of the Order, who, being diſappointed of the Place of Grand Maſter, in Revenge, wrote to *Conſtantinople*, and adviſed *Solyman* to the Siege; and, when he was juſt going to raiſe it, he acquainted him by other Letters, That the Place was reduced to the utmoſt Extremity. For theſe Treaſonable Practices he was put to the Torture, and Condemned to loſe his Head, which he ſuffered, not giving any Signs either of his Devotion or Repentance. By this Means the City being taken, the Grand Maſter, with all that remained of the Knights, the Religious and the *Rhodians*, were by Capitulation permitted to March out, and go where they pleaſed. At Firſt, the Grand Maſter went to *Meſſina*, which *Hector Pignatel* Count *de* Mount *Leon* and Vice-Roy of *Sicily* offered him for the Place of his Reſidence. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he was received extraordinarily well by Pope *Adrian* VI. and *Clement* VII. his Succeſſor. At length, after he had been Eight Years without Fixing, *Charles* V. granted to him and the Knights, in Fee and Property, the Iſle of *Malta*, upon the 24th Day of *May*, in the Year 1530, under the ſimple Tribute of a Sparrow-Hawk or a Falcon, payable to the Vice-Roy every Year. *Philip le Villiers* made his Entry, and took Poſſeſſion, the 26th of *October*, and Died the 21ſt of *Auguſt* 1534; and, ever ſince this time, they have been call'd *Knights of* Malta.

The Rules of the Religious of S. *John* were at Firſt very ſevere. For they were then obliged to Faſt all the Days of *Advent* and *Lent*; beſides, they were not permitted to Drink after Supper, nor to eat Fleſh on *Wedneſdays*, nor to ſpeak at Table, nor in Bed, nor to be in Bed with-

out a Light. But Pope *Pius* II. diſpenſed with this Rigour, becauſe it was almoſt impoſſible to Obſerve it; they being continually buſy either to Oppoſe the Infidels, or to Surpriſe them: And, upon the Suppreſſion of the *Templars*, they got many of their Lands, by which they were conſiderably Enriched.

Beſides theſe Learned Men, who were then at *Paris*, our Author *Hector Boeis* makes Mention likewiſe of *Joannes Major*, whom he Characterizes thus, Joannes Major *Theologus eruditiſſimus, cujus ſcripta haud aliter quam illuminatiſſimæ faces magnum Chriſtianæ religioni attulere fulgorem.*

He returns from *Paris*, and is made Principal of the King's College at *Aberdeen*.

Biſhop *Elphinſton*, having Founded the King's College, at *Aberdeen*, about the Year 1500, as we have ſhown in that Prelate's Life, ſent over to *Paris* for our Author, and made him Principal in that Univerſity. When he arrived at *Aberdeen*, he tells us, in the Life of Biſhop *Elphinſton*, That he found, amongſt the Chanon Regulars there, (into which Order he himſelf entred) a great many Learned Men. And amongſt theſe, he makes Mention of *David Guthry*, Profeſſor of the Civil and Canon Law, which makes *Dempſter* ſay (*f*), That he left Leſſons on both of them behind him, which is not improbable: But I doubt very much, if ever they were Publiſhed; or if they be ſo much as now extant. *In MSS. reliquit*, ſays he, *Lecturas in jus Pontificium. Singularia ex jure* Cæſareo. *James Ogilvy* Doctor of Theology, who, for his ſingular Learning and Piety, was Nominated Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s in the General Council of *Baſle*. *Dempſter* does not ſo much as mention this Learned Perſon. *Thomas Strachan*, a Perſon well ſeen in the Canon Law, whom *Dempſter* likewiſe does not mention, no more than he does *Alexander Vaus*, another Learned Canoniſt, and the Firſt Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres* in that Univerſity. *James Brown*, Dean of *Aberdeen*, whom *Dempſter* (*g*) makes Author of a Commentary upon the Old and New Teſtament. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *Notas in utrumque Teſtamentum.*

An Account of the Learned Men that were at *Aberdeen* at this time.

He takes for his Colleague Mr. *William Hay*

Our Author, being Inſtalled in his Place, did aſſociate to himſelf for his Colleague Mr. *William Hay*, a Gentleman who was Born in the Shire of *Angus*, and had the ſame Education with him, under the ſame Maſters both at *Dundee* and *Paris*: And, by their Conjunct Labour and Care, the Kingdom was Furniſhed with ſeveral Eminent Scholars; a few of whom he mentions with their Characters (*h*), and are as follows. *Alexander Hay*, a Chanon of *Aberdeen*, (the Firſt that Taught the Scholaſtic Theology in this Univerſity) was a Perſon of great Learning, Probity and Vertue. *James Ogilvy*, Deſcended from a Noble and Opulent Family, was Profeſſor of the Civil Law; and, upon the Death of Biſhop *Elphinſton*, the Chanons Aſſembling according to their Cuſtom to Elect a Biſhop in his Place, the Earl of *Huntly* came upon them unexpectedly, deſiring that *Alexander Gordon* his Couſin, then Chanter of *Murray*, might be choſen. The Chanons, not daring to refuſe the Earl, becauſe of his great Power in the North, did all give their Conſents. In the mean time, this Worthy and Learned Perſon Mr. *Ogilvy* was preſented to it by the Duke of *Albany*; and at *Rome*, *Robert Foreman* Dean of *Glaſgow* took a Proviſion thereof from Pope *Leo* X. Yet both *Foreman* and *Ogilvy* did reſign their Titles, at the Duke of *Albany*'s Deſire; and Mr. *Ogilvy* received, in Recompence, the Rectorſhip of *Kinkelden* and the Abbacy of *Dryburgh*. This Gentleman was ſent, by the King and Parliament,

An Account of the other Learn'd Men, who were then at this Univerſity.

(*f*) Lib. 7. pag. 319. (*g*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. pag. 105. (*h*) De vit. Epiſ. Aber. pag. 28.

liament, on ſeveral Negotiations; in all which, he behaved himſelf with great Wiſdom and Prudence. *Henry Spital* was a Relation of Biſhop *Elphinſton*, of good Learning, and one of thoſe who Firſt taught Philoſophy in this Univerſity. *Dempſter* tells us, That he wrote an eaſy Introduction to *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy; *Ejus eſt*, ſays he (*i*), *facilis ad* Ariſtotelicam *ſapientiam aditus*. *Arthur Boeis*, our Author's Brother, was Doctor of the Canon Law and Licentiate in the Civil. He taught the Laws with great Applauſe; and was a Man of great Eloquence and Erudition. *Dempſter* tells, That he wrote a Book of Excerptions, taken out of the Canon Law; *Scripſit*, ſays he (*k*), *Excerpta ex jure Pontificio, quæ ſunt veluti Paratitla*. *Alexander Galloway*, Rector of *Kinkell*, was a Perſon of great Learning, well ſeen in the Canon Law, and ſo intimately acquainted with, and reſpected by Biſhop *Elphinſton*, that he adviſed with him in the moſt of his Actions. *Dempſter* tells us, That this Learned Gentleman has written a Book of the Nature of the *Hebrides* or *Weſtern Iſlands*, together with an Account of the Clag-Geeſe, and the Trees on which they are found. *Scripſit*, ſays he (*l*), *de* Hebridum *Inſularum Natura, & Arboribus Anſeriferis*. If this Book was extant in our Author's Time, it is nowiſe to be doubted, but that it was Uſeful to him in the General Deſcription that he gives us of *Scotland*; and of which I ſhall give the Reader a full Account. *John Lindſay* was an excellent Lawier, but cut off in the Flower of his Age. *Alexander Lawrence*, another Learned Lawier, retired himſelf from the World, and entred into the Order of the *Dominicans*, in which he ſpent the Remnant of his Days, in great Piety and Devotion. *David Menzies* was one of the moſt Eminent Preachers of his Age, and as conſpicuous for his great Learning and Knowledge in the Sciences as he was for his Exemplary Life and Converſation. *Dempſter* tells us, That he wrote a Book of moſt Learned and Eloquent Sermons; *Scripſit*, ſays he (*m*), *doctiſſime & eloquentiſſime Conciones ſacras*. *John Gryſon*, a *Dominican*, was greatly eſteemed for his Learning; and was, for Thirty Years, Provincial of his Order. *Dempſter* tells us, That he wrote Two Books concerning the Miſerable State, Poverty and Decay of his Order in *Scotland*; *Scripſit*, ſays he (*n*), *de Miſeria Religionem Catholicam in* Scotia *Profitentium*. *De Caſu Ordinis ſui & Paupertate*. This laſt Book was a Collection of Letters, which were Publiſhed in the Hiſtory of that Order, written by the R. F. *Pladius* of *Bononia*. Beſides theſe, were of the ſame Order, *Robertus Inſulanus* and *Alexander Aulicus*, eminent for their Piety and Knowledge. And laſtly, *John Adam*, the Firſt who received the Degree of Doctor of Theology in this Univerſity; and who, afterwards having been made Provincial of the *Dominican* Order, reſtored it to its former Luſtre in this Nation, after they had rendered themſelves almoſt Contemptible by their Vicious Lives, Poverty and Ignorance. And this he did, ſays our Author, notwithſtanding of the Innumerable Difficulties that he had to Overcome: So that, even in his own Time, his Order became as Conſpicuous, as any of the reſt, for their Piety and Learning. And *Dempſter* tells us, That he wrote a Book in Praiſe of a Monaſtic Life, and another concerning the Illuſtrious *Dominicans*; *Scripſit*, ſays he (*o*), *de vitæ Monaſticæ laude. De* Dominicanis *illuſtribus*. Theſe were the Firſt Learned Profeſſors in

(*i*) Lib. 17. p. 583 (*k*) Lib. 2. p. 106. (*l*) Lib. 7. p. 321. (*m*) Lib. 12. p. 499. (*n*) Lib. 7. p. 331. (*o*) Lib. 7. pag. 37.

this Univerſity in our Author's Time, whoſe Names and Characters he has deſervedly tranſmitted to Poſterity, as never to be forgotten.

He writes the Lives of the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*,

Our Author *Hector Boeis*, after the Death of his Learned and Worthy Patron Biſhop *Elphinſton*, reſolved to let the World know the great Loſs, the Republic of Letters had ſuſtained by his Death. But, reflecting on the eminent Worth of thoſe Illuſtrious Prelates, who had been his Predeceſſors in that See, he undertook to write the Hiſtory of all their Lives, from the moſt Authentic Documents and Memoirs he could collect together. Accordingly we have ſtill extant his Hiſtory of their Lives, Printed by *Badius Aſcenſius*, in the Year 1522. But ſince I am (if it pleaſe God) to give, in the Third Volume of this Work, a full and compleat Hiſtory of the Lives of all our Biſhops, as they ſucceeded in their ſeveral Sees, I ſhall refer our Author's Account of them till that Time.

And the Hiſtory of *Scotland*,

After our Author had Publiſhed the Lives and Actions of the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*, he apply'd himſelf to the compoſing of the Hiſtory of our Nation, the Firſt Edition of which was Printed by the ſame *Badius Aſcenſius* at *Paris*, in the Year 1526, which conſiſted only of Seventeen Books, ending with the Death of King *James* I. But the next, which was Publiſhed in the Year 1574, was much larger, having the Addition of the Eighteenth Book compleat, and part of the Nineteenth. Thus far our Author continued it himſelf; but what follows, was the Work of *J. Ferrerius*, a Native of *Piedmont*, who carry'd it down to the End of *James* III's Reign.

With a Deſcription of the Kingdom.

Our Author has prefixed to this his Hiſtory, a brief Deſcription of the Kingdom, which is as follows.

An Account of this Geographical Deſcription of the Kingdom.

Scotland, or the Northern Part of *Great-Britain*, is Bounded on the South by *England*; from which it is divided by the River *Tweed* on the Eaſt Border, by *Cheviot*-Hills in the Middle Marches, and by the Rivers *Eſk* and *Solway* on the Weſtern Border. On the Northern Border it is Bounded by the *Deucalidonian* Sea; on the Weſt, by the *Iriſh* Sea; and on the Eaſt, by the *German* Ocean.

Authors vary as to the Extent of *Scotland*. For *Polydore Virgil* makes it 480 Miles in Length, which agrees with all thoſe Ancient Authors, that, with *Cæſar*, make the Iſle of *Great-Britain* 800 Miles; conſidering that Geographers make *England* only 320. Yet, by Mr. *Adair*'s Map, if we reckon from the moſt Southerly Part of the Border of *Scotland* to the moſt Northerly Part of the Iſles of *Schetland*, it is above 520 Miles; including the Seas betwixt *Orkney*, *Schetland* and the Main-Land. But the common Computation is from the *Mule of Galloway* to *Dunsbey*-Head in *Cathneſs*, which is reckoned 380 *Engliſh* Miles in Length: And, from *Ardermouth*-Head near the Iſle of *Mul* to *Buchanneſs*, it is 190 *Engliſh* Miles in Breadth. It is ſo frequently cut by Inlets of the Sea, that there are but very few Houſes in the Kingdom, that are above 60 Miles diſtant from it.

Beſides the Main-Land, there are above 300 Iſlands, ſome of them very conſiderable, which are diſtinguiſhed into Three Claſſes, the *Weſtern* Iſlands call'd *Hebrides* or *Æbudæ*, the *Orkney* Iſlands, and the *Schetland* Iſlands call'd *Hethlandicæ*; beſides ſome other Iſlands, which ly in the Firth of *Edinburgh*. Now I ſhall proceed to give an Account of the Countries of *Scotland*, and, in Deſcribing of each of them, ſhall take No-

Notice of theſe Five Heads. I. What are the Principal Towns. II. Who are the Oldeſt Barons. III. The Religious Houſes and their Founders. IV. The moſt Noted Rivers. V. The Product of the Country. I ſhall begin, as they ly in Order, from the Borders of *England*.

The Firſt is the Country of *March* or *Merſs*, which is ſo called from its being a Bordering Country. It is bounded, by the River *Tweed*, on the South; by *Lothian*, on the North; by the *German* Ocean, on the Eaſt; and *Teviotdale*, on the Weſt. The chief City in this Country is *Berwick*, now in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, a Place of great Strength, which has been very often taken and retaken in the Wars between the Two Nations: It is Situated upon an Eminence, that ſhoots forth into the Sea, and Watered Southward by the River *Tweed*; and has a ſtrong Caſtle, built by King *Henry* II. The Town and Caſtle of *Duns* is remarkable for being the Birth-place of the Famous *Joannes Duns Scotus*, ſome of whoſe Family is ſtill in being there; it has a good Weekly Mercat, and is the Place of the beſt Trade in the Country: After *Berwick* was taken, by the *Engliſh*, it was the Seat of the Sheriff's Court; but, ſince the Revolution, it has been removed to *Greenlaw* a Mercat Town, Four Miles further Weſt. The Town of *Eymouth* is a Sea-Port, where Fortifications were formerly raiſed to be a Curb upon the Gariſon of *Berwick*. *Erſiltoun* is Remarkable for the Birth of *Thomas Lermonth* commonly call'd *Thomas the Rymer*, becauſe he wrote his Poems in Rhime. This Country abounds with the Seats of Perſons of Quality and Old Barons. Amongſt theſe are the *Humes*, *Gordons*, *Swintons*, *Cockburns*, *Ridpaths*, *Spotſwoods*, *Nisbets*, *Wedderburns*, *Blacaders*, *Rentons*, *Manderſtons*, *Polwarts* and *Dunſes*. The Religious Houſes were *Coldinghame*, a Nunnery Founded by *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, where *Ebba* the Lady Abbeſs, during a *Daniſh* Invaſion, Disfigured herſelf and perſwaded her Nuns to do the like, by ſlitting their Noſes, to prevent their being Debauched by the *Danes*. *South-Berwick*, Founded by King *David* I. *Coldſtream*, Founded by *Coſpatrick* Earl of *March*. And *Egles* or *Eccles*, Founded by the Counteſs of *March*. The Principal Rivers are *Tweed*, *Whitter*, *Blaskader*, *Eye* and *Ednem*. This Country is very Fruitful in Corn and Graſs, and well ſtocked with Cattel. *Lauderdale* is reckoned Part of this Country; and is bounded by it, on the Eaſt, from *Ridpath* to the *Bown Mill*; on the Weſt and South, by *Tweeddale*; and on the North, by *Lothian*. This Country takes its Name from *Leed* or *Lauder*, a ſmall River that runs thorow it, (upon which is ſituate a Royal Burgh of the ſame Name.) It was formerly the Patrimony of the *Morviles*, a great Family, Conſtables of *Scotland*: But, they being Forfaulted for Treaſon, it was annexed to the Crown, and Governed by a Bailif, as others of the King's Lands; which Office has ſince been in the Family of *Lauderdale*.

Teviotdale is bounded on the Eaſt, by the *Merſs* and Part of *Northumberland*; on the Weſt, by *Liddeſdale*; on the North, by the Forreſt or Shire of *Selkirk*; and the South, by *Northumberland*. It has its Name from the River *Teviot* that runs thorow it. The chief Towns of Note in it are *Roxburgh*, from whence 'tis call'd alſo the Shire of *Roxburgh*. This was formerly a Town of great Strength, had a ſtrong Caſtle in it, and became very Famous in the Hiſtories of both Nations, during their mutual Wars; being often taken and retaken: But it is now of no Note,

being demoliſhed. *Jedburgh* is a Royal Burgh, ſituated on the River *Jed*. *Kelſo* is a Town of good Trade, ſituated on the River *Tweed*. *Hawick* is a Mercat-Town on the River *Teviot*. *Dryburgh* is Famous for its Abbacy; as is likewiſe *Melroſs* on the River *Tweed*. There are many Seats of Perſons of Quality and Ancient Barons in this Country, amongſt whom are the *Scots*, *Douglaſſes*, *Riddels*, *Elliots*, *Turnbulls*, *Gladſtanes*, *Langlands* and *Kers*. The Religious Houſes were, *Melroſs*, noted for its Monks, Authors of the Chronicle of that Name, Founded by King *David*; *Jedburgh* and *Kelſo*, Founded by the ſame King; and *Dryburgh*, Founded by *Hugh de Morvil* Conſtable. The Principal Rivers here are, *Tweed*, *Teviot*, *Jed*, and *Eal*. This Country is Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage, and abounds with Flocks.

Weſt from *Teviotdale* upon the Borders, ly the ſmall Countries of *Liddeſdale*, *Ewſdale*, *Eskdale* and *Wachopdale*. The moſt Remarkable Places in theſe Countries are, the Caſtle of *Hermitage* in *Liddeſdale* now demoliſhed, which belonged formerly to the *Hepburns* Earls of *Bothwel*; and the Caſtle of *Langham*, in *Eſkdale*. The Barons of moſt Note in theſe Parts are, the *Armſtrongs*, *Grahames*, *Johnſtons*, *Elliots*, *Irwins*, *Bells*, *Carliſles*, *Beatiſons*, *Littels*, *Thomſons*, *Glendunnings*, *Carruthers*, *Jerdans*, *Moffets*, *Latimers*, *Nixons*, and *Croſers*. In *Eskdale* was the Abby of *Cannabie*, but, by whom Founded, I know not: And at *Hermitage* was a Cell for a Hermite, from which the Caſtle had afterwards its Name. The Principal Rivers are, *Liddel*, *Ew*, *Esk*, and *Wachop*, from whence theſe Countries have their Denominations. They abound in Corns, Graſs, and Flocks.

The furtheſt Country on the Weſtern Border is *Annandale*, or the Vale by the River *Annan*. The Principal Towns are, the Town and Caſtle of *Annan*, on the Mouth of the River of that Name, which loſt all the Glory and Beauty that it had, by the *Engliſh* War, in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. The Town and Caſtle of *Lochmaben*, Three Parts of which are ſurrounded by Lakes, and ſtrongly Wall'd; *Moffet*, Remarkable for its Medicinal Wells; *Rivel*, in the Banks of which, over againſt *England*, the Inhabitants make very good Salt by gathering up and boiling the Sand. The Family of the *Johnſtons* are the greateſt Name in this Country, where are likewiſe the moſt of the Names that we have mentioned in *Liddeſdale*, *Ewſdale*, *Eskdale*, and *Wachopdale*. I can give no Account of the Religious Houſes here. The Chief Rivers therein are, *Annan*, which runs through the Country, and falls into *Solway*-Firth, after a Courſe of 27 Miles, receiving ſeveral Leſſer Rivers both from South and North. In *Lochmaben* there are caught ſeveral excellent Fiſhes; and there is one, that is to be found nowhere elſe, which the Inhabitants call the *Vandeſii* or *Gevandeſii*. The Water, that Furniſhes the Wells of *Moffet*, ſprings from the Top of a Rock nigh to that Town, they are Two in Number, near one another: The higher Well runs thorow whitiſh and Chriſtalline Stones; the Lower thorow black ones, reſembling Marcaſites of Antimony. The Smell of the Water is like that of Gun-Powder; and it Dyes Silver of a black Colour. To the Stones of the upper Well there grows a Matter, reſembling ſtinking Sulphure of Antimony of a Yellowiſh Red Colour: The Stones of the lower Well are of the Colour of Antimony, and ſome of them contain a Matter like to it; and where its Stream runs down into

a Neighbouring Brook, there ſticks to the Rock a Whitiſh Salt. Theſe Waters are uſed by the Inhabitants in Colic and Nephritic Pains; but are moſtly Famed for their curing of Scrophulous Tumours, Ulcers and Pains of the Joints. This is a very Fruitful Country abounding in all Sorts of Paſturage and Grains. Upon both Sides of the River *Annan*, there are many pleaſant Woods and Fruitful Fields for Flocks. The Inhabitants of this and the other leſſer Dales were a very Warlike People, and Faithful Subjects to their Princes: And to their Valour we owe the Border-Laws, of which the Learned Biſhop of *Carliſle* has lately publiſhed a large and particular Account, where, amongſt other things, we find, I. The King of *England* (*p*) is obliged to certify to the King of *Scots*, under his Great Seal, his Deſire or Reſolutions of breaking of his Treaties, or any Part of them: And the King of *Scotland* is to do the like to his Brother of *England*. II. The Merchants (*q*) and Ship-Crew of each Kingdom, Shipwracked or driven aſhore in any of the Ports of the other Confederating Prince reſpectively, are to be free from Arreſts and Seizure. III. Letters (*r*) of Safe Conduct are equal, and grantable by neither to the Rebels of the other Kingdom. IV. Their (*ſ*) Occaſional Commiſſioners or Delegates, for the Hearing and Trial of extraordinary and emergent Cauſes, are to be of equal Number. V. The (*t*) *Scots* Ships are not to ſtrike Sail to the *Engliſh*: Nor ſhall the *Engliſh* ſtrike to the *Scots*. VI. The Bounds and (*u*) Limits of both the Kingdoms are reſpectively aſcertained and ſet out. VII. Fugitives of *Scotland* may become Lieges of *England*; and Fugitives of *England* (*x*), Lieges of *Scotland*. VIII. The (*y*) Forms, whereby Offenders are to be try'd, are ſo adjuſted, that the whole Proceſs on the *Engliſh* Borders is agreeable to the known Methods in other Courts of that Kingdom: And, within the *Scots* Marches, the Criminals of both Realms are Judged according to the Modes obſerved in *Scotland*. Laſtly (*z*), The Biſhops of S. *Andrew*'s and *Dunkeld* have ſuch Royal Immunities, as no *Engliſh* Subjects ever claimed; or at leaſt, ſuch as were never allowed to them in Treaties with Foreign Potentates. For I. In the Laws, made in King *Henry* III. his Time, in the Year 1248, it is agreed, That all Men, betwixt *Totnais* in *England* and *Cathneſs* in *Scotland*, ſhould be obliged to come to the Borders, according to the Uſe of both Kingdoms, incaſe of a War, *excepting the reſpective Monarchs and the Biſhops of S.* Andrew's *and* Dunkeld. II. 'Tis agreed, That, in all Calumnies, the Perſons of each Nation ſhould be tried by their Perſonal Oath; *excepting the reſpective Kings and their Heirs, the Biſhops of S.* Andrew's *and* Dunkeld. And, for the King of *England*, was to Swear the Standard-Bearer and Conſtable of his Army; for the King of *Scotland* and the Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Prieſt of *Weddale*; and, for the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, a Prieſt of that Church. III. It was agreed, That no Perſons of either Kingdom ſhould have the Liberty of ſending to the Borders a Proxy to Swear for them, in Caſes of Mutilation, and of Life and Death; excepting the Two Kings and the foreſaid Biſhops. This Agreement was Signed by Twenty Four Knights; Twelve *Engliſh*, and Twelve *Scots*. The Names of the *Scots* Knights are, *Adam de Earth*, *Radulphus de Boukle*, *Willielmus de Northinton*, *Ro-*

(*p*) Leges March. vid. LL. Hen. VI. § 2 & 3. (*q*) LL. Hen. VI. § 5 & 6. Ed. VI. § 14. (*r*) LL. Hen. VI. VIII. 15. Ed. IV. § 3, 6. Hen. VIII. § 7. Ed. VI, § 8. (*ſ*) LL. Hen. VI. § 20. (*t*) LL. Ed. IV. § 19. Ed. VI. § 19. (*u*) Ed. VI. § 1, 2. &c. (*x*) LL. Ed. VI. § 12. (*y*) Vid. Append. Numb. 1. & 11. (*z*) LL. Hen. III. § 2, 5, 6.

bertus Bernham Major *de Berwick*, (in a *Scots* Tranſlation of theſe Laws in the Lawiers Library at *Edinburgh*, this Knight is call'd *Warrand de Berwick*) *Adam de Norham*, *Henricus filius Walden*, *Henricus de Brade*, *Richardus Holkerton*, *Robertus de Durham*, *Aymerus de Emſley*, *Adam de Newbiggin*. In the Laws, made in King *Henry* VI's Time in the Year 1449, the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* are, *William* Earl of *Douglaſs*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, *John* Earl of *Roſs*, *Archbald* Earl of *Murray*, *Alexander* Earl of *Crawfurd*, *William* Lord *Creightoun*, *William* Lord *Santclare*, *William* Lord *Somervel*, *Herbert* Lord *Maxwel*, *Alexander* Lord *Montgomery*, *Andrew* Lord *Gray*, *Peter Hepburn* of *Hazel*, *James Barron* of *Creightoun*, *Alexander Vicecomes de Angus*, *Andreas Vicecomes de Fyſe*, *Simon de Glendonen*, *Archibaldus de Douglaſs*, *Willielmus de Craiſton*, *Walterus Scot*, *Robertus Cleigton*, *Alexander Hume*, *David Hume*, *Alexander Rampley*, *James Rutherfoord*, *Nicholaus Rutherfoord*, *Thomas Cranſten*, *Willielmus de Carliſle*, *Willielmus de Douglaſs*, *Adam Johnſton*, and *William Leywether*. In the Year 1464, in *Edward* IV's Time, the *Scots* Commiſſioners for the Borders were, *John* Earl of *Athol*, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, *Colin* Earl of *Argyle*, *Robert* Lord *Maxwel*, *William de Douglaſs-Cleve*, *Gilbert* Lord *Kennedy*, *James* Lord *Livingſton*, *James* Lord *Hamilton*, *Thomas* Lord *Earskine*, *Alexander* Lord *Montgomery*, *John* Lord *Lindſey*, *Patrick* Lord *Halles*, *William* Lord *Borthwick*, Sir *Alexander Boid de Bruncell*, Sir *Alexander Hume* of That-Ilk, Sir *Walter Scot* of *Kirkwood*, Sir *Simon Glendonen* of *Perton*, and Sir *Thomas Cranſton* of That-Ilk. In the Year 1533, in King *Henry* VIII's Time, the Commiſſioners were *William* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* and *Adam Otterburn*. In 1549 in *Edward* VI's Time, the Commiſſioners were *Robert* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Robert* Lord *Maxwel*, *Thomas* Maſter of *Askinne*, and *Lewis* of S. *Gelaſſe*. In the Year 1553, in Queen *Mary*'s Time, the Commiſſioners were Sir *Robert Carnegy* and Sir *John Ballendine*. In the Year 1563, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, the Commiſſioners were *John Maxwel* and *John Ballendine*. In the ſame Reign 1596, were *Peter* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn*, *Andrew Ker* of *Fawdonſide*, and Mr. *George Young* Arch-Deacon of S. *Andrew*'s. Theſe are all the Commiſſioners that were appointed for the Borders before King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*.

They, who met upon the Borders in theſe ſeveral Reigns to appoint theſe Commiſſioners, were, in *Henry* III's Time, the *Vicecomites de Berwick & Roxburgh*. In *Henry* VI's Time, the Venerable and Religious *Andrew* Abbot of *Melroſs*, who was the King's Confeſſor and Treaſurer to the Kingdom, *Andrew* Lord *Gray*, *John Methine*, who was Maſter of the Rolls and Regiſter and Doctor of the Canon-Law, and *Thomas Grafton* Armour-Bearer and Provoſt of *Edinburgh*. In *Edward* IV's Time, *Andrew* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *Colin* Earl of *Argyle* and Lord *Campbel*, *Archbald* Abbot of *Holy-rood-houſe* in *Edinburgh*, Mr. *James Lindſay* Rector of the Collegiate Church of *Lincloden*, and Sir *Alexander Boyd* of *Drumcoll*. In *Henry* VIII's Time, *William* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* one of the King's Privy-Council and Treaſurer to the Kingdom, and Sir *Adam Otterburn* of *Redhall* one of the King's Privy-Council. In *Edward* VI's Time, *Robert* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Robert* Lord *Maxwel*, *Thomas* Maſter of *Arskine* and *Lewis* of S. *Gelaſs* Lord of *Lanſat*. In Queen *Mary*'s Time, Sir *Robert Carnegy* and Sir *John Ballendine*. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, Sir *John Maxwel* of *Terregles* Warden of the Weſt Marches of *Scotland*, and Sir *John*

John Ballendine Juſtice-Clerk of the Realm of *Scotland*. In the ſaid Queen's Reign, *Peter* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, Sir *George Hume* of *Wedderburn*, *Andrew Ker* of *Fawdounſide*, and Mr. *George Young* Arch-Deacon of S. *Andrew*'s.

Next to *Annandale* lies *Nithſdale*, which makes up the Shire of *Dumfries*, wherein the Sheriff's Courts are held. The Shire of *Dumfries* is 36 Miles in Length, and 24 in Breadth: It is Bounded on the South by *Solway*-Firth; on the North, by *Clideſdale*; on the Weſt, by *Galloway*; and on the Eaſt, by *Teviotdale*. The moſt conſiderable Places in it are, a Pleaſant and Flouriſhing Town, which gives its Name to the Shire, noted for its Trade, ſituated on the River *Nith*, where is a Bridge of Hewn Stone with Nine Arches, and ſo broad, that Two Coaches may go a Breaſt on it. The Town of *Sanquhar* is ſituated on this River likewiſe, and nigh to its Head. In this Shire there are ſeveral Ancient Barons of the Name of *Maxwel*, and of other Names, of whom afterwards an Account ſhall be given. Here was the Famous Monaſtery of *Holy-wood*, where *Joannes de Sacro Boſco*, the Famed Mathematician, was brought up, whoſe Life you have in Vol. I. of this Work. The Principal Rivers are, the River of *Nith* (which in *Ptolemy* is call'd *Nobius*) it ſpringeth out of the Lake *Loch-Cure*, by which, *Cambden* thinks, was ſituated *Corda* a Town of the *Selgovæ*; then taking its Courſe Firſt by *Sanquhar*, doth diſcharge it ſelf into *Solway*-Firth nigh to *Dumfries*. This River has ſeveral others, that run into it both from the North and South. Within Two Miles of *Dumfries* lies the Famous Moſs of *Lochar*, Ten Miles in Length, which Furniſhes all the Country with Fuel. The Water of *Lochar*, which runs through this Moſs, has many fine Meadows on each Side of it; and, in the Chanel of this Water, there was a ſtrong Fort call'd the *Iſle*. This Country abounds in Woods; and amongſt theſe, is the Wood of *Drumlanrick*, conſiſting moſtly of Oak, being Six Miles in Length. The Country is incompaſſed by Mountains, and is Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage; and the Inhabitants reap great Benefit by exporting their Cattel into *England*.

Galloway, the Ancient Seat of the *Brigantes*, is Bounded, by the Mouth of *Clide*, on the Weſt; the River of *Nith*, on the Eaſt; the *Iriſh* Sea, on the South; and the Countries of *Kyle* and *Carrick*, on the North. It is in Length, from Eaſt to Weſt, 70 Miles; and from North to South, in ſome Places 16; in ſome, 20; and in ſome, 24. It is Divided into Two Sheriffdoms, the Upper and the Lower. The Principal Towns in this Country are, *Kircudbright*, a very large, ſafe and commodious Harbour, excellently ſituated for Trade, and is a Royal Burgh. *Wigtoun*, a good Harbour, but with a narrow Entrance into it, between the Two Rivers of *Bluidnoo* and *Cree*. *Whitehorn* or *Candida Caſa*, called *Leucopibia* by *Ptolemy*, Famed from its being the Place where S. *Ninian* reſided; and an Epiſcopal See, the Biſhops of *Galloway* having their Title from it. *Stranraver*, a Burgh Royal, on *Loch-Rian*. The Promontory or Point, by which it entreth into the Sea, is called *The Point of* Corſehill, ſtretching to *Cantyre*. On the other Side is *Port-Patrick*, a known Sea-Port-Town, oppoſite to *Donaghadee* in *Ireland*. From thence running Southward to the Point of the *Mule*, the Land, betwixt the Two Points of *Corſehill* and the *Mule*, is called *The Rinnes of* Galloway. *Garvellian* is another good Harbour; as likewiſe *Neſſock* and *Lochrian*. In

this Country are ſeveral Ancient Barons of Note, of the *Maxwels*, *Gordons*, *Agnews*, *Adairs*, *Macdonalds*, *Mackees*, *Macullaghs*, *Maclellans*, and a great many other *Macs*, as I ſhall ſhow afterwards. It is Water'd by Six Principal Rivers, *viz. Ur*, *Dee*, *Ken*, *Cree* and *Loſſie*, which all fall into the *Iriſh* Sea, and abound with Salmond. They have likewiſe a great many Lochs, as *Loch-Myrtoun*, *Salſet*, *Newtramen*, *Rian* and *Loucci*. Some of theſe Lochs, ſays our Author, are 30, and ſome 16 Miles in Length, and abound with all Sorts of Fiſh, ſuch as Herrings, Oyſters, Muſſels, Cockels, Conger-Eels, *&c.* The *Mule* is the *Nonantum* of *Ptolemy*; and the *Abravanus* in *Ptolemy* is probably the *Aber-Ruanus* or the Mouth of *Rian*. At the Mouth of *Cree*, there is a very high Mountain called *Cranes-More*; and another, not far diſtant from it, called *Marrock*; and not far from that is another high Mountain called *Crefold*. The Religious Houſes, in this Country were, *Saulſeat*, Founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*; *Dundranan*, Famous for its Abbot that aſſiſted at the Council of *Baſle*, Founded by King *David* I. *Glenluſs*, Founded by *Rolland* Lord of *Galloway*; *Dulcis Cordis* or *New Abby*, Founded by *Dornagild* Daughter to *Allan* Lord of *Galloway*; *Tungland*, Founded by *Allan* Lord of *Galloway*; *Candida Caſa* or *Whitehorn*, Famous for S. *Ninian*, Founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*; and *Lincluden*, Founded by *Uthred* Lord of *Galloway*. The Inhabitants of this Country being deſcended from the Ancient *Gauls*, the Country from thence has its Name of *Galloway*; and, from their Reſolute and Reſtleſs Tempers, they were called *Brigantes*, which is an old *Gauliſh* Word for People of that Temper: And the *French*, till this very Day, call ſuch Sort of Men *Brigand*; and Pirate-Ships, *Brigantines*. I know, the *Engliſh* Writers are of a different Opinion from our Author; ſome ſaying, That the *Brigantes* were the Inhabitants of *Wales*; and others, of *Yorkſhire*, the Biſhopric of *Durham*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*. But our Author ſhows, how improbable both theſe Opinions are, from the *Roman* Hiſtorians, who tell us, That the *Iſle of Man* lies oppoſite to the *Brigantes*, and betwixt it and *Ireland*. Moreover, the ſame Latitude and Elevation of the Pole, that *Ptolemy* aſſigns to the Country of the *Brigantes*, agrees exactly with *Galloway*. And when the Emperor *Claudius* ſent *P. Oſtorius Scapula* the Proprætor to *Britain*, he proceeded in his Conqueſts over the *Brigantes* as far as the *Cangi* or *Cantyre*, as I have formerly Obſerved in the Life of *Caractacus*. And it was this that made *Seneca* ſay of *Claudius* (*a*),

——— *Ille* Britannos
Ultra noti littora Ponti & cæruleos
Scoto-Brigantes, *dare* Romulæis *colla catenis*
Juſſit, & ipſum nova Romanæ *jura ſecuris*
Tremere Oceanum.

That's to ſay,

'Twas he whoſe All-commanding Yoke
The fartheſt Britains *gladly took.*
Him the Scots Brigantes *in Arms ador'd;*
When the vaſt Ocean fear'd his Pow'r
Reſtrain'd with Laws unknown before,
And trembling Neptune *ſerv'd a* Roman *Lord.*

The

(*a*) In Ludo.

The Climate of this Country in general is very Healthful; the Soil is very Fruitful in Corn and Graſs; their Oats are ſmall but hard, and make excellent Meal. It abounds with Fiſh, and produces all things neceſſary for Human Life: And is particularly remarkable for its excellent Wool, and brisk vigorous little Horſes, from hence called *Galloways*.

Next to *Galloway* lies the Country of the *Silures*, the Inhabitants of *Carrict*, *Kyle* and *Cuninghame*. *Carrict* lieth on the Eaſt Side of *Loch-Rian*, oppoſite to the *Corſehill*. In this Country was a great City call'd *Carrict*, the Ruines of which are only now to be ſeen. Here *Ptolemy* likewiſe places the Town of *Rerigonium*, which, in an old Copy of *Ptolemy*, Printed at *Rome* in the Year 1480, is call'd *Berigonium*, now call'd *Bargeny*. There are ſeveral Rivers in this Country, abounding with Fiſhes. The Earl of *Caſſils*, who is Hereditary Bailiff of *Carrict*, has a Caſtle upon the River of *Dun*, called *Dunnur-Caſtle*. The *Kennedies* and many other Ancient Barons have their Seats here. In this Country was the Monaſtery of *Croſſraguel* or *Croſſregeal*, Founded by *Duncan* Earl of *Carrick*; and Famous for its Abbot *Quintin Kennedy*, Brother to the Lord *Caſſils*, who lived at the Beginning of the Reformation, of whom afterwards an Account ſhall be given. Here is great Plenty of Corn, and all Sorts of Grain ſave Wheat, good Paſturage, and all neceſſary Commodities both by Sea and Land.

Next to *Carrict* is *Kyle*, or the Shire of *Air*. It is Bounded, on the South by *Carrict*; by *Cuninghame*, on the North; by the Mouth of *Clide*, on the Weſt; and *Clideſdale*, on the Eaſt: It is extended about 22 Miles Weſtward to the Sea; and is about 10 Miles in Bredth. It is reported, That it had the Name of *Kyle* from *Coilus* a *Britiſh* King, who was ſlain here by our *Fergus* I. where there are many Monuments of this Battel ſtill to be ſeen. For the Place, where it was Fought, is call'd *Coilfield*; a Church near it is, from thence, call'd *Coil-Town-Kirk*; and a Lake, not far from it, is call'd *Lake-Fergus*. A Trumpet, reſembling a crooked Horn, which has a very ſhrill Sound, was digged up in the Field of Battel, and is kept in the Laird of *Caprinton*'s Houſe. *Bede*, in his *Auctarium* or Supplement, calls it *Campus-Cyel*, or the *Camp of Coil*. On the Eaſt Side there are only Two ſtrait Paſſes into this Country, the reſt being Moſs and Heath: The Largeſt Paſs is on *Rawdon*-Water; and the Leaſt at *Packenholm*, paſſable only by one Man at a Time. The Principal Town, in this Country, is *Air*, which ſtands in a Sandy Plain, but has pleaſant green Fields: Two Miles South and North of it is a good Harbour in the River, and lies conveniently for Trade. This Town is Famous for its Antiquity and Privileges; for 'tis thought to be the ſame with that, which *Ptolemy* calls *Vidogara*, and places in this Country as a Town of Note: But that for which it is moſtly Famed, is its being the Birth-Place of that Great Scholar, *John Scot*, who lived in *Charles* the *Great*'s Time, of whom I have given an Account in the Firſt Volume of this Work. On this Town the Famous Dr. *Johnſton* has written the following Verſes.

Parva Urbs, aſt ingens animus in fortibus hæret,
Inferior nulli nobilitate virûm.

Aeris è *campis haurit puriſſima cœlum,*
Incubat & miti mollior aura ſolo.
Aeria *hinc, non* Æra *prius, credo, illa vocata eſt,*
Cum duris quid enim mollia juris habent?
Infera cum ſuperis quod ſi componere fas eſt,
Aurea *fors dici debuit illa prius.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

Small is the Town, but of Great Souls is Proud,
For Courage Fam'd, and Sons of Noble Blood.
From th' Happy Clime pure Draughts of Air deſcend,
And gentle Breezes bleſs the Fruitful Land.
Old Times (if Poets have a Right to gueſs)
Not Æria *but* Aeria *call'd the Place,*
Rough Braſs could ne'er ſuch ſoft Delights expreſs.
If I ſo high might raiſe my Noble Theme,
I'd Swear, That Aurea *was the Ancient Name.*

The Chief Families of this Country are, the *Stuarts*, *Campbels*, *Cuninghames*, *Wallaces*, *Crawfurds*, *Lockharts*, *Chalmers*, *Dumbars* and *Creightons*. The Principal Rivers are, the Water of *Air*, which divides the Country into Two Stewartries; the one call'd *Kyle Stewart* which lies to the North; and the other call'd *King's Coil*. This River is very Pleaſant, being Increaſed with ſeveral others that fall into it, and Beautify'd with Woods, Caſtles and Gentlemen's Seats. Over this River is a Bridge of Four Arches. The River of *Dun* which divides this Country from *Carrick*, has a Bridge, in the Road to *Air*, conſiſting of an Arch of Ninety Foot, one of the largeſt in the Kingdom. The River *Irwin*, which divides it from *Cuninghame*, has a Bridge with Four Arches over it. Beſides theſe Rivers, are *Rawdon*, *Lougar*, and ſeveral others of leſs Note. And here it is to be obſerved, that there are Two Towns of *Air*, the New-Town and Old-Town. This laſt has a very large Juriſdiction of 64 Miles, which reaches from the Mouth of *Clide* to the Borders of *Galloway*. There was a Religious Houſe in this Country call'd *Machline*, but, by whom Founded, I know not. A Mile North of the Town of *Air*, not far from the Sea-Shore, there is a Lazer-Houſe commonly call'd the *King's Chapel*, which King *Robert Bruce* Founded for the Maintenance of Lepers. This Country has all Neceſſaries for Life, except White-Fiſh which they have from the Neighbouring Sea of *Carrict*.

Cuninghame has *Kyle*, on the South; *Renfrew*, on the North; *Clideſdale*, on the Eaſt; and the Mouth of *Clide*, on the Weſt. The Chief Towns, in this Country, are *Irwin*, at the Mouth of the River of that Name, where there is a good Port for ſmall Ships, and a Stone-Bridge over the River, and is well ſituated for Trade. At the Head of the River *Irwin*, lies the Town of *Kilmarnock*. Here is alſo the Town of *Largis*, Famous for the Defeat of the *Norwegians* by King *Alexander* III. The moſt Eminent Families in this Country, are the *Boids*, *Cuninghames*, *Campbels* and *Montgomeries*. The Principal River, that Waters this Country, is *Irwin*. Within Two Miles of *Irwin* ſtood the Magnificent Monaſtery of *Kilwinning*, Founded by *Hugh Morvel*, Conſtable of *Scotland*. This Country likewiſe abounds in all the Neceſſaries for Human Life, and has good Paſturage and Corns.

Ren-

Renfrew, or *Reinfraw*, is ſeparated from the Shire of *Dumbartoun*, on the Weſt, by the River *Clide* which carries up Ships of great Burden for 10 Miles; on the Eaſt, it is joined to the Shire of *Lanrick*; and, on the Weſt and South, to the Sheriffdom of *Air*. The Principal Towns in this Shire, or Barony, are, *Renfrew*, (from whence this Barony has its Name) conſiſting of one Principal Street, about Half a Mile in Length, with ſome ſmall Lanes: It has a good Mercat-Place, and a handſome Town-Houſe; as likewiſe a convenient Harbour call'd *Puddoch*, made by the Tract of the Ancient Chanel of the River of *Clide*, into which the Tide flows, and whereby Veſſels of conſiderable Burden at Spring-Tides are carried up. The Lord High *Stewart* of *Scotland* had a Caſtle or Manſion Houſe here. In the Year 1164, *Sumerled* Thane of *Argyle*, having Rebel'd againſt King *Malcolm* IV. was here overthrown and kill'd with his Son by *Gilchriſt* Earl of *Angus*, the King's Lieutenant. Here likewiſe was Born the Famous *Ninian Winzet*, Abbot of *Ratiſbonne*, of whom we ſhall give an Account afterwards. *Paſley*, erected into a Burgh and Barony by King *James* IV. is well Built, having ſeveral handſome Houſes; and is very Famous for its Abbacy. At the Weſt End of a fair Bay, on the Firth of *Clide*, ſtands *Gumrock*-Town and Caſtle, where there is a good Road and Harbour. More inward ſtands *Greenock*, a good Road and well built Town, and of the beſt Account of any upon all this Coaſt; being the Chief Seat of the Herring-Fiſhing, where the Royal Company of Fiſhers have built a Houſe for the Convenience of Trade. Near this is *Crawford-Dike*. A little more to the South, is *New-wark*, where the Town of *Glaſgow* hath built a New Port, and call'd it *Port-Glaſgow*, with a large Public Houſe: Here is the Cuſtom-Houſe for all the Coaſt; and the Town of *Glaſgow* hath obliged all the Merchants to Load and Unload here. In this Shire are a great many Gentlemen and Noblemen's Seats, ſuch as the *Stuarts*, *Cochrans*, *Cuninghames*, *Cathcarts*, *Semples*, *Houſtons*, *Maxwels*, *Briſbains*, *Wallaces*, *Fleemings*, *Shaws*, *Porterfields*, and others, of whom afterwards. The Principal Rivers, in this Country are, *White Cart*, which has its Source betwixt *Eagleſham* (in this Shire) and *Evandale* and *Kilbride* in *Clideſdale*: Its Courſe for ſome Miles is Northward, till at the Caſtle of *Cathcart* (within Two Miles of the City of *Glaſgow*) it turneth North-Weſt to *Paſley*, and from thence Northward to the Kirk of *Inchenan*, where, meeting with the River of *Black Cart*, they run into the River of *Clide*. The River of *Black Cart* hath its Riſe from *Caſtle Semple-Loch*, and taketh its Courſe Eaſtward, till near the Houſe of *Blackſtoun*; then it runneth Northward thoro' ſome Moſſes which make the Water ſomewhat Blackiſh, from whence it taketh the Name of *Black Cart*: It runs into the River of *Grife* at the *Walkin-Shaw*, and both meet and mix with *White Cart*, oppoſite to the Point on which ſtands the Kirk of *Inchenan*; then they run into the *Clide*, as is ſaid above. The Third River is that of *Grife*, from whence this Country of Old was call'd *Strath Grife*: This River has its Riſe, in the Weſtern Parts of this Country, in the Lands of *Garvock*, runs Eaſtward till it joins with *Cart*, then Northward till it falls into *Clide*. In this Country was the Famous Abbacy of *Paſley*, Founded by *Walter* High Stewart of *Scotland*, in the Year 1160, in the Reign of *Malcolm* IV. The Fabric of this Monaſtery was very large and ſpacious, as appears from the Ruines of it yet remaining: For the Chancel, which is a very ſtately Building,

is ſtill ſtanding; and the Abby and Church, with its Orchards and Gardens, were incloſed with a Wall built with Square-Stone about a Mile in Circuit. This Wall, with moſt of the Fabric of the Abby that now ſtands, was built in the Reign of King *James* III. by *George Shaw* of the Family of *Sauchie* and one of their Abbots, about the Year 1484, as it appears from this Inſcription on the Corner of that Wall.

They calit the Abbot George *of* Shaw,
About my Abby gart mack this Waw,
An thuſand four hundred Zear
Eighty four the Date but Weir.
Pray for his Salvation
That laid this noble Fundation.

The Monks of this Abbacy wrote a Chronicle call'd *The Black Book of* Paſley, which is now loſt: But we have ſtill extant their Chartulary, written in a very fair and legible Hand, belonging to the Earl of *Dundonald*. At the Town of *Paſley* there is a large *Roman* Camp, and the *Prætorium* is at the Weſt end on a Riſing Ground, upon the Deſcent whereof the Town of *Paſley* ſtands. This *Prætorium* is not large, but has been well Fortified with Three Foſſees and Dikes of Earth, of which ſo much is ſtill remaining, that one on Horſeback cannot ſee over them: It ſeems to have incloſed all the Ground on which the Town ſtands, and may be conjectured to be about a Mile in Compaſs. About a Quarter of a Mile from this, are Two other Riſings, one to the South, and another to the Weſt, which along with this make a Triangular Form; and, by the Footſteps remaining, they ſeem to have been little larger than the *Prætorium* of the Firſt, without any Fortifications ſave a ſingle Foſſee and a Dike of the ſame Form; and 'tis very probable, that theſe might be the Stations for the Outer Guards. At *Langſide* alſo there is an Appearance of an Old Camp, on the Top of the Hills. Beſides the Monaſtery of *Paſley* there were ſeveral Chapels Founded; as that of *Nelſtoun*, by *Robert de Croc*, in the Reign of King *William*; Two, at Upper and Nether *Pollock*; One, at *Ranfurly*; a Hermitage at *Syde*, Founded by the Lord *Lyle*; Two at *Greenock*; and a great many Others. Thoſe, who would have a Particular Account of this Shire and the Families in it, may pleaſe to conſult Mr. *Crawfurd*'s Hiſtory of this Shire, lately Publiſhed. This is a fair and fruitful Country, has a great many Woods in it, abounds with Lakes, Rivers and Bays, that afford great Quantities of Fiſhes of all Sorts; it abounds likewiſe with Coal and excellent Quarries of Free Stone; and in the River of *White Cart* there are found Pearls ſo fine and big, that they are little inferior to the beſt Oriental Ones.

Clideſdale has *Cuninghame* and *Renfrew*, on the Weſt; *Lothian* and *Tweeddale*, on the Eaſt; *Nithſdale*, on the South; and *Sterling*-Shire, on the North. The Chief Towns in this Country are, *Glaſgow*, a large, ſtately and well built City; and, for its Commerce and Riches, the Second in the Nation: It is pleaſantly Situated upon the Eaſt Bank of the River *Clide*; its Port is *Newport-Glaſgow* ſtanding on the Mouth of *Clide*, and is a Harbour for Ships of the greateſt Burden. This City is joined to the Suburbs, on the Weſt Bank of *Clide*, by a noble and beautiful Bridge of Eight Arches, built with Square Hewn-Stone; the lower Part of the City lies upon a Plain, but the upper Part upon an Eminence, where-

whereon is built the Cathedral Church, which the Inhabitants preſerved from the Fury of the inrag'd Mob at the Reformation. This Church, which is Dedicated to S. *Mungo*, is the moſt Magnificent and Splendid that we now have in the Kingdom: It conſiſts of Two Churches, one above the other of a ſurpriſing Height; and the ſeveral Rows of the Pillars, and the curious Workmanſhip, ſhow a wonderful Piece of Architecture. Nigh to the Cathedral Church ſtands the Caſtle, encompaſſed with a High Wall of Hewn-Stone, which has a fine Proſpect into the City. When *Eugenius* III. Reigned, about the Year 535, 'tis ſaid that an Epiſcopal See was Erected in this City, and that S. *Mungo* was made Firſt Biſhop of it; and upon the 9th of *October* 1488, it was erected into an Arch-Biſhopric, and this Caſtle was built for their Palace. Our Author tells us, That, when *William Babington* (who was Chancellor of the Kingdom, and Biſhop of this See) lived, the High Church was finiſhed, and he Died upon the 25th of *January* 1261. It ſeems, that at Firſt the Steeple was built of Timber, it being conſumed with Lightning in the Time of Biſhop *Glendouning*, who made great Preparations for building one of Stone; but, he being prevented by Death, his Succeſſor *William Lauder*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, finiſhed the Work. Here is likewiſe an Univerſity, erected Firſt at the Expenſes of Biſhop *William Turnbull*, and Founded by King *James* II. in the Year 1453.

This *William Turnbull*, *Dempſter* tells us (*b*), was Firſt Keeper of the Privy Seal, and then made Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, upon the Death of Biſhop *Ralſton*, which happened in the Year 1450, as we have obſerved in the Firſt Volume of this Work; after which he was tranſlated to *Glaſgow*, and aſſiſted in the Erecting of that Univerſity by King *James* II. the Earl of *Errol* High Conſtable of the Kingdom, *George Creighton* Earl of *Cathneſs*, *Alexander Lindſay* Earl of *Crawford*, and ſeveral other Noblemen. *Dempſter* alſo has very juſtly Claſſed him amongſt the *Scots* Writers, not only upon the Account of his Oration which he had at the Founding of this Univerſity, and the Statutes that he had compoſed for it; but for being the Firſt Founder of this great Seminary of Learning that has afforded ſo many Eminent Scholars to the Nation. By the Bull, granted to them by Pope *Nicolas* V. they have all the Privileges, Liberties, Honours, Immunities, and Exemptions, granted by the Apoſtolic See, or others, to the College of *Bononia* in *Italy*, for Teaching of Univerſal Learning. The Perſons, eſtabliſhed by the Firſt Foundation, were a Rector, a Dean of Faculty, a Principal or Warden who was to Teach Theology, Three Philoſophy-Profeſſors; and afterwards ſome Clergy-Men taught the Civil and Canon Laws there. In 1575 King *James* VI. Eſtabliſhed 12 Perſons in this Univerſity, *viz.* a Principal, 3 Profeſſors of Philoſophy, 4 Burſers, a Stewart to furniſh their Table, a Servant for the Principal, a Janitor to look after the Gate, and a Cook. The Fabric is Magnificent and Stately, of excellent Architecture, conſiſting of Two large Courts; and the Front towards the City is of Hewn-Stone. There is a very Valuable Collection of Books in the Library. The Firſt Principal in this Univerſity was one *Adam Binch*, but we have no further Account of him, nor of the other Learned Men that joined with him in the eſtabliſhing of this Univerſity; the Records being either deſtroy'd, or carry'd over Seas, at the time of the Reformation. In the Middle of

(*b*) Lib. 18. pag. 623.

the City lieth the Tolbooth, a Magnificent Structure of Hewn-Stone with a very lofty Tower, in which there is a Set of Melodious Chimes. The Four Principal Streets, that divide the City into Four Parts, center at the Tolbooth; and all of them are adorned with ſtately Buildings and Hoſpitals. The Town of *Lanrick* is the next in Dignity to *Glaſgow*, ſo called *à lanarum arcâ*, (*The Store-Houſe of Wool*;) for which Trade it was formerly very much Noted, and at preſent gives Name to a whole Country call'd *Lanrick*-Shire. Somewhat higher lies, upon the Bank of *Clide*, in a pleaſant and fertile Field, the Town, and Caſtle of *Hamiltoun*, which is one of the moſt beautiful Places in the Kingdom, belonging to the Duke of *Hamiltoun*. The Town and Caſtle of *Douglaſs* is Famous for giving Name to that Illuſtrious Family of the *Douglaſſes*, ſo well known in our own and Foreign Hiſtories. *Ruglen* is another Town in this Country, which gives the Title of Earl to a Son of the Family of *Hamilton*. There are many other little Towns and remarkable Places in this Country, which we purpoſely omit. The Families of Note in this Country are, the *Lindſays*, *Somervels*, *Dalziels*, *Douglaſſes*, *Hamiltons*, *Carmichaels*, *Ramſays* and *Hepburns*. The Principal Rivers are, *Clide*, from whence the Country is call'd *Clideſdale*: It runneth thorough the Middle of it, and falleth into the *Iriſh* Sea, and divides the Country into Two Wards called the Upper and Nether Ward. This River abounds in Salmond and all Sorts of Fiſhes, and is reckon'd the Second in the Nation for Commerce, being Navigable from *Glaſgow* (thoro' which it runs as we have obſerved) till the Main Ocean. So that it was with Reaſon, that our Excellent Poet Dr. *J. Johnſton* ſaid of it, when celebrating the Praiſes of *Glaſgow* (*c*),

Glotiadæ *quantum decorant te*, Glaſcua, *Muſæ*,
Quæ celſum attollunt clara ſub aſtra caput?
Glotta! *decus rerum, piſcoſis nobilis undis*,
Finitimi recreat jugera læta ſoli,
Aſt Glottæ *decus, & vicinis gloria terris*,
Glaſcua *fœcundat flumine cuncta ſuo.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

How does Clide's *Muſes grace thy bleſt Abodes*,
And lift thy Head among the Deathleſs Gods?
Clide, *great Flood! for plenteous Fiſh renown'd*,
And gentle Streams that chear the Fruitful Ground.
But Happy Glaſgow, Cluyd's *chiefeſt Pride*,
Glory of that and all the World beſide,
Spreads round the Riches of her Noble Tide.

The Word *Glotta*, which the Poet uſes here for *Clide*, is the Name given it by *Tacitus* and the other *Roman* Authors. But, before we leave this River, we cannot but take Notice, that near to the Head of it, in King *James* IV's Time (*d*), ſome Country-Men being in *Crawford*-Moor, commonly called *Crawford-John*, after great Rains, found running with the Mud, in the Rivulets, certain Grains of Gold, which having gathered up, they ſold for Money; and the King having got Experienced Workmen well skill'd in Mines, they had ſo good Succeſs, that when King

(*c*) Apud Camd. (*d*) Leſly Reg. & Inſul. Scot. Deſcrip. pag. 12.

King *James* V. went over to *France*, at a Sumptuous Entertainment, after his Marriage with Queen *Magdalen*, for a Deſert inſtead of Sweet Meats, he preſented them with ſo many Plates filled with Gold, Coined in *Scotland* and digged out of the Mines in this Moor, which was diſtributed amongſt the Company. By this it appears, how much the Learned Biſhop of *Carliſle* was miſtaken, when he thinks, that one *Cornelius* (*e*), a *German* Lapidary, was the Firſt who diſcovered theſe Gold-Mines. In the troubleſome Reign of Queen *Mary*, by reaſon of the Wars, theſe Mines were intirely neglected: But when Queen *Elizabeth* had gained the *Scots* Miniſtery to be ſubſervient to her Deſigns, ſhe ſent Sir *Beamis Bulmer* to ſee what could be made of theſe Mines, and afterwards the *German* Lapidary *Cornelius*, who, upon her Recommendation, was (under the Broad-Seal of *Scotland*) conſtituted *Superior of His Majeſty's Gold-Mines*. This *Cornelius* had his Firſt Commiſſion under the Regent the Earl of *Murray*, and then under the Regent the Earl of *Mortoun*; and, in Thirty Days time, he convoyed into the King's Mint-Houſe at *Edinburgh*, Half a Stone-weight of Natural Gold, that is Eight Pounds *Troy*-Weight, worth Four Hundred and Fifty Pounds *Sterling*: And in his Book which is ſtill in MS. he ſpeaks of *Great Gold*, in the Shape of Bird's Eyes and Bird's Eggs, found plentifully in *Glangaber*-Water, worth Six Shillings and Eight Pence *Sterling* by the Ounce at the Firſt Purchaſe. And *Thomas Atcheſon* Eſſay-Maſter of the Mint at *Edinburgh*, in the Beginning of King *James* VI's Reign (*f*), after a Diſcourſe on General Topics, ſays, *That out of dry Minerals, the like Gold has not been ſeen or heard of to be gotten within Chriſtendom as this of* Scotland, *try'd and reported to be worth Threeſcore and Sixteen Thouſand Pound* Sterling per *Tun*. By dry Minerals, he tells us, he means the *Sappare*, the *Callaminere*, the *Saxeere*, and the *Sallinoere* Stones. Beſides theſe Mines, he ſays, there is Natural Gold to be found in *Fryar-Moor*, in this ſame Country; in *Robert-Moor* and *Manock-Moor*, in *Nithſdale*; on *Glangabar*-Water in *Inderland*, in the Foreſt of *Attrick*; and in many other Places. The other Principal River in this Country, is *Douglaſs*, which runs thoro' a Valley called from it *Douglaſsdale*. The Religious Houſes in this Country, were *Liſmahagoe* and *Blantyre*, but, by whom Founded, I know not. The Country in General is Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage, abounds with all Neceſſaries for Human Life, and is well furniſhed with Fiſh from the Sea and Rivers.

Lennox is Bounded by the River *Clide*, upon the South; by *Argyle*-Shire, on the North and Weſt; and by *Menteith* and *Stirling*-Shire on the Eaſt. This Country is ſuppoſed to take its Name from the River *Leven*, *quaſi Levenax*. The Ancient Inhabitants were call'd by *Ptolemy*, *Waccomagi*, that is to ſay, ſuch as Inhabit Deſarts; and the Country, *Lelanonius*. The Principal and only City in this Country, is *Dunbartoun* from *Dun*, (which, in the Old *Scots* Language, ſignifies a Hill or Rock) and *Bar*, which ſignifies a Tower or Caſtle, from whence 'tis evident, the Town took its Name. For here is a Caſtle, which, by Nature and Situation, is the ſtrongeſt Fort in the Kingdom, being Built upon a Craggy Two-Headed Rock, at the Confluence of the Rivers of *Leven* and *Clide*, in a Green Plain: Upon one of its Heads ſtands a high Watch-Tower; on the other, which is ſomewhat lower, many ſtrong Towers:

(*e*) Scots Hiſt. Libr. pag. 35. (*f*) Id. ibid.

It hath but one Aſcent to it, and that upon the North Side between the Two Heads, having ſcarce Room enough to paſs one by one, by Steps cut out of the Rock croſs-ways, with a great deal of Labour. Upon the Weſt Side, the River of *Leven*; upon the South, the River of *Clide* ſerve as Ditches. Eaſtward lies a Moraſs, which every Tide is wholly under Water. Towards the North, it is very well ſecured by the Steepneſs of its Situation. From this Town, the whole Country is call'd the Shire of *Dunbartoun*. The Chief Families are the *Stuarts*, *Campbels*, *Colquhouns*, *Napers*, *Mardalans*, *Macalans*, *Haldens*, ſome of the *Hamiltons* and *Semples*, and the *Buchanans*: And, in this Country, the Famous Mr. *George Buchanan* was Born. The Principal Rivers are *Leven* and *Clide*; and ſeveral Lochs, ſuch as *Lochſin* and *Lochlang*, which are Two Bays that break into this Country from the Mouth of *Clide*, where great Numbers of Herring are taken. But the moſt Famous Loch of them all, is *Loch-Lomound*, which is 24 Miles in Length from South to North; and where it is Broadeſt, 8 Miles; and Narroweſt, 2: It contains 30 Iſlands, 3 of which have Churches; and many of the reſt are Inhabited. The Chief of them, is *Inchmurin* about 20 Furlongs in Length, Fruitful in Corn and Graſs, well Inhabited, and abounds with Deer, which the Kings of *Scotland* were accuſtomed to Hunt there. The other Remarkable Iſlands are, *Nachaſtle*, ſo call'd from an Old Caſtle in it; *Inchdavannan*, noted for Broom, Abundance of Wild Berries, pleaſant Habitations with Gardens and Fruit-Trees; *Inchconnagan*, noted for Birch-Trees and Corn Fields; *Inchlonaig*, noted for its Yew-Trees which grow nowhere elſe in theſe Iſlands; and *Rouglask*, where the Laird of *Macfarlan* has a handſome Seat. This Lake abounds with Fiſh of ſeveral Sorts, and with one Sort called *Poans*; and by ſome, *Pollacks*, which is peculiar to this Lake, and very delicious to eat, being a kind of Eel, which occaſioned the Miſtake, in ſome Authors, of affirming that there was a Fiſh in this Lake, that wanted Fins. The Inhabitants of old uſed to faſten great Beams or Trees together, which they covered with Turf; and in time of War, or on other Occaſions, they went upon this Float from one Iſland to another, which did give the Occaſion to the Fabulous Story of a Floating Iſland in this Loch. The Famous *Grampian* Mountains begin at this Lake, and run Northward near *Aberdeen*. The *Roman* Wall, which begins at *Abercorn*, runs thoro' this Country, and ends at *Kilpatrick* (on *Clide*) Famous for being the Birth-Place of S. *Patrick*, Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh* and the Apoſtle of the *Iriſh* Nation. This Country, eſpecially upon the Rivers, is very Fruitful in Corn; and the Rivers and Lakes are well ſtored with all Sorts of Fiſh. The other Part of the Country is ſomewhat Mountainous, but fit for Paſturage and well ſtored with Numerous Flocks.

But to return again to the River *Forth*, where the Country of *Lothian* lies. This Country is Bounded by this River, on the Eaſt; and is Divided from the *Mers*, by *Cockburnſpath* and the *Lammermoor* Hills; on the South-Weſt, it is Bounded by *Lauderdale* and *Tweeddale*. Some derive the Name of this Country from *Lothus* a King of the *Picts*; others, from the River of *Leith*, and ſay, That it ſhould be called *Lethian*. It's Divided into *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, and *Mid-Lothian*. We ſhall begin with *Eaſt-Lothian*, the Chief Towns thereof are, *Dumbar*, a Town and Caſtle upon the Sea-Shore, Famous for being the Seat of the Ancient Earls of *March*. The Caſtle,

Caſtle, during the Wars between the Two Nations, was ſtrongly Fortify'd, and often taken and retaken by the *Engliſh* and *Scots*: But, in the Year 1567, it was demoliſhed, by Order of the States, to prevent its being a Retreat for Rebels. Upon the River of *Tine*, in a large Plain, lies *Hadingtoun* or *Hadina*, which was Fortify'd, by the *Engliſh*, with a deep and large Ditch, and a Four Square Turf-Wall without, with Four Bulwarks at the Corners, and as many more upon the Inner Wall: But they, being obliged to quit this Town, demoliſhed their Fortifications; and it has ever ſince continued in that Condition, upon which Dr. *Johnſtoun* has written the following Verſes (*g*).

Planities prætenſa jacet prope flumina Tinæ,
Fluminis arguti clauditur iſta ſinu.
Vulcani & Martis *quæ paſſa incendia, fati*
Ingemit alterno vulnere fracta vices.
Nunc tandem ſapit icta Dei præcepta ſecuta,
Præſidio gaudet jam potiore Poli.

In *Engliſh* thus:

Near Tine's *fair Stream a ſpacious Plain is ſhown*
Tine's *circling Arms embrace the Hapleſs Town;*
Where Mars *and Fiery* Vulcan *reign'd by Turns*
With Fatal Rage, whoſe dire Effects ſhe mourns:
By ſad Experience now at laſt grown Wiſe,
She ſlights their Fury and their Pow'r deſies;
Contemns the Dangers that before ſhe fear'd,
And reſts ſecure when mighty Heav'ns her guard.

Above the Mouth of *Tine*, upon the Doubling of the Shore, ſtands *Tantallon*-Caſtle; here, by the winding of the Shores upon both Sides, Room is made for a very Noble Arm of the Sea, well furniſhed with Iſlands. Upon the River of *Eſk* ſtands the Town of *Muſſelburgh*. Other Towns of Note, in this Country, are, *Tranent*, *Preſtoun-Pans*, and a great many other ſmall Towns, ſcattered alongſt the Coaſt, that abound with Fiſhes of all Sorts, and where great Quantities of Salt are made.

The Sheriffdom of *Edinburgh*, or *Mid-Lothian*, is the Principal Shire of the Kingdom: It is in Length 20 or 21 Miles; the Breadth of it is different according to the ſeveral Parts, in ſome, 16 or 17 Miles; in others, not above 5 or 6. On the South, it is Bounded with the Sheriffdom of *Hadingtoun*, for 13 Miles together; on the Eaſt, with the Bailliery of *Lauderdale*, for about 4; on the South with the Sheriffdom of *Tweeddale*, for 13 Miles; on the South-Weſt, with the Sheriffdom of *Lanrick*, for 6 or 7 Miles; and on the Weſt, for Two Miles, by the ſaid Sheriffdom; on the North-Weſt, with the Sheriffdom of *Linlithgow*, for 14 Miles; and on the North, with the Firth of *Forth*, for the Space of 8 Miles. The Principal Towns in this Country are, *Edinburgh*, the Metropolis of the Nation. The Firſt Building of a Fort or Caſtle here ſeems to have given Riſe to the Town, and to have encouraged the Neighbours to fix under the Protection of it: So that the Houſes and Inhabitants, by little and little increaſing, have brought it down to the very Foot of the Aſcent towards the Eaſt, and made it an intire Mile in Length, and Half

(*g*) Apud Cambd.

a Mile in Breadth. This Town was call'd by the Ancient *Scots*, *Dun-Eden*, or *The Hill in Eden*; alluding, as I ſuppoſe, to the Garden of *Eden*. For this Country, in reſpect of its Beauty, being adorned with many Gentlemen and Noblemen's Seats, a Fertil and well Inhabited Soil, and the Proſpect of one of the moſt Beautiful Rivers in *Europe*, (all which is to be ſeen from the Top of this Hill or Caſtle) it may juſtly be call'd the *Eden* or Paradiſe of *Scotland*: It was likewiſe call'd *The Maiden-Caſtle*, becauſe the Kings of the *Picts* kept their Daughters in it; and 'tis thought to be Στρατόπεδον πτερωτὸν or *Winged Caſtle*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. This City is accounted as Populous, if not more than any in *Europe* for its Bounds, the Houſes being very high and contiguous to one another. Here I ſhall tranſlate, for the Curious Reader's Satisfaction, the Deſcription of this City, as it was at the Time of the Reformation, Written, as we have obſerved in the Life of *Alexander Aleſius*, in *Latin* by him, and Publiſhed in *Sebaſtian Munſter*'s Coſmography (*h*).

" *Edinburgh* is ſituated upon a Hill like the City of *Prague*. It is an " *Italian* Mile in Length, and Half an one in Breadth. It has its Length " from the Weſt to the Eaſt. On the Weſt End of the City there riſes " a high Hill, and a Rock, on which is Built a Caſtle inacceſſible upon " all Sides, but that towards the Town; neither can it be Scaled on " any other Part. In this Rock, ſeveral Vultures have their Neſts, " out of which the young Ones are often taken by the Venturous " Youth, who are let down from the Caſtle with Ropes and Baskets " or Creels, in which they put them. This Caſtle is call'd *The Maiden-Caſtle*, and is the outmoſt Bounds of the Weſt End of the Town. In " the Eaſt End of the Town, is the Magnificent Monaſtery of the *Holy Croſs*, to which is annexed the King's Palace, ſurrounded with Lovely " Gardens. Beyond which there is a Lake at the Foot of a high Hill, " call'd *Arthur's Seat*, on which there is a ſmall Chapel Dedicated to " S. *Anthony*. On this Hill are found Stones, that ſhine and ſparkle in " the Day-time like Diamonds. In this City are Two large Streets, " that ly betwixt the *Maiden-Caſtle*, the Monaſtery and Palace, pathed " with Square Stones, but principally the *King's Street*. The Suburb " towards the Weſt End of the City, is about Half a Mile in Length, " and is call'd S. *Cuthbert*'s *Street*. There are in this Town a great many " Monaſteries and Churches, the Chief of which are the *Franciſcans*, the " *Dominicans*, the Church of S. *Mary in the Fields*, the College of the " Prieſts of the *Holy Trinity*, the Hoſpital of S. *Thomas*, &c. The Town " is not built of Brick but of Hewn-Stones; and the Houſes are ſo " Large and Magnificent, that they look like Palaces. In the Middle " of the Town is the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of S. *Giles*. The " Biſhops, Dukes, Earls, Barons, with the other Repreſentatives of the " Nation, had ſtately Lodgings here, in which they Dwelt when they " came to the Parliament. The King's Palace, ſituated hard by the " Monaſtery, is a large and ſplendid Building; from the Palace to the " Caſtle, there is but one continued Street, call'd the *King's Street*, which " is broader towards the Caſtle and narrower towards the Monaſtery. " This Street has, upon both Sides, moſt ſtately Buildings; and ſeve- " ral of them built of Hewn-Stone. The Continuation of the *King's* " *Street* towards the Palace, is call'd the *Chanon Street*, (becauſe the

" Cha-

(*h*) Seb. Munſt. de Inſul. Britan. pag. 51.

" Chanon Regulars lived in it;) and it is ſeparated from the Town by
" a Port or Gate and a Wall with Turrets, being alwiſe looked upon
" as a Part of the Suburbs. From the *King's Street* on both Sides, run
" a great many Lanes, all adorned with high and ſtately Edifices; as is
" likewiſe the *Cowgate*, in which the Nobility and Senators of the Col-
" lege of Juſtice live. And here are the Principal Buildings in the
" Kingdom, wherein nothing is to be ſeen that's mean or ruſtic, but all
" Magnificent and Stately. Amongſt the Principal Churches in this
" City next to the Beautiful Church of the Monaſtery of the *Holy Croſs*,
" is that of S. *Giles*, which ſtands in the Middle of the *King's Street*.
" Then in that Lane, which divides the Town from the *Chanons Street*,
" is the ſtately and fine Church called, *The Queen's College Church within*
" *the Walls*, and between the Monaſteries of the *Franciſcans* and *Domi-*
" *cans*, is ſituated *The Church of S.* Mary *in the Fields*; where is like-
" wiſe the Collegiate Church of the Prieſts. And beneath the Rock of
" the *Maiden-Caſtle* ſtands the New Pariſh Church of S. *Cuthbert*.

By this Deſcription of *Edinburgh* it appears, that the Principal Street for the Buildings was the *Cowgate*: But frequent Fires, and the Devaſtations of War, have deſtroy'd many of theſe Ancient Buildings; tho' ſeverals of the Churches are ſtill ſtanding, but ſpoiled of all thoſe coſtly Ornaments that made them look ſo Magnificently Great. The High Street is now, for tall and ſtately Edifices, not only the Principal Street in the Town, but as beautiful an one as is to be ſeen in all *Britain*. The Principal Buildings of this City are, I. The Churches, which are in Number (including the Chapel of the Caſtle) 12, all of them very ſtately, eſpecially that of S. *Giles*, or the High Church, which is now divided into 4 Churches, over which there is a very high and beautiful Steeple of good Ancient Architecture, the Summit of which reſembles an Imperial Crown. II. The Caſtle, which, as we have ſaid, is ſo ſtrongly ſituated, that it is inacceſſible but towards the Entrance from the Town. Here the *Regalia* of the Kingdom are lodged, of which there is a Particular and Exact Deſcription in the *Appendix*, N°. I. as it was taken by *William Wilſon*, one of the Under-Clerks of the Seſſion, when they were given up at the concluding of the Union betwixt the Two Nations; Copies of which, at his own Expenſes, he has depoſitated in the Hands of the Lord High Conſtable, the Mariſchal of *Scotland*, the Four Univerſities of the Nation, the Faculty of Advocates, and the College of Phyſicians at *Edinburgh*. From which Noble Perſons and Learned Societies, he has received Returns of Thanks, ſuitable to the Preſent made them, and that never too much to be commended Zeal he expreſſed upon this Occaſion for his Country. III. *Heriot*'s Hoſpital, which is a large, beautiful and ſtately Edifice, Built at the Charge of *George Heriot*, Goldſmith to King *James* VI. for the Education and Maintenance of the Children of decay'd Burgeſſes; wherein, at this preſent time, are 130: But I ſhall, in the Third Volume of this Work, give a full Account of the Founder with the Statutes and Benefactors, in the Life of Dr. *Balcanqual*, who compoſed them. IV. The Parliament-Houſe, which is a ſtateley convenient and large Structure, with a Square-Court call'd the Parliament-Cloſs, where ſome of the Buildings are 14 Stories high. In the middle of this Court, ſtands a very beautiful Statue of King *Charles* II. upon Horſeback. In this Square is likewiſe the

Town-Council-Houſe, the Seſſion-Houſe, the Apartments for the Lords of the Privy-Council and Exchequer, and the Two Exchanges call'd the Old and New Exchange; all of them very neat and beautiful Buildings. V. The Univerſity or College, which was Founded by King *James* VI. in the Year 1580, upon a Petition from the City, for that end, to grant them a Charter with the Privilege of an Univerſity; but the Foundation was not perfected till 1582. The Perſons eſtabliſhed by the Foundation, were a Principal or Warden, a Profeſſor of Divinity, 4 Regents or Profeſſors of Philoſophy, and a Profeſſor of Philology, call'd the Regent of Humanity, or *Humanarum Literarum*. In 1640, the Town added a Profeſſor of *Hebrew*; and ſince Two more, one of Mathematics, and another of Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory. The Precincts of this Univerſity are encloſed with high Walls, and are divided into Courts, incompaſſed with neat Buildings for the Profeſſors and Students. They have a very good Library, Founded by *Clement Little*, one of the Commiſſaries of *Edinburgh*, in the Year 1635. Since which time, it has been much increaſed by Donatives from the Citizens, Perſons of Quality, and others who had their Education there. In this Library is to be ſeen the Famous Mr. *Buchanan*'s Skull; the Original of the *Bohemian* Proteſt, againſt the Council of *Conſtance*, for the Burning of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, with 105 Seals of the Princes of *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and others appended to it; and a Horn cut out of a Woman's Head in the 50 Year of her Age. Under the Library is the King's Printing-Houſe. VI. The Chyrurgeons-Hall, which is a very handſome Building, where there is a Bagnio Built after the manner of thoſe in *Turky*. VII. S. *Thomas*'s Hoſpital, which is an Old Fabric, wherein the decay'd Citizens of both Sexes are very handſomely Maintained. VIII. The Abby of *Holy-rood-houſe*, which was conſumed by Fire, the Church only remaining; where ſeveral Kings, Queens, Perſons of Quality, and other eminent Perſons ly interred. The Entrance to the Palace is adorned with great Pillars of Hewn-Stone, and a fine Cupola in Form of a Crown over it. Here are Two large Courts, the Inner-Court is a very ſtately one, with Piazzas round it all, of fine Hewn-Stone. From theſe Piazzas there are Entrances to the ſeveral Apartments, which are truly Royal and Magnificent: And the long Gallery is very remarkable, being adorned with the Pictures of all the Kings from *Fergus* I. till this preſent Monarch. In this City, below the Parliament-Houſe, the Faculty of Advocates have a Noble Library ſtored with moſt Valuable MSS. There is likewiſe a College of Phyſicians, erected by King *Charles* II; and Two Phyſic-Gardens, well ſtored with Variety of Plants. We ſhall ſay no more of this City, than that it is ſurrounded by a Wall of Stone, ſave on the North by a Loch, lies in a Country, abounding with all things neceſſary for Human Life, and that it is well Water'd by excellent Springs brought in from the Country by Leaden Pipes, and diſtributed to the City from neat Stone-Fountains, *&c.* Only ſhall conclude with Dr. *Johnſton*'s Verſes.

Monte ſub acclivi Zephyri procurrit in auras,
Hinc Arx celſa, illinc Regia clara nitet.
Inter utramque patet ſublimibus ardua tectis
Urbs armis, animis clara, frequenſque viris.

No-

Nobile Scotorum *caput, & pars maxima regni,*
Pænè etiam gentis integra Regna ſuæ.
Raræ artes & opes, quod Mens optaverit, aut hic
Invenias, aut non Scotia *tota dabit.*
Compoſitum hic populum videas, ſanctumque Senatum,
Sanctaque cum pura lumine jura Dei.
An quiſquam Arctoi *extremo in limite mundi,*
Aut hæc aut paria his cernere poſſe putet?
Dic, Hoſpes, poſtquam externas luſtraveris urbes,
Hæc cernens, oculis credis an ipſe tuis?

In *Engliſh* thus:

Beneath a Weſtern Hill's Delightful Brow,
The Caſtle hence, and hence the Court we view.
The ſtately Town preſents it ſelf between,
Renown'd for Arms, for Courage and for Men.
The Kingdom's Nobleſt Part, the lofty Head,
Or the whole Kingdom of the Britiſh *Breed.*
Wealth, Arts and all that anxious Minds deſire,
Or not in Scotland, *or you meet with here.*
The People, Sober; Grave the Senate ſhow.
The Worſhip pure, the Faith Divinely true.
In the laſt Borders of the Northern Coaſt,
What Rival Land an equal Sight can boaſt?
Theſe Glories, Trav'ler, when at laſt you ſee,
Say, if you don't miſtruſt your wondring Eye,
And think it Tranſport all and Extaſy.

About a Mile from *Edinburgh* lieth *Leith*, ſo call'd from the River that runs thoro' it. This Town lies upon the Firth, and has one of the beſt and moſt frequented Harbours in the Nation. In Queen *Mary*'s Time, it was well Fortify'd by the *French*; but, when they were obliged to quit the Kingdom, the Fortifications were demoliſhed.

The Shire of *Linlithgow*, call'd *Weſt-Lothian*, takes its Name from *Linlithgow*, the Principal Town in the Shire, which is call'd, by *Ptolemy*, *Lindum*. It is divided from *Mid-Lothian*, towards the South and Eaſt, by the Waters of *Almond* and *Breich-Water*; to the North-Weſt, it meeteth with a Part of *Stirling*-Shire; and to the Weſt, with Part of *Clideſdale*. 'Tis in Length, 14 Miles; and in Breadth, about 9; Adorned with a Stately Palace of the Kings, a Noble Church, and a Loch or Lake plentifully ſtored with Fiſh. North from *Linlithgow*, upon the Sea-Coaſt, ſtands *Borrowſtounneſs*, a Burgh of Regality, well frequented with Shipping. On the South of *Linlithgow* lies *Torphichen*, a Burgh of Regality likewiſe, and Famous for being once the Principal Seat of the Reſidence of the Knights of S. *John* of *Jeruſalem*.

The Principal Towns and Sea-Ports in the Three *Lothians*, are *Edinburgh*, *Linlithgow*, *Dumbar*, *Preſtoun-Pans*, *Cockeany*, *Seaton*, *Muſſelburgh*, *Leith*, *Corſtorphin*, *Kirkliſton*, *Torphichen*, &c. The Rivers are, *Tine*, *Forth*, the Two *Esks*, *Leith*, *Breich-Water*, and *Almond*. The Chief Families, are the *Hamiltons*, *Douglaſſes*, *Hays*, *Maxwels*, *Wachops*, *Kers*, *Maitlands*, *Seatons*, *Scots*, *Elphinſtons*, *Napers*, *Cranſtons*, *Drummonds*,

Sinclairs, *Ramſays*, *Johnſtons*, *Hepburns*, *Dundaſſes*, *Preſtons*, *Fletchers*, *Edmonſtons*, *Cockburns*, *Lauders*, *Foreſters*, and many others of whom afterwards. The Religious Houſes in the *Lothians*, were *Newbottle*, Founded by King *David*; that of the *Holy Croſs* or *Holy-rood-houſe*, by the ſame King; *North Berwick*, by *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*; *Hadingtoun*, by *Adda* Counteſs of *Northumberland*, Mother to King *Malcolm* IV. *Manuel*, Founded by King *Malcolm* IV. and the Collegiate Chapel of *Roſlin*, Founded by *William Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*, which is one of the moſt Beautiful Pieces of Architecture that is now to be ſeen in the Kingdom. The *Lothians* abound with pleaſant Corn-Fields, Meadows, Green Hills, and others covered with Heath, on the Borders of *Lammermoor*, which afford Paſturage for great Flocks of Sheep and other Cattel. The Rivers and Neighbouring Sea abound with Fiſh. In ſhort, it is the Richeſt and beſt Inhabited Part of the Kingdom, having Plenty of Coals both for Fewel and Export, and all other Neceſſaries.

Stirling-Shire is Bounded, on the Eaſt, by the River *Aven*; on the Weſt, by *Loch-Lomound* and the Rivers *Blane* and *Aneric*; on the North, by the River *Forth*. Where it is Longeſt, it is about 20 Miles; and where Broadeſt, about 12 Miles. The Principal City in this Country is *Stirling*, (from which the Country has its Name) ſituated upon the Ridge of a Hill towards the South, very much reſembling *Edinburgh*. Here is a Caſtle of a moſt Noble and Magnificent Structure, and ſtrongly Fortify'd both by Art and Nature: It has a moſt curious and delightful Proſpect into the Neighbouring Country; and the Windings of the River of *Forth*, that runs by it, are ſo extraordinary, that tho' it be but 4 Miles by Land from *Stirling* to the Town of *Alloway*, it is 24 by Water. This Town is reckoned the Key of the Kingdom, becauſe it opens the Paſſage from the South to the North; there being no ſuch eaſy Paſſage over the River of *Forth* as by *Stirling*-Bridge, which is of Hewn-Stone, Fortified with an Iron-Gate, and conſiſts of 4 ſtately Arches. At the Foot of the Hill, on which the Caſtle is Built, lies a very beautiful Park, call'd the *King's Park*; becauſe our Kings uſed ſometimes to divert themſelves there, at the Deer-Hunting. The Church ſtands in the upper End of the Town towards the Eaſt, is of very good Architecture, and adorned with a very lofty Tower. Near the Church ly the Houſes of the Duke of *Argyle* and the Earl of *Mar*, both very large and of excellent Workmanſhip. The Earl of *Mar* is Hereditary Governour of the Caſtle. The Ancient Name of this Town was *Binobara*, which, in the Old *Scots* Language, ſignifies *a Rock*, or *Mountain upon a River*; and, in *Ptolemy*, it is call'd *Vindovara*. All the adjacent Country is plentifully ſtored with Coal-Mines; ſo that the following Lines, which our excellent Poet Dr. *Johnſton*, made upon *New-Caſtle*, are very applicable to this Town.

Rupe ſedens celſâ, rerum aut miracula ſpectat
Naturæ, aut ſolers diſtrahit illa aliis.
Sedibus Æthereis quid fruſtra quæritis ignem?
Hunc alit, hunc terra ſuſcitat iſta ſinu.
Non illum torvo terras qui turbine terret
Sed qui animam Terris, detque animos animis.
Eliquat hic ferrum, æs, hic aurum ductile fundit.
Quos non auri illex conciet umbra animos?

Quin

Quin (aiunt) auro permutat bruta metalla ;
Alchymus hunc igitur prædicat eſſe Deum.
Si Deus eſt, ceu tu dictas, divine magiſter,
Hæc quot alit ? Quot alit Scotia *noſtra Deos ?*

In *Engliſh* thus:

From her high Rock great Nature's Works ſurveys,
And kindly ſpreads her Goods thro' Lands and Seas.
Why ſeek you Fire in ſome exalted Sphere ?
Earth's fruitful Boſom will ſupply you here.
Not ſuch whoſe horrid Flaſhes ſcar the Plain,
But gives enliv'ning Warmth to Earth and Men.
Iron, Braſs and Gold its melting Force obey ;
(Ah ! who's e'er free from Gold's almighty Sway ?)
Nay, into Gold 'twill change a baſer Ore,
Hence the vain Chymiſt deifies its Pow'r :
If't be a God, as is believ'd by you,
This Place and Scotland *more than Heav'n can ſhew.*

Falkirk is a ſmall Town, Famous for the Battel that was Fought there betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, (of which I have given an Account in the Firſt Volume of this Work) where Sir *John Grahame* was kill'd, and lies Interred there under a Grave-Stone, on which are the following Lines in *Engliſh*.

Here lyes Sir John *the* Grame, *both Wight and Wiſe,*
Ane of the Worthies reſcuit Scotland *Thrice.*
Ane better Knight not to the World was lent,
Nor was gude Grame *of Truth and Hardiment.*

And theſe in *Latin :*

Mente manuque potens & Vallæ fidus Achates,
Conditur hic Gramus *bello interfectus ab* Anglis.

About his Coat of Arms, are the Words,

Vivit poſt funera virtus.

In *Cromwel*'s Time, when ſome of the *Engliſh* Troops were lying there, one of their Commanders deſir'd the School-Maſter of the Place, to render into *Engliſh* the Two *Latin* Verſes, which he did thus :

Of Mind and Courage ſtrong, and Wallace *true* Achates,
Here lies Sir John *the* Grame, *kill'd by the* Engliſh *Baties.*

Kilſyth is another ſmall Town in this Country. The Principal Rivers here are, *Forth, Aven, Carron*, and the little Brook of *Bannockburn*, Famous for the ſignal Defeat that King *Robert Bruce* gave to the *Engliſh*. The moſt conſiderable Families here, are the *Stirlings, Seatons, Livingſtons, Bruces, Fleemings, Murrays, Elphingſtons, Grahames, Napers*, and *Buchanans*, &c. Nigh to *Stirling* was the Noble Abbacy of *Cambuskenneth*, Founded by King *David* I. This Country is Fruitful in Corn and Graſs, abounds with Flocks of Sheep and Black-Cattel, is ſtored with Fiſh eſpecially Salmond from *Forth* and other Rivers ; and for Fewel, it abounds, as we have ſaid, in Coal and Peats.

Clackmannan-Shire, ſo called from *Clackmannan* the Head Burgh of it, is Bounded on the North, by the *Ochil*-Hills; to the South, by the Firth of *Forth*; to the Eaſt, with Part of *Perth*-Shire; and to the Weſt, with Part of *Stirling*-Shire. The Town of *Clackmannan* is ſituated upon a Riſing Ground; the Caſtle whereof is a ſtately Dwelling, overlooking the whole Country, wherein is kept the Two-Handed Sword of King *Robert Bruce*. *Alloway* is a pleaſant little Town with a ſmall Haven for Ships, where is a Caſtle, the Chief Reſidence of the Earl of *Mar*, adorned with as fine Gardens and Incloſures, as is any where to be ſeen in *Scotland*.

The Shire of *Kinroſs* lies betwixt *Loch-Levin* and the *Ochil*-Hills in a very Pleaſant Plain. The Town of *Kinroſs* was erected in a Burgh of Barony by the Earl of *Mortoun*, the Regent in King *James* VI's Time. The Principal Rivers are, *Levin*, which ariſes out of a Loch of that Name, *Nether-Cuich*, *Over-Cuich*, and *Garney*. The Principal Families in this Country, are the *Bruces*, *Crawfords*, *Colvils*, *Melvins* and *Lindſays*. The Religious Houſes in this Shire, were the Monaſtery of *Loch-Levin*, now *Port-Moak*, ſo called from S. *Moak* the Firſt Abbot of it. The Learned Antiquary Sir *James Balfour* gives this Account of the Monaſtery, "Near the Eaſt Side of *Benartie*, burſts out the River of *Levin* "out of the Loch his Mother's Belly, from whom he alſo takes his "Name with a ſmall but ſpeedy Aperture; leaving on his North Side "the little but Ancient Priory of *Port-Moak*, Founded by *Eogachman* "King of the *Picts*, and Conſecrate to the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, *Anno* 1. "*Regni ſui*. (For which he citeth the MS. Regiſter of the Priory of S. *Andrew*'s, *Fol.* 161.) "This Monaſtery was the Firſt Place in *Scotland*, "given by the *Pictiſh* Kings, after their Converſion to Chriſtianity, to "the Religious *Keledei* and *Culdæi*, or as *Fordun* Names them, *Cultores* "*Dei*, Worſhippers of God, they being Religious Perſons of divers Or-"ders. This Monaſtery was anciently call'd the Priory of *Loch-Levin*; "the moſt Part of the Lands came to the Earls of *Mortoun*, who held "them Feu of the Arch-Biſhop and Prior of S. *Andrew*'s; formerly "*Kirkneſs* and *Bolgyn* embracing the South Banks of *Levin*, the Inhe-"ritance of the Houſe of *Mortoun* and a Portion collected for their "younger Sons, holds of the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, and was given to "the *Culdees* of the foreſaid Priory by *Macbeth* the Son of *Finbech*, *regn.* "Davide *primo*, *Anno* 3. *Regni ſui*. Thus far this Learned Antiquary in his MSS. Notes upon this Shire. At *Kirkneſs*, the Canons who were of the Order of S. *Auguſtin*, and their Prior often reſided here; and the Monaſtery and Convent of S. *Andrew*'s were conſtant Patrons of it, as appears from the Charter of Union and Mortification of the Priory of S. *Servanus*'s-Iſle, within *Loch-Levin* to S. *Leonard*'s College, by Mr. *John Winram* Oeconomous of the Monaſtery and Convent, Dated the 5th of *October* 1570. *Scotland*-Well was Founded by *William Malvoiſin* Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s; and the Brethren of the Holy Trinity, who belonged to it, collected Charities for the Redemption of the Chriſtians that were made Slaves in *Turky*. This Country abounds with all Sorts of Neceſſaries both as to Paſturage, Fewel and Grains. *Loch-Levin* abounds with Salmond, Pearches, Eels, and ſeveral Sorts of Trouts; ſuch as the *Gelletroch* or Red-Womb-Trout, which is uſually about 18 Inches long, the Speckled-Trout, and the Bill-Trout, ſome of which are as big as

a Salmond, and the *Camdue* (which has a black Spot upon the Top of his Head) being as big as a *Dunbar*-Herring, and much esteemed for its delicious Taste.

The Shire of *Fife* to the North, is Divided from *Angus*, by the Firth of *Tay*; to the North-West, from Part of *Perth*-Shire, by the same Firth of *Tay*, meeting also with a Part of *Strathern*; to the West, it hath the *Ochil*-Hills, *Kinross*-Shire and Part of *Perth*-Shire; to the South, the Firth of *Forth*, dividing it from the *Lothians*; and to the East, the *German* Ocean. The *Romans* made this Country a Part of *Caledonia*, and so the Inhabitants were comprehended under the general Name of *Caledonians*, given to all the People beyond the Firths of *Forth* and *Clide*. Some think, that 'tis called *Fife* from *Fiffus*, Sirnamed *Duffus*, to whom it was granted by *Kenneth* II. for his Valour against the *Picts*, about the Year 840: But this is not very probable, no more than the deriving of it, from the Word, *Veach*. This Country is 32 Miles in Length, and about 17 in Breadth. The Principal Cities in this Country are, S. *Andrew*'s, so called from the Relicts of the Apostle S. *Andrew*, whose Bones are said to have been brought over hither, from *Patras* in *Peloponesus*, by *Regulus* a *Greek* Monk, in the Year 368, and was the Principal City of the Ancient *Culdees*, as we have told in the First Volume of this Work. This City lies towards the East with a Pleasant Prospect to the Ocean: Anciently all around this City, save towards the Sea, was Forest, and infested with Boars; and therefore it was call'd *Cursus apri*, or *Boar-Hills*. The Town consists of Three long Streets, which were formerly well Built, but now greatly decay'd. To the North-East of it, are the Ruines of a great and strong Castle, Built by *Roger* Bishop of S. *Andrew*'s, who Died in the Year 1202, and afterwards much repaired by Cardinal *Bethun* and Arch-Bishop *Hamilton*, being the Palace in which the Arch-Bishops resided: To the South-East of the Castle and East of the City, was the Precinct of the Priory, call'd anciently *Kilrymond*, consisting of a very great and Magnificent Cathedral Church, Built cross with Five Steeples. The Metropolitan Church of this City, if we may believe the Author of the *Theatrum* Scotiæ, was probably as big as any in Christendom; being Seven Foot Longer and Two Foot Broader than that of S. *Peter* at *Rome*: It was Founded by Arch-Bishop *Arnold*, who Died in 1163. Beside it stood the Chapel of S. *Regulus*, whose Walls and Steeple are still intire, tho' Built about the End of the Fourth Century, by *Hergustus* King of the *Picts*: It is a Piece of Ancient Architecture; and the Height of the Steeple that stands yet, is 103 Foot, for the Spire is gone. There were also here a vast many fine Buildings, for the Residence and Service of the Prior and Chanons, with Gardens and other Conveniencies; all this inclosed within a high Wall, with Turrets or little Bastions on it, which was Built by Prior *John Hepburn*, and is still standing. The chief Churches now, are the New Church, (not far from the New College) wherein is a very stately Monument, erected to the Memory of Arch-Bishop *Sharp*; and S. *Salvator*'s Church, where there is another stately Monument erected in Memory of the Founder, Bishop *Kennedy*. But the greatest Ornament of this Town, is the University, which has afforded, and still does, great Numbers of Learned Men to the Nation. How this University was Founded, we have given an Account in the First Volume of this Work, in the Life of Bishop *Wardlaw*: And here, from our Author

and *Dempſter*, we ſhall give an Account of the Learned Men that were at the Firſt Erection of it, as we have done in that of *Aberdeen* and *Glaſgow*.

Mr. *John Shevez*, a Son of the Laird of *Kilwhiſs* in *Fiſe*, was made Official (*i*), and wrote, ſays *Dempſter*, an Abridgment of the Canon-Law. The Church of God, during the Three Firſt Centuries, had no other Written Laws, but the Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament. The great Charity and Love, that then Reigned amongſt the Chriſtians, was what did not a little contribute to this: And when any Differences happened amongſt them, they were taken away by the Authority of the Apoſtles, and thoſe Holy Paſtors that ſucceeded to them. This Authority was altogether Spiritual, Founded upon the Faith of the Power that *Jeſus Chriſt* had given unto thoſe, to whom he had intruſted the Care of his Flock; and was ſupported by the Miracles they did, and thoſe amiable and attracting Vertues that *Chriſt* had taught them, and which ſhined ſo brightly in their Lives and Converſations: But this Authority extended only over their Souls; for, in all Temporal Affairs, theſe Primitive Chriſtians obeyed their Princes and Magiſtrates by an exact Obedience to the Civil Laws and Conſtitutions.

The Apoſtles had given ſome Laws to their Succeſſors, for the Conduct of Souls and Government of their Churches in General, which for a long time were handed down by Tradition (*k*), and at length committed to Writing; but, by whom or when, is not known. Theſe Laws are called *The Apoſtolic Canons and Conſtitutions*, attributed to Pope *Clement*: But there is Reaſon for believing, that a great Number of them was poſterior to that Pope's Time. The Biſhops of ſeveral Cities ſometimes met together, to decide important Queſtions; and their Meetings were call'd Synods or Councils, which were ſeldom held, during the Three Firſt Centuries, becauſe of the violent Perſecutions: But, after that the Emperor *Conſtantine* had reſtored Peace to the Church, and declared himſelf Chriſtian, they became more frequent. Under his Reign, were held the Council of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*; that of *Neocæſaria*, in *Pontus*; and that of *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*; which are the Three Ancienteſt we have any Canons of. Under him likewiſe was held the Firſt Oecumenic Council, that's to ſay, the Firſt General Council at *Nice* in *Bythinia*, in the Year 325. A little Time after, there were Two Particular Councils; the one at *Antioch*, the Capital City of the Eaſtern Empire; the other, at *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, whoſe Canons were of great Authority. In the Year 381, the Second General Council was held at *Conſtantinople*, the Canons of theſe Seven Councils, that's to ſay, of the Two General Councils and of the Five Particular Ones, were collected into one Body, by *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Epheſus*; and this Collection was call'd *The Code of the Univerſal Church*. The Council of *Chalcedon* made Uſe of it, and approved of it in general Terms, by the Firſt of her Canons. After this, were added to this Code the Canons of the Council of *Epheſus*, which was the Third General Council; as likewiſe thoſe of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was the Fourth General Council; Fifty of thoſe of the Apoſtles; and the Canons of the Council of *Sardis*, which was held in the Year 347, and which was looked upon only as a Sup-

(*i*) Lib. 17. pag. 598. (*k*) Inſtitut. au droit Eccleſ. par. Mr. Fleury cap. 1.

Supplement to that of *Nice*. All theſe Canons were written in *Greek*; and there was only an old *Latin* Verſion, whoſe Author is not known, that ſerved for the Weſtern or *Latin* Churches: And this was the Verſion, that the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon* had, and which the *Latin* Church made Uſe of, all the following Age; and the other Churches, particularly the *Gauls* and *Germans*, knew of no other till the Ninth Century. The Abbot call'd *Dionyſius Exiguus*, of whom we have given an Account in the Firſt Volume of this Work, and who lived towards the Beginning of the Sixth Century: This Abbot, I ſay, made a New Verſion of theſe Canons more Faithful than the Old one; and added all that which was then in the *Grecian* Code, *viz.* the Fifty Canons of the Apoſtles, thoſe of the Council of *Chalcedon*, of the Council of *Sardis*, of a Council of *Carthage*, and a Hundred and Thirty Eight Canons of ſome Councils in *Africa*. He made likewiſe a Collection of the Decretal Letters of the Popes, from the Death of *Siricius*, which happened in the Year 398, till *Anaſtaſius* II. who Died in the Year 498. The Decretal Letters of the Popes are ſo call'd, from being their Decrees or Opinions to the Biſhops, who conſulted them upon Matters of Diſcipline, and which were now Ranked amongſt the Canons. Thus the *Grecians* likewiſe put amongſt their Canons the Three Letters of S. *Baſil* to *Amphilochius*; and ſome others of their moſt Famous Biſhops. The Collection of this Abbot became afterwards to have ſuch Authority, that the Church of *Rome* alwiſe after made Uſe of it; and it was call'd ſimply *The Body of the Canons*. There was likewiſe a Code of the Canons of the Church of *Afric*, compoſed principally out of the Councils that were held in S. *Auguſtine*'s Time: And their Diſcipline was ſo much approved of, that the *Grecians* tranſlated it for their own Uſe. *Martin*, Biſhop of *Brague*, who lived towards the Year 570, did almoſt the ſame in *Spain*, that *Dionyſius Exiguus* had done at *Rome*, following the Collection of the Eaſtern Church, and only adding ſome Canons of the Councils of *Spain*. In the mean time, the *Gauls* made Uſe of the Ancient Edition of the Canons; and it was *Charlemagne* that Firſt brought in *Dionyſius Exiguus*'s Collection amongſt them, having received them at *Rome* from Pope *Adrian* I. in the Year 787.

The Eaſtern Churches added likewiſe ſeveral other Canons to the Ancient Code, to wit, Thirty Five Canons of the Apoſtles, by which they amounted to Eighty Five; the Code of the *African* Church tranſlated into *Greek*; the Canons of the Council of *Trulle* in the Year 707 made to ſupply the Fifth and Sixth General Councils, which they received not; that of the Second Council of *Nice*, which was the Seventh General Council, held in the Year 787: And theſe few Laws made up the whole Body of the Oriental Code, and by them both the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches were Governed nigh to 800 Years; and this may be called the Code of the Ancient Eccleſiaſtic Laws.

Not long after this a New Syſtem of Eccleſiaſtic Laws appeared, to wit, towards the End of the Reign of *Charlemagne*; about which time, *Riculf* Arch-Biſhop of *Mayence* publiſhed a Collection of Canons, brought from *Spain*, under the Name of one *Iſidore* Sirnamed the *Merchant*. This Collection contained the Oriental Canons of a more Ancient Verſion than that of *Dionyſius Exiguus*; many Canons of the Councils of *Gaul* and *Spain*; and, which was more ſurpriſing, a great Number of

Decretal Epiſtles of all the Popes of the Four Firſt Ages, that's to ſay, from S. *Clement* to *Siricius*, where *Dionyſius Exiguus* had begun, altho' *Dionyſius*, who lived at *Rome* 200 Years before this *Spaniſh* Compilator, aſſures us, that he had collected, with very great Care, all the Conſtitutions, he could find, of the Ancient Popes. In the Year 836, in a Council held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, they made Uſe of the Decretals of this Collection of *Iſidore*; and many Articles were inſerted in the Capitularies of the *French* Kings, and were very often cited: But about 30 Years after, they begun to call their Authority in Queſtion. For *Hincmar*, Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, finding that Pope *Nicholaus* I. made Uſe of them for eſtabliſhing the Right of Judging of Biſhops at *Rome*, affirmed, That they, not being included in the Body of the Canons, could not have a greater Authority than the Canons themſelves. In Anſwer to which, the Pope pleaded, That they, being no Part of the Canons, had not their Authority from them, but from the Authors whoſe Names they bore; never doubting of their being Genuine and Authentic. But, in the laſt Age, the Critics found, that all theſe Decretals, from S. *Clement* to *Siricius*'s Time, were none of the Authors whoſe Names they bore (*l*); for they are all of the ſame Stile, and very much different from the Noble Simplicity of theſe Firſt Ages; are compoſed of long Citations out of the Fathers, who lived after the ſuppoſed Authors, as S. *Leo*, S. *Gregory*, and ſeveral more Modern Authors; there is mention made of ſeveral Laws, made by the Chriſtian Emperors; the Things related agree not to the Times in which the Tranſactions are ſaid to have been; and laſtly the Dates are falſe. Yet, ſince theſe Decretals had paſſed for Authentic for ſeveral Ages, they brought in a great Changeinto the Diſcipline of the Church, eſpecially as to the Manner of Judging of Biſhops; and in Appeals made to the Pope, which *Iſidore* doth nowiſe diſſemble to be his main Deſign in making of this Collection. The Ignorance, that prevailed in the Tenth Age, made the Study of the Ancient Body of the Canons to be intirely neglected, till at length they begun to make new Compilations of them. *Burchard*, Biſhop of *Wormes*, made one towards the Year 1020, *Ives*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, who lived towards the Year 1100, made another. Laſtly, *Gratian* made his, towards the Year 1151, of which we have given a particular Account, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of *Richard Colvil*. After this, the Conſtitutions of the Popes became more frequent by a neceſſary Conſequence of the State, in which the Church was then involved. For the continual Wars, in which the petty Sovereigns were engaged, after the Fall of the Houſe of *Charlemagne*, hindered the Biſhops from Meeting, and the Metropolitans from exercing their Authority; ſo that in a Manner, only that of the Popes was reſpected. But it aſſumed a new Luſtre, after they were delivered from the Oppreſſion of the petty Sovereigns, in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. So that, from the Time of Pope *Leo* IX. and the Year 1050, there were ſeveral Councils call'd for the Reformation of Manners and Diſcipline. For the whole Body of the Chriſtian Church, yea even the Clerks themſelves were become ſo intirely debauched, that Simony and Incontinence were hardly reckon'd as Crimes amongſt them. Upon this, as I have ſaid, ſeveral Councils were call'd and divers Canons made againſt theſe Vices,

(*l*) Vid. Concilia P. Philip. Labb. Tom. 1. paſſim.

Vices, at which the Popes preſided either themſelves or by their Legates. Several General Councils were likewiſe call'd at *Rome* and elſewhere. To thoſe of *Rome* they gave the Name of the Patriarchal Church of *Lateran*, where they met: And of theſe the moſt Famous was that, which was held in the Year 1215 under *Innocent* III. and which comprehends the moſt Material Points of Church-Diſcipline, that is yet in Vigour in the *Romiſh* Church. This Pope *Innocent* III. was a great Lawier, as well as *Alexander* III. and ſeveral other Popes of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. For they were not only well ſeen in the Canons of the Church, but likewiſe in the Civil Law, which they begun then cloſely to Study: So that they were Conſulted from all Parts, not only in Eccleſiaſtic but Civil Affairs; frequent Appeals were made to *Rome*, and there the greateſt Differences were Judged and Try'd, and that not only betwixt Biſhops and Abbots, but likewiſe betwixt Sovereign Princes.

There had been many Collections of the Decretals that the Popes had made ſince that of *Gratian*: But the only one, whoſe Authority ſubſiſted, was that of *Gregory* IX. compoſed in the Year 1234 by *Raymond de Penna-forti*, a *Catalonian Dominican*, which contained all the Decrees of the Great Council of *Lateran*, held in the Year 1215; and a great many of the Deciſions of the Popes upon a Number of Proceſſes, diſtributed into Five Books according to the Order of the Matters: And this is that which they call ſimply *The Decretals*; and it is in Reference to theſe Conſtitutions, that the Canoniſts call *Ancient* all theſe that are in *Gratian*'s Decretals.

In the Year 1298, *Boniface* VIII. cauſed Publiſh a Sixth Book of Decretals, divided into Five Books, and diſtributed after the ſame Order and Way as that of *Gregory* IX: And it was call'd the *Sexte*, and contained the Decrees of the Two General Councils of *Lions*, or rather of the Popes that preſided over them, to wit, Pope *Innocent* IV. who preſided in the Firſt, held in the Year 1245; and *Gregory* X. in the Second held in the Year 1274. The *Sexte* contained likewiſe many other Conſtitutions of Popes from *Gregory* IX. to *Boniface* VIII. But the Differences that happened betwixt *Philip* the *Fair* and *Boniface*, was the Reaſon that his Decretals never took in *France*. The Collection, made afterwards, was called the *Clementines*; becauſe they only contained the Conſtitutions made by *Clement* V. in the General Council at *Vienna*, held in the Year 1311; and Publiſh'd by Pope *John* XXII. in the Year 1317.

All the Conſtitutions that have been added ſince to the *Clementines*, are compriſed under the General Name of *Extravagantes*, becauſe they were excluded from all the other Compilations. Formerly the Canoniſts did cite, by this Word *Extra*, the Decretals of *Gregory* IX. as a Note of their being excluded out of the Decrees of *Gratian*, that, till that time, had been only acknowledg'd as the ſole Body of the Canon-Law: And, at this Day, they are cited after the ſame Manner. Beſides theſe, there are the *Extravagantes* of Pope *John* XXII. and the common *Extravagantes*, which contain not only the Conſtitutions of the following Popes, but of ſome of the preceeding, yea even beyond the Time of Pope *Innocent* III. and theſe are all the Books, that compoſe the Body of the Canon-Law that is taught in the Schools, *viz.* the *Decree*, the *Decretals*, the *Sexte*, the *Clementines*, and the *Extravagantes*.

From the Time of *Gratian* till that of Pope *John* XXII. there are not 200 Years; and yet, in this ſmall Compaſs of Time, were made ſo many new Laws: And it was likewiſe in this Space of Time, that the great Change in the Diſcipline of the Church happened; they knew of no Ancienter Canons than thoſe in the Collection of *Gratian*; and the Logic, that then Reigned in the Schools, furniſhed them with a Thouſand Subtilties to elude the true Meaning of them: So that the Abuſes Daily increaſed, and the Remedies diminiſhed. Moreover the Popes had become Sovereigns in *Italy*; the moſt Part of the Biſhops, Temporal Lords; and the Ignorance of the Laics had made the Conſulting of Clergy ſo neceſſary, that they were concerned in all Public and Private Affairs. So that it was almoſt impoſſible, that that Spirit and Paſtoral Charity, which the Holy *Jeſus* demands in the Clergy, ſhould be preſerved in its Purity amidſt a Multitude of Proceſſes and Negociations in the Courts of Princes, and in their Armies, where the Prelates and the moſt Religious of the Church-Men were often obliged to be preſent. On the one Hand they permitted Admiſſion of Ignorant Men amongſt the Clergy; depoſing them, but very rarely, even for the Higheſt and moſt Abominable Crimes: And, if they were depoſed, they were as quickly reſtored. Again, the moſt Criminal Delinquents had their Sins remitted to them, for Pilgrimages and Alms. And, in the Diſtributing and Preaching up the Doctrine of Indulgences, the moſt provoking Things were done and ſaid to the People. It was believed, that the Popes could not make their Power better known, than by extending it beyond all Limits, in diſpenſing with the Canons of the Church, which, for a Thouſand Years before, they had uſed with a great deal of Circumſpection. On the other Hand, the Rigour of the Eccleſiaſtic Cenſures was become greater than in the preceeding Ages; they were very frequently put in Execution even for ſmall and Temporal Faults: In ſomuch that often the Spiritual and Temporal Power were confounded together. And to ſuch a Height of Extravagance did the Partiſans of the Court of *Rome* carry Things, that they maintained, The Popes had a Power of Dethroning of Kings, by looſing of Subjects from their Native Allegiance, and diſpoſing of Crowns at their Pleaſure. Another Thing, that contributed not a little to the diſturbing of the Peace of the Church, was the erecting of the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, which happened thus (*m*).

The Order of the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* being inſtituted, as we have obſerved in the Firſt Volume of this Work, for the Converting of Heretics; in the Heat of their Zeal, they exhorted all Chriſtian Princes to Baniſh them, out of their Dominions, with Fire and Sword; and all Catholics to Arm themſelves againſt them, by entring into Croiſades, that is to ſay, by Aſſociating themſelves againſt them, and carrying, for the Badge of their Aſſociation, a Croſs upon their Habits: And as plenary Indulgences were given out for theſe Croiſades, as for that of the Recovering of the *Holy Land*. The Emperor *Frederic* II. being at *Padua*, at the Time of his being reconciled with Pope *Honorius* III. as a Teſtimony of his Zeal for the Holy See, publiſhed Four Edicts in one and the ſame Day, to wit, upon the 22d of *February* 1224, by which he Ordained all Secular Judges, to puniſh the Heretics that were condemned by

(*m*) Vid. Inſtit. au droit Eccleſ. par M. Claude Fluery, par. III. cap. 9.

by the Church (*n*); Ordering them to Burn alive all ſuch as were obſtinate; and to condemn to perpetual Priſon ſuch of them as repented; extending to the Crime of Hereſy all that the Laws had ordered againſt the Crimes of Rebellion and Leſe Majeſty; and confirmed all the moſt Rigorous Conſtitutions either Civil or Canonical, that were made againſt them. He likewiſe took under his Protection the Inquiſitors, or theſe who delated People for Hereſy. Pope *Innocent* IV. having obſerved the great Progreſs that the *Albigenſes* were making, took great Care to have theſe Laws of the Emperor *Frederic* put into Execution: And for that End he enlarged the Power of the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, aſſociating them to the Biſhops, to whom only the Right belonged of Judging, what is Heretical or not. He alſo ordained the Secular Magiſtrates to appoint, by the Advice of the Biſhop and Inquiſitors, Officers for apprehending of Heretics and ſeizing upon their Goods: And it was this amongſt other Things, that moved this Pope to publiſh a Bull, directed to all the Rectors, Councils and Communities of *Lombardy*, *Romagna*, and the Country of *Treviſo*, containing Thirty One Articles; by the Firſt of which, they were obliged to Swear to obſerve each of them, under the Penalty of being ſuſpected of Hereſy, and loſing their Charges; and theſe Articles were Regiſtrate amongſt their Laws. Pope *Alexander* IV. renewed this Conſtitution, with ſome Modifications, about 7 Years after, in the Year 1259. And it was renewed again by Pope *Clement* IV. 6 Years after, in the Year 1265. But notwithſtanding of the Pope's Authority in theſe Three Provinces; yet the Inquiſition was not eſtabliſhed without great Difficulties: For they complained, that the Inquiſitors uſed unheard of Cruelties, and Extortions, to revenge their particular Quarrels; and that, by their Sermons, they excited the People to Sedition. And accordingly Two notable Seditions happened, the one, at *Millan*, in the Year 1242; and the other, at *Parma*, in the Year 1279.

Venice did not receive the Office of the Inquiſition (*o*) till the Year 1289, by Virtue of a Bull from Pope *Nicolaus* IV; tho' all the Popes, from *Innocent* IV's Time till his, had been endeavouring to introduce it. This Office is eſtabliſhed here by a *Concordate* betwixt the Holy See and the Republic, independent upon that at *Rome*; and the Doge only gives Aſſiſtance to put their Orders in Execution: And, in the City, there are Three Senators, that aſſiſt at the Acts of the Inquiſition, as do the Rectors of all the Cities ſubject to their Juriſdiction in their reſpective Cities. The Office of the Inquiſition was brought into *Tuſcany*, in the Year 1258, and given to the Religious of S. *Francis*, that lived in that Country. It was brought into *Arragon* in the Year 1233 (*p*), at the Solicitation of S. *Raymond de Penna-forti*. It was likewiſe eſtabliſhed in ſome Cities in *Germany* and *France*, particularly in *Languedoc*; but it was of no long Continuance in either of them. It did not enter into the Kingdom of *Naples*; becauſe of the Miſunderſtanding, that was then betwixt the Kings of *Naples* and the Popes. It ſubſiſted but weakly in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and hardly any Veſtiges of it were to be ſeen in the other Kingdoms of *Spain*. But King *Ferdinand*, after he had ruined the Kings of *Granada*, and expelled the *Moors*, knowing that the

(*n*) Novell. Collat. 10. Direct. Inquiſ. in fine. (*o*) Fra. Palo. Hiſt. de l' Inquiſ. (*p*) Lud. a Parmo, lib. 2. tit. 2. cap. 8.

moſt Part of thoſe, who owned themſelves to be Chriſtians, were only ſo in Appearance, reſolved to keep them to the Profeſſion of it, at leaſt by Fear and Conſtraint, eſpecially the *Jews*, who were very Numerous. For this End, he obtained, from Pope *Sextus* IV, in 1483, a Bull (*q*), by which Father *Thomas de Torquemada* was created Inquiſitor-General. This Man, ſo well known by his *Latin* Name of *Turre-cremata*, was a *Dominican* Friar and Confeſſor to the King; and it was by his Advice, that the Inquiſition was Eſtabliſhed. The Clergy of *Spain* having met at *Seville* in the Year 1448, *Torquemada* was choſen their Præſes; and, in this Aſſembly, the Rules for the Inquiſition were drawn up, that prevail to this very Day. This Power of Inquiſitor-General, *Torquemada* had confirmed to him by Pope *Innocent* VIII. in the Year 1485; and this Office has been ever ſince the moſt conſiderable one in *Spain*. The Pope has no more Power over the Inquiſition in *Spain*, but to confirm the Inquiſitor-General, that is Named to him by the King, for all his Dominions: And the Inquiſitor-General Nominates all the particular Inquiſitors, with the King's Approbation; and he is conſtant Preſident of the Council of the Inquiſition, which alwiſe attends the Court, and has a Sovereign Juriſdiction in theſe Affairs. This Council makes the Regulations, by which all the Differences betwixt the Particular Inquiſitors are Judged; puniſhes their Faults, and thoſe of their Inferior Officers; and receives their Appeals: It ſolly depends on the King, and on it and the Inquiſitor-General depends all the other Inquiſitions in the King of *Spain*'s Dominions. The Inquiſition of *Portugal* was formed upon the Model of that of *Spain*, and was eſtabliſhed in 1535 by Pope *Paul* III. (*r*), at the Deſire of *John* III. King of *Portugal*. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to introduce the Inquiſition into *Naples*, depending upon the Council of *Spain*; but the Pope would by no Means permit it. So that the Proceſſes againſt the Heretics there, are Judged by the Biſhops, or by the Popes Delegates, that's to ſay, of the Inquiſition of *Rome*: And theſe Delegates cannot exerciſe their Juriſdiction without the Permiſſion of the Vice-Roy. The *Spaniards* likewiſe would needs have their Inquiſition eſtabliſhed in the Low-Countries. Accordingly the Duke of *Alva* did ſo, by main Force and unheard of Cruelties, under King *Philip* II. and this gave the Riſe to the Revolt of *Holland*, and the other Provinces that are now United into one Body of a Common-Wealth; and, by Degrees, thoſe of *Flanders* wore it out: So that at preſent, they have not the leaſt Veſtige thereof. In *France*, when the Reformation begun to ſpread amongſt them, a Complaint was made, that the Biſhops were too remiſs in ſuppreſſing the Reformers; for which Cauſe they had Recourſe to the Commiſſions of Extraordinary Judges. And the Parliament of *Paris* Ordered the Biſhops to iſſue out Letters to their Vicars, conſtituting them Inquiſitors, which was confirmed by a Brief of Pope *Clement* VII. in the Year 1525. But the Civil Wars, and the Edicts of Pacification, put an End to all theſe Purſuits: So that at preſent no more Veſtige of the Inquiſition remains there, ſave that a *Jacobin* Frier at *Montpellier* has the Title of Inquiſitor, with a ſmall Penſion from the King, but without any Power or Juriſdiction.

At *Rome*, upon the Beginning of the Reformation, Pope *Paul* III. renewed the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, that had been for ſome time in De-

(*q*) Paramo, lib. 2. tit. 2. cap. 3. (*r*) Lib. 2. tit. 2. cap. 15.

Desuetude there, by establishing a Congregation of Cardinals, for to Judge Sovereignly in all the Affairs concerning Heresy, or such like Crimes. To establish and depose the Inquisitors, and to Regulate all their Actions, Pope *Sixtus* V. in his Erection of the several Congregations of Cardinals, that now subsist at *Rome*, gave this Congregation the Precedency above them all: It consists of Seven Cardinals and some other Officers; and the Pope presides in Person. Their Authority extends over all *Italy*, and, according to their Pretensions, over all the World. It belongs to the Inquisition, in all the Countries, where it is received, to discharge all Heretical and Dangerous Books; to search and enquire after those, that are Prohibited; and to correct such as have any Faults; and to discharge the Sale of them without these Corrections. But that, which makes this Tribunal Odious and Terrible, is their Laws and Method of Procedure. For by their Laws,

He who is only suspected of Heresy, by a flying Report (*s*), without any other Proof, is obliged to vindicate himself Canonically, that is to say (*t*), by Oath with several Witnesses; and then abjure what he was suspected of: And this they call a Light Suspicion. But there are Two other Suspicions of a higher Nature, *viz.* a Vehement and a Violent Suspicion. A Vehement Suspicion forms a Presumption in Law (*u*), but admits of a Defence or Proof; such is the Crime of eating of Flesh upon Prohibited Days, and of talking Erroneously in Matters of Faith. A Violent Suspicion is, the frequenting the Assemblies of Heretics, and lying under the Sentence of Excommunication more than a Year, when pronounced upon a Matter of Faith: And this forms a Presumption *juris & de jure*, against which there is no Proof or Defence admitted; and he, who is attainted of it, is treated as a Heretic. He, who is convicted of Heresy by his own Confession, tho' he repents of it and Abjures it (*x*), is severely Fined, and condemned to Perpetual Imprisonment, and to be fed upon Bread and Water: And, if he relapse, tho' he repent of it, yet he is delivered over to the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, to be Burnt alive (*y*); and all the Favour allowed him, is the Sacraments of Penance, and the Eucharist. He who is convicted of Heresy, and remains obstinate and impenitent (*z*), whether he relapse or not, is delivered over to the Magistrate to be Burnt. They, who are accused of Heresy, and convicted by sufficient Proofs, are treated after the same Manner; altho' they deny the Heresy, and make a Profession of the *Romish* Faith. Now as to the Manner of their Procedure it is thus:

The New Inquisitor having received his Commission from the Pope (*a*), or from those to whom the Pope has given the Power, must intimate it to the Bishop, or his Vicar-General, and to the Officers of the Temporal Justice, to whom he Swears to observe all the Laws Civil and Ecclesiastic against Heretics. When this Tribunal was First erected, the Inquisitors had Letters of Safeguard and Protection from their respective Princes, and most rigorously put this Oath in Execution; Excommunicating them, and depriving them of their Charges, if they refused to take it, and putting the Cities under Interdiction: But since the esta-

(*s*) Direct. Inquis. 3 part. cap. 38. (*t*) C. Excommun. 13. de hæret. § adjicimus. (*u*) C. Accusatus 8. de hæret. in 6. (*x*) C. cum contum. 7. ibid. juncta glossa C. ad abolend. 9. § 1. de hæret. C. excom. 15. eod. (*y*) C. super eo de Hæret. in 6. (*z*) Conc. Biterr. 1246 cap. 9. d. C. Excommun. 13. Director. 2. q. 34. (*a*) Director. 3. Par. per. ter.

bliſhing and receiving of their Juriſdiction, they have had no Uſe for theſe Violent Methods. The Inquiſitor has the Power of eſtabliſhing Commiſſaries in theſe Places, where he cannot himſelf conveniently go, if his Diſtrict be of a great Extent. He can likewiſe appoint his Vicar-General: And as for his other Officers, he has a Promotor, or Fiſcal, a Scribe or Secretary who muſt be a Perſon in a Public Capacity, as an Apoſtolic Notary. They have likewiſe a Number of Familiars, for ſo they are call'd, that are appointed to be their Guard, and to take into Cuſtody thoſe ſuſpected of Hereſy; and frequently they are the ſecret Delators themſelves. In a Word, there are more or leſs Officers according to the Conſtitutions that are in the different Countries. For in *Spain*, where the Inquiſition prevails moſt, there are Twelve Sorts of them (*b*). The Inquiſitor begins the Exerciſe of his Function, by a Solemn Sermon in the Principal Church, where he propoſes the Edict of the Faith; for ſo they call a General Admonition to all Perſons, to delate, within ſuch a Time, all thoſe that they ſuſpect of Hereſy, Apoſtacy, or the like Crimes, and to reveal all that they know about them. This Edict is extended to 30 or 40 Days, during which Time, if they, that are Guilty, ſhall delate themſelves; they are free from all Puniſhments appointed by the Laws: And this is what they call, *The Time of Grace*. The Propoſition of the Edict is made, not only when the Inquiſitor enters upon his Office, but likewiſe when he makes his Viſitations.

After this, the Inquiſitor receives the Accuſations and Denunciations; or he informs the Office, of the Defamations: And, if it be thought fit, that they ſhould be Perſonally apprehended, he orders it to be done, and interrogates the accuſed Perſons, and proceeds ſummarily againſt them; for, by their late Regulations, it is ſo Ordered (*c*). The Inquiſitors obſerve the greateſt Secrecy imaginable amongſt themſelves, that the accuſed Perſons may not eſcape. All things being thus Ordered, the Inquiſitor judges the Proceſs, with the Biſhop or his Vicar-General, and a ſufficient Council of Doctors, or other Qualify'd Perſons: Their Sentences are different, according to the Diſtinctions (above-mentioned) of Defamation, Suſpicion, and Conviction, the Accuſed Penitent or Impenitent: And they are pronounced publicly with great Solemnity. This Tragical Ceremony is called in *Spain*, *Auto de Fe*, (or, *The Act of Faith*;) and, to render it the more terrible, they join together a great Number of the Perſons condemned to diverſe Puniſhments; and reſerve the putting them in Execution, till an appointed Day. At which time, a Scaffold is erected in the moſt Public Place of the City; where theſe poor Creatures, being brought and expoſed to the Eyes of the People, the Inquiſitor-General or ſome other for him, makes a Sermon upon Faith, to confirm the Spectators in the Truth of their Belief; and to refute the Errors of thoſe they had condemned. Thoſe, who are convicted or violently ſuſpected, but being Penitent make a Public Abjuration, and are abſolved from the Sentence of Excommunication, are, for Penance, clothed with *Sanbenitos*, as they call them, being a ſort of Yellow Scapularies (*d*), with a S. *Andrew*'s Croſs upon their Breaſt, and another upon their Back, which they are to wear, during their whole Life. They are alſo enjoined to ſtand, upon ſeveral Solemn Days every Year,

(*b*) Paramo de Inquiſit. Tolet. (*c*) C. ſtatuta de hæret. in 6. (*d*) Paramo lib. 1. tit. 2. cap. 5.

Year, during Maſs, with Wax-Candles, lighted in their Hands, of ſuch a Weight, and perform ſuch like Acts of Public Penance; and it is but very ſeldom, that they eſcape perpetual Impriſonment. Thoſe, who are Convicted and Impenitent, or Penitent but Relapſed, are degraded, if they be in Orders; and then delivered over to the Magiſtrate, to be Burnt alive. It is true, that, in the Sentence, there is a Clauſe bearing, "That the Inquiſitor and the Biſhop ſhould earneſtly beg of the Magi-"ſtrates, That they would ſpare their Lives, and the Mutilation of their "Members: But this Clauſe is only Matter of Form, to be an Excuſe for the Eccleſiaſtical Judges. For there is an Excommunication againſt every Laic-Judge, that ſhall not put the Imperial Laws againſt Heretics immediately in Execution (*e*), by which they are ordered to be Burnt alive. At the Acts of Faith of the Inquiſition, the Secular Judges are preſent upon the Place, with their Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice: And, after the condemned Perſons are delivered to them, the Eccleſiaſtics retire; and immediately the Secular Judges give their Sentence, and ſee it put in Execution. There are not in *Spain* ſuch ſolemn Spectacles; and, to make the People have a more terrible Idea of it, the Perſons, put to Death, are Clothed in Black, on which the Devils, in Flames of Fire, are repreſented.

But tho' this Bloody and Anti-Chriſtian Tribunal was, and ſtill is, a great Scandal to the Chriſtian World; yet the great Schiſm of *Avignion*, towards the End of the Fourteenth Century, was no leſs ſcandalous, upon which followed the Council of *Baſle*, of which we have given a large Account, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Abbot of *Dundranan*; and the *Pragmatic Sanction* in *France*, of which we have likewiſe given the Hiſtory, in this Volume, in the Life of *Robert Wauchop*. Thus we have given a ſhort View and Hiſtory of the Diſcipline of the Church, from our Saviour's Time till the Reformation; the Regulations whereof *John Shevez*, above-mentioned, contracted into a narrow Compend: *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter*, *Synopſin Decreti* Gregoriani.

Mr. *William Stephen*, whom *Dempſter* does not mention, was appointed one of the Readers of Divinity; and afterwards promoted to the Biſhopric of *Dumblane*. Sir *John Liſter*, as *Spotiſwood* calls him, or *Litſter*, accordng to *Dempſter*, was the other Divinity-Reader (*f*). *Dempſter* ſays, that this Learned Profeſſor wrote a Commentary upon the Pentateuch, or the Five Books of *Moſes*; and another upon all the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *in Pentateuchum* Moyſis: *In omnes Epiſtolas* Pauli. Mr. *Lawrence Lindores*, Abbot of *Scoon*, was ordained to read the Common Law. *Dempſter* ſays, that this Gentleman was Inquiſitor-General of *Scotland* (*g*), for which he cites the *Scotichronicon*, *Lib.* xvi. *Cap.* xix. By this we find, that the Inquiſition was Eſtabliſhed here in *Scotland*; but, in what Year, I know not. Whilſt he was in the Station of Inquiſitor-General, Thirty Perſons were cited before him, that were accuſed of Hereſy (*h*). Amongſt whom were *George Campbel* of *Ceſnock*, *Adam Read* of *Barskining*, *John Campbel* of *Newmills*, and *Andrew Shaw* of *Polkennet*. Theſe Gentlemen were accuſed of maintaining the following Articles. I. That Images ought not to be made, and far leſs to be Adored or Reverenced. II. That the Reliques of the Saints ought neither to be Adored

(*e*) C. Novimus, 27. § 1. de verb. ſign. C. ut inquiſit. 18. de hæret. in 6. Direct. 3. pa. 9. 36. (*f*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 11. pag. 439. (*g*) Id. ibid. pag. 443. (*h*) Spotiſ. Hiſtor. of the Church of Scot. lib. 2. pag. 60.

or Reverenced. III. That it is not Lawful to Fight for the Faith. IV. That *Chriſt* gave the Power of Binding and Looſing to *Peter* only, and not to his Succeſſors. V. That *Chriſt* ordained no Prieſts to Conſecrate. VI. That, after the Conſecration in the Maſs, there remaineth Bread; and that the Natural Body of *Chriſt* is not there. VII. That Tithes ought not to be paid to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons. VIII. That *Chriſt*, at his coming, did abrogate the Power of Secular Princes. IX. That every Faithful Man and Woman is a Prieſt. X. That the Unction of Kings ceaſed at the Coming of *Chriſt*. XI. That the Pope is not the Succeſſor of *Peter*, except in that which our Saviour ſpake to him when He ſaid, *Go behind Me, Satan.* XII. That the Pope deceiveth the People with his Bulls and Indulgences. XIII. That the Maſs profiteth not the Souls that are in Purgatory. XIV. That the Biſhop's Bleſſing is of no Value. XV. That Indulgences ought not to be granted to Fight againſt the *Saracens*. XVI. That the Pope exhalts himſelf above God, and againſt God. XVII. That the Pope cannot remit the Pains of Purgatory. XVIII. That the Excommunication of the Church is not to be fear'd. XIX. That in no Caſe it is Lawful to Swear. XX. That the Prieſts may have Wives according to the Ordinance of the Old Law: And that true Chriſtians receive the Body of *Chriſt* every Day. Our Hiſtorians ſay, theſe Gentlemen acquit themſelves ſo well, that they were ſent home without any further Trouble. Several Perſons, in the Countries of *Kyle* and *Cuninghame*, maintained theſe Tenets, whom the Country-People called *Lollards*. Againſt them this Learned Gentleman wrote a Treatiſe, if we may believe *Dempſter*; as likewiſe an Account of the Proceſs, and Trial, of *Peter Krek* an *Engliſhman*, who was put to Death for Hereſy; and a Book concerning the Method of Elections, and the Power of Electors; for this laſt Book he cites the *Bibliotheca Juridica. Scripſit*, ſays he, *de Electione & Electi Poteſtate. Examen Hæreticorum* Lolardorum. *Proceſſum* Petri Krek *Hæreſiarchæ* Ang.

Mr. *Richard Conval*, or *Corveil*, as *Dempſter* calls him (*i*), was Arch-Deacon of *Lothian*, and ordained likewiſe to read the Canon-Law, whereon he Publiſhed a great many Books; the Catalogue of which are, as follows, according to *Dempſter*, *Paratitla Decretalium*, which Book *Henry Scrimzeor* (of whom afterwards) makes mention of; and *Alexander Chaſſanæus*, a Lawier at *Paris* in *Dempſter*'s Time, had a Copy of it. *Reductio locorum Decreti* Gratiani; *Dempſter* ſays, that this Book is mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Juridica de Cenſuris*; *Tractatus de Præſcriptionibus in materia beneficiali*; *De Judice*; *De Legato*; *In Titulum de foro competenti Commentarius.* (This Book is much commended by *Eguinarius Baro*, a Famous Lawier.) *Orationes*, &c. *Robert Keith* (*k*), was a Son of the Earl of *Marſhal*, and Abbot of *Dier*, he wrote an Admonition to the Clergy, and a Book concerning the great Sanctity of the Ancient Church of *Scotland*. This laſt Book *James Laing*, a Doctor of the *Sorbon*, had in MS. and promiſed to Print it; but whether he performed his Promiſe or not, I know not. *Scripſit & publicavit*, ſays *Dempſter*, *ad Clerum Monitoria de Primitivæ Eccleſiæ apud* Scotos *ſanctitate.* This Noble and Learned Author Died at *Paris*, upon the 22d Day of *June*, in the Year 1551, and lies Buried in the Church of the *Carmelites*, before S. *Ninian*'s Altar. *Allan Meldrum*, or *David Meldrum*, as *Dempſter* calls him (*l*), was a Chanon of *Dunkeld*, and

(*i*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 3. pag. 187. (*k*) Lib 10. pag. 423. (*l*) Lib. 12. pag. 495.

and Official to Biſhop *Lauder*, whoſe Life he wrote, and ſeveral other things upon the Canon-Law. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter*, *Vitam* Thomæ Lauder *Epiſcopi*. *Super Decretum* Gratiani *in* Clementinas. *In Extravagantes*. *John Anand* was brought up at *Paris*, and publiſhed a Book upon *Ariſtotle*'s Ethics, and another upon his Politics. *Edidit*, ſays *Dempſter*, *in Ethicæ* Ariſtotelicæ *Synopſin*. *De Politia Civili*. Beſides theſe our Author makes Mention of *John Leiſton*, *Hugh Spence*, *Andrew Ruſſel*, *Thomas Ramſay*, and *William Gundy*, who were all of them Learned Men, at that time. Having thus given this brief Account of the Famous Men at S. *Andrew*'s, mentioned by our Author, I ſhall conclude with Dr. *Johnſton* (who was Profeſſor of Theology here) his Lines upon this City.

Imminet Oceano, paribus deſcripta viarum
Limitibus, pingui quam bene ſepta ſolo?
Magnificis opibus, ſtaret dum gloria priſca
Pontificum, hîc fulſit Pontificalis apex.
Muſarum oſtentat ſurrecta palatia Cælo,
Delicias hominum, deliciaſque Deûm.
Hic nemus umbriferûm Phœbi, *Nymphæque ſorores*
Candida quas inter prænitet Uranie.
Quæ me longinquis redeuntem Teutonis *oris*
Suſcipit, excelſo collocat inque gradu.
Urbs nimium fœlix, Muſarum ſi bona nôſſet
Munera, & ætherii regna beata Dei!
Pelle malas peſtes urbe, & quæ noxia Muſis,
Alme Deus; coeant Pax Pietaſque ſimul.

In *Engliſh* thus:

In equal Streets the beauteous Structures run,
And tow'rd the Ocean ſtretch the ſpacious Town.
While Rome *and Mitres aw'd the eaſy State,*
Here the great Prelate kept his ſplendid Seat.
In lofty Courts the gentle Muſes reign,
And cheer with Heav'nly Numbers Gods and Men.
While Tuneful Phœbus *charms the ſounding Groves,*
And Wandring Nymphs repeat his Sacred Loves.
Here me, returning from the German *Coaſt*
To thoſe dear Comforts I ſo long had loſt,
Me Phœbus *bleſt with his peculiar Care,*
Me in his Honours gave the largeſt Share.
Too happy Town, did ſhe but rightly know
The Gifts that Heav'n and Heav'n's dear Tribe beſtow!
Far hence, ye Guardian Pow'rs, all Dangers chaſe;
But Crown the Muſes and the ſacred Place
With conſtant Joys of Piety and Peace.

The other Towns in *Fiſe* are *Couper*, pleaſantly ſituated upon the Banks of the River *Eden*, on which Dr. *Johnſton* has the following Lines.

Arva inter nemoriſque umbras & paſcua læta
Lenè fluens vitreis labitur Eden *aquis.*

Huc veniat ſi quis Gallorum *à finibus hoſpes,*
Gallica *ſe hic iterum fortè videre putet.*
Anne etiam ingenium hinc & fervida pectora traxit?
An potius patriis hauſerat illa focis?

In *Engliſh* thus:

By Fields, by ſhady Woods, by Flow'ry Meads,
His Chriſtal Stream the gentle Eden *guides.*
To theſe bleſt Seats ſhould Gallic *Strangers come,*
They'd find no Change, but think themſelves at Home.
Did that kind Neighb'ring Country lend the Town
The Wit and Courage, ſhe ſo oft hath ſhown?
Or was ſhe better furniſh'd from her own?

The other Towns of Note in this Shire, are *Dumfermling*, *Culroſs*, *Innerkeithing*, *Burntiſland*, *Kinghorn*, *Kirckaldy*, *Dyſart*, *Pittenweem*, *Anſtruther-Weſter*, *Anſtruther-Eaſter*, *Kilrinny*, and *Crail*. All which Towns ſent Members to the Parliament; ſo that no Shire in *Scotland* ſent ſo many as they. The other Towns of leſs Note, are *Toryburn*, *Aberdour*, the Two *Weemſes*, *Levinſmouth*, *Ely*, S. *Monans*, and *Newburgh*. A great many of theſe Towns ly alongſt the Coaſt, and make a very Beautiful Proſpect, on which Dr. *Johnſton* has theſe Lines.

Oppida ſic toto ſunt ſparſa in littore, ut unum
Dixeris, inque uno plurima juncta eadem.
Littore quot curvo Forthæ *volvuntur arenæ,*
Quotque undis refluo tunditur ora ſalo;
Pene tot hic cernas inſtratum puppibus æquor,
Urbibus & crebris pene tot ora hominum.
Cuncta operis intenta domus, fœda otia neſcit;
Sedula cura domi, ſedula cura foris:
Quæ maria, & quas non terras animoſa juventus
Ah! fragili fidens audet adire trabe?
Auxit opes virtus, virtuti dura pericla,
Juncta etiam lucro damna fuere ſuo.
Quæ fecere viris animos, cultumque dedere,
Magnanimis proſunt, damna, pericla, labor.

In *Engliſh* thus:

O'er all the Shore ſo thick the Towns are ſhown,
You'd think them Thouſands, and yet all but one.
As many Sands as Forth's *great Stream can hide,*
As many Waves as ſwell the riſing Tide;
So many Veſſels cut the noiſy Flood,
Such Num'rous Tribes the ſcatter'd Hamlets crowd.
On Land ſome ply their Work, and ſome on Seas,
And ſcorn the Pleaſures of Inglorious Eaſe.
Thro' what ſtrange Waves, to what forſaken Shores,
The Lab'ring Youth ſtill urge their ſlender Oars?

Thus

Thus Riches come and happy Plenty flows;
But Riches ſtill to Accidents expoſe:
And he that gains, muſt ever fear to loſe.
Thus bred in Hardſhips, and inur'd to Care,
They truſt their Courage and forget to fear.
Loſs, Pains, and all that angry Fate can ſend,
Prove but Incentives to a Noble Mind.

The King has Two Palaces in this Country, *Dumfermling* and *Falkland*. *Dumfermling* is Famous for a Noble Monaſtery, which was erected here by King *David* I. and for being the Burial-Place of ſeveral of our Ancient Kings, and the Birth-Place of King *Charles* I. This Monaſtery was greatly enriched by ſeveral Donations; and amongſt the reſt of King *David*'s, is the Tenth Part (*m*) of all the Gold he gets from *Fife* and *Fotherife*, which I only mention to ſhow, that it ſeems by this, there were at that time great Quantities of Gold found in that Country. The other Religious Houſes, (beſides S. *Andrew*'s and *Dumfermling*) were *Culroſs*, Founded by *Malcolm Macduff* Earl of *Fife*; *Lindoris*, Founded by *David* Earl of *Huntingtoun*; *Balmerinoch*, Founded by *Emergard*, Queen to King *William*; and *Pittenweem*. This Country is well Watered with ſeveral Rivers; the Chief of which are *Levin* and *Eden*, they both abound with Fiſhes, and have ſeveral Stone-Bridges over them. The Ancient Families here, are the *Lindſays*, *Leſlys*, *Weemſes*, *Erskins*, *Lyons*, *Melvils*, *Sinclairs*, *Elphinſtons*, *Arnots*, *Anſtruthers*, *Beatons*, *Kinneers*, *Barclays*, *Balcanquhals*, *Bruces*, *Browns*, *Boſwels*, *Colvils*, *Carſtairſes*, *Creightons*, *Cuninghames*, *Clepans*, *Forbeſſes*, *Gibſons*, *Hamiltons*, *Henderſons*, *Malcolms*, *Hackets*, *Hays*, *Hopes*, *Herriots*, *Ingliſes*, *Kircaldies*, *Kininmonts*, *Lundies*, *Lumſdales*, *Monipennies*, *Moncreifs*, *Mirtons*, *Macgils*, *Orocks*, *Pitcairns*, *Preſtons*, *Scots*, *Sibbalds*, *Wardlaws*, and *Woods*. The Commodities of this Country, are Corn, Fiſh, eſpecially Salmond and Herring, Coals, Salt, and Hides of Black Cattel, with Skins of Deer, Goats and Sheep.

Perth-Shire is Bounded on the North and North-Weſt, by *Badenoch* and *Lochaber*; on the Eaſt, by *Mar*; on the Weſt and South-Weſt, by *Argyle* and *Lennox*; on the South, by *Clackmannan*, *Stirling*-Shire and *Forth*. This Shire is 52 Miles in Length, and 48 in Breadth. It contains *Athol*, *Gowry*, *Glenſhee*, *Strathardel*, *Braidalbin*, *Rannoch*, *Balwhidder*, *Glenurchy*, *Stormont*, *Menteith*, and *Strathern*. The Principal Towns in this Shire, are *Perth*, commonly called S. *Johnſtoun*, pleaſantly ſituated upon the Banks of the River *Tay*. Near this Town ſtood Anciently the Town of *Berth*, which was Overflowed by an Inundation of the River; which occaſioned King *William*, to Build this Town in a more commodious Place, between Two pleaſant Greens. During the Wars betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, it was ſtrongly Fortify'd; and our Kings often reſided here, and held their Parliaments. On this Town Dr. *Johnſton* has theſe Lines.

Propter aquas Tai *liquidas, & amœna vireta,*
Obtinet in medio Regna ſuperba ſolo.
Nobilium quondam Regum clariſſima ſedes,
Pulchra ſitu, & pinguis germine dives agri.

(*m*) See Sir Rob. Sibbald's Deſcrip. of Fife.

Finitimis dat jura locis memoremque modumque,
Huic dare laus, illis hæc meruiſſe dari.
Sola inter patrias incincta eſt mœnibus urbes,
Hoſtibus aſſiduis ne vaga præda foret.
Quanta virûm virtus, dextræ quæ præmia, norunt
Cimber, Saxo *ferox*, *& genus* Hectoridum.
Felix laude nova, felix quoque laude vetuſta,
Perge recens priſcum perpetuare decus.

In *Engliſh* thus:

Near Tay's *great Stream amongſt delightful Plains*
Majeſtic Perth *in Royal Splendour reigns.*
For lofty Courts of Ancient Kings renown'd
Fair is the Site and ever Rich the Ground.
Hence Laws and Manners Neighb'ring Parts receive;
Their Praiſe it's to deſerve, and her's to give.
No Walls like her's her Siſter-Towns can ſhow,
Which guard her Riches from the Bord'ring Foe.
How ſtout her Knights, what Noble Spoils they won;
The Britons, Saxons *and the* Danes *have known.*
Renown'd in eldeſt and in lateſt Days,
Oh may her Glories with her Years increaſe;
And New Deſerts advance her Ancient Praiſe!

Dumblane is a pleaſant little Town on the Bank of the River *Allan*, and a Biſhop's Seat. Here was a Church of excellent Workmanſhip, Part of which remains yet intire. In the Ruines thereof is an Ancient Picture, repreſenting the Counteſs of *Strathern*, with her Children Kneeling, and asking a Bleſſing from S. *Blanus* Clothed in his Pontifical Habit. *Dempſter* tells us (*n*), that *George Newton* wrote the Life of this Saint, and from him gives us this Account. S. *Cathan*, an *Iriſh* Biſhop, deſigning to lead a Solitary or Hermetical Life, left his own Country, and came over with his Siſter *Ertha* to the Iſland of *Bute*. This Lady, as ſhe was one Day in the Fields, happened to meet with a Beautiful young Gentleman, who compell'd her to ly with him, and got her with Child. After ſhe was brought to Bed, ſhe was expoſed to the Waves of the Sea, in a ſmall Boat, with her little Infant, that they might both periſh: But, by the Divine Providence, they were thrown in, upon the Main Land. At that Time, Two Holy Men, *Congallus* and *Kenneth*, happening to walk upon the Shore, having, after Enquiry, learned from *Ertha* the Cauſe of her Misfortune, had Compaſſion upon her; and provided both for her and her Infant, whom they Baptized, and call'd him *Blanus*. This Boy, when he came to Age, proved a moſt excellent Scholar; and applying himſelf to Theology, he entred into Holy Orders. After this, he went to *Rome*, where the Pope, upon the Account of his ſingular Endowments, made him a Biſhop. Then returning to his own Country, after he had led a moſt Holy and Devout Life, he Died at this Town, which, from him, has been ever ſince call'd *Dumblane*. If we might believe *Dempſter*, this Holy Biſhop wrote ſeveral Pious Books. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *de Evangelii Gratiâ verſus quoſdam ſacros. Præcepta ad Catechumenos.* But

(*n*) Dempſt. Hiſt. lib. 2. pag. 77.

But it's as improbable, that he wrote theſe Books, as that he raiſed a Son of the King of *England* from the Dead, for which he cites theſe Lines.

Ecce pius Præſul Blanus, *ſuſpiria matris*
Deflens, ter natum Regis de morte Columbam
Suſcitat incolumem, baptizatumque parenti
Reddidit, & ſequitur Domini veſtigia patris.

The Town of *Dunkeld* is another Biſhop's Seat, in this Country: This Town is thought to have been the Principal Seat of the *Caledonians*; to which, *Statius*, in the following Verſes addreſſed to *Criſpinus*, ſays, that *Vectius Volanus* his Father, Proprætor in *Britain* came.

Quanta Caledonios *attollet gloria campos*
Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ?
Hic ſuetus dare jura parens, hoc ceſpite turmas
Affari, ille dedit, cinxitque hæc mœnia foſſâ;
Belligeris hæc dona Deis, hæc tela dicavit,
Cernis adhuc titulos, hunc ipſe vocantibus armis
Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.

In *Engliſh* thus:

What Glories Caledonian *Plains ſhall boaſt,*
When ſome rude Native of the Barb'rous Coaſt
Salutes you thus? --- Here, Sir, with awful State
Your Noble Father oft in Judgment ſate,
On this ſmall Hill I've ſeen the Heroe ſtand,
While willing Legions heard his juſt Command;
Theſe Walls, theſe Ditches, own his mighty Hand.
Theſe Arms (their old Inſcriptions yet appear)
He fix'd glad Trophies to the God of War.
This ſumptuous Corſlet for the Fight put on,
And this from Britain's *Prince in Combate won.*

But, as Mr. *Cambden* has Obſerved in this as in other things,

Creſcit in immenſum facunda licentia vatum.

Nor Laws nor Bounds Poetic Licence owns.

For neither *Cæſar* nor *Vollanus* ever ſo much as knew the *Caledonians*. In *Pliny*'s Time (as himſelf Witneſſes) almoſt 30 Years after *Claudius*, the *Romans*, with all their Expeditions, had carry'd their Victories no farther in *Britain* than to the Neighbourhood of the *Caledonian* Foreſt. For *Julius Agricola*, under *Domitian*, was the Firſt that entred *Caledonia*, as we have obſerved in the Life of *Galgacus*. *Scoon* is Remarkable for being the Place, where formerly the Kings of *Scotland* were Crown'd. The Town of *Abernethy* was the Ancient Metropolis of the *Picts*. *This Town*, as it appears from an Old MS. cited by Mr. *Cambden*, Nectanus, King of the *Picts*, *gave to God and S.* Brigid, *until the Day of Judgment, together with the Bounds thereof, which ly from a Stone in* Abertrent *to a Stone near* Carful, *that is* Lochſol; *and from thence as far as* Ethan. That

Part of this Shire, call'd *Strathern*, takes its Denomination from the River *Ern*, which runs thoro' it, and falls into the *Tay*; and is the *Jerna*, mentioned by the *Roman* Hiſtorians and Poets. *Menteith* is another Part of this Shire, and derives its Name from the River *Teith*; as *Braidalbin* does from its high Mountains. The chief Rivers in this Shire, are *Tay*, *Earn*, *Teith*, *Allan*, *Keith*, and ſeveral others of leſs Note: But the Principal River is *Tay*, which flows from a Lake of that Name, Ten Miles long, and One broad; and, after a Courſe of Fourty Six Miles, falls into the *German* Ocean below *Dundee*. The Principal Families in this Country, are the *Murrays*, *Hays*, *Stewarts*, *Drummonds*, *Campbels*, *Grahames*, *Haldens*, *Olyphants*, *Ruthvens*, *Ogilvies*, *Robertſons*, *Rollos*, *Kinnairds*, *Blairs*, *Toſochs*, *Meinzieſes*, *Fullartons*, and *Roſſes*. The Religious Houſes in this Shire, are *Inchaffray*, call'd *Inſula Miſſarum*, Founded by *Gilbert* Earl of *Strathern*; the *Carthuſians*, in *Perth*, Founded by King *James* I. *Scoon*, by King *Alexander* I. *Inſula* S. *Colmoci*, in *Menteith*, by *Murdoch* Earl of *Menteith*; *Straphoullans*, by King *Robert Bruce*; *Lochtay*, by whom Founded, I know not; and *Elquhow*, Founded by *David Lindſay*. At the *Meagile*, is an Ancient Monument of Stone, cut with ſeveral Figures, ſaid to be the Burial-Place of Queen *Vanara*, who had her Dwelling-Place Three Miles Benorth upon a Hill call'd *Barrey*, where are the Ruines of a great Building. The High Grounds of this Shire are good Paſture; and the Low, very Fruitful in Corn. The *Ochil*-Hills, which run along the South Parts of this Shire, abound with Metals and Minerals; particularly is found therein good Copper, and the *Lapis Calaminaris*, and Lead. In this Country is great Want of Coal; but they have excellent Peets, and Abundance of Wood, that ſupplies that Defect.

Angus is Bounded by the Ocean and the Firth of *Tay*, upon the South; upon the Weſt and North-Weſt, it is divided from *Perth*-Shire by a Line of 27 Miles long; towards the North, the Ridge of *Binchinnin* Mountains part it from the *Brae of Marr*; and to the Eaſt, it is ſeparated from the *Merns*, by the Water of *Tarf*, and a Line drawn from it to the Water of *North-Eſk*, which to its Mouth continues to divide this Shire from the *Merns*. 'Tis in Length about 28 Miles; and in Breadth, about 20. The Principal Towns, in this Shire, are *Forfar*, the Head Town of the Shire, whence it is likewiſe call'd the Shire of *Forfar*. *Dundee*, ſo call'd from *Dun* a Hill, and the River *Tay*, on the North-Side whereof it is ſituated. It was call'd by the Ancients, *Alectum*; by others, *Taodunum*: But our Author ſays, that it was call'd *Donum Dei*, or *God's Gift*, from *David* Earl of *Huntingtoun*'s ſafe Arriving there, in his Return from the *Holy Land*, as we have related in the Life of King *William* his Brother. This Town ſtands in a pleaſant Plain, and is adorned with good Buildings of all Sorts: It hath Two Churches, a high Steeple, a Harbour for Ships of Burden, and a conſiderable Trade with Strangers. The Inhabitants are generally Rich, and thoſe, who fall from their Means have a large Hoſpital provided for them. It is likewiſe very Famous for being the Birth-Place of a great many Learned Men: Amongſt whom our Author was one, which made the ſo often cited Dr. *Johnſton* compoſe the following Lines upon this Town.

Qua Notus argutis adſpirat molliter auris,
Hac placidè coeunt Taus *&* Oceanus.
Hic facili excipiens venientes littore puppes,
Indigenas vaſti diſtrahit orbis opes.
Sæpe dolis tentata, & belli exercita damnis,
Invictis Animis integra præſtat adhuc.
Fama vetus crevit cum Relligione renata,
Lucis & hinc fulſit pura nitela aliis.
Alectum *dixere prius; ſi maxima ſpectes*
Commoda, fors Donum *dixeris eſſe* Dei.
Tu decus æternum gentiſque urbiſque Boetii,
Cætera dic patriæ dona beata tuæ.

In *Engliſh* thus:

Where the calm South with gentle Murmurs reigns,
Tay with the Sea his Peaceful Current joins.
To Trading Ships an eaſy Port is ſhown,
That makes the Riches of the World its own.
Oft have her hapleſs Sons been forc't to bear
The Diſmal Thunder of repeated War;
Yet unſubdu'd their Noble Souls appear.
Reſtor'd Religion hath advanc'd her Height,
And ſpread thro' diſtant Parts the Sacred Light.
Alectum *once 'twas Nam'd; but when you've view'd*
The Joys and Comforts by kind Heav'n beſtow'd,
You'll ſee, why it was call'd a Gift of God.
But thus, Boetius, *Honour of this Town,*
And of thy Country, makes its Beauties known.

Brechin is a Mercat Town and a Biſhop's Seat, it hath a ſtately Bridge over the River *Esk*; and is Famous for the Defeat of the *Danes* by the Valour of the *Keith*, as we have related in the Life of King *Malcolm* II. *Aberbrothock* is a Royal Burgh, and has a good Harbour. *Montroſe*, or the *Mount of Roſes*, was Anciently call'd *Celurca*, Built out of the Ruines of another of the ſame Name, and ſituated between the Two Rivers of *North-Esk* and *South-Esk*. On this Town, Dr. *Johnſton* has theſe Lines.

Aureolis urbs picta roſis, mons molliter urbi
Imminet, hinc urbi nomina facta canunt:
At veteres perhibent quondam dixiſſe Celurcam,
Nomine ſic priſco & Nobilitate nova eſt.
Et priſca atque nova inſignis virtute, virûmque
Ingeniis patriæ qui peperere decus.

In *Engliſh* thus:

A leaning Mount, which Golden Roſes Grace,
At once Adorns and Names the Happy Place:
But Ancient Times Celurca *call'd the Town.*
Thus is it Proud of old and late Renown,
And old and late Brave Sons, whoſe Wit and Hand
Have brought new Trophies to their Native Land.

The chief Families in this Shire, are the *Erskines*, *Ogilvies*, *Carnegies*, *Lyons*, *Grahames*, *Lindſays*, *Maules*, *Scrimzeors*, *Arbuthnets*, *Grays*, *Neaveys*, *Fullertons*, *Durhams*, and *Hunters*. The Principal Rivers are *Tay*, *North-Esk* and *South-Esk*. The Religious Houſes in this Shire, are *Aberbrothock*, Founded by King *William*, where he lies Buried with a ſtately Monument above him; *Cowper*, Founded by King *Malcolm* IV. and *Reſtennet*. In this Country they have ſeveral Quarries of Free-Stone, and much Slate; with both which they drive a good Trade. Near the Caſtle of *Innermarkie* are Lead-Mines: And they find great Plenty of Iron-Ore near the Wood of *Dalbog*. The Higher Ground call'd the *Brae* abounds with Hart, Hind, Roe-Buck, Doe, and Fowl: And their Salmond-Trade turns to a good Account.

The Shire of the *Merns* is ſo called from *Mern*, a Valiant Gentleman, to whom it was given by *Kenneth* II. call'd alſo the Shire of *Kincardin*. To the Eaſt, it is Bounded with the Sea; to the South, with the Water of *North-Esk*, to the Weſt, with *Granſbain*-Hills; and to the North, with the River of *Dee*. In Length it is about 26 Miles, or, as ſome ſay, 28 Miles; in Breadth, about 20. The Principal Places in this Shire, are *Kincardin* the Head-Burgh of the Shire. *Bervy*, a Free Burgh, beneath which are to be ſeen the Ruines of a Caſtle, Built, as it is reported, by *Malcolm Kenmore*, who made the Town a Free Burgh. On the Lands of *Arduthie* and *Redcloak*, an Encampment of the *Danes* is to be ſeen. *Dunnotyr*-Caſtle ſtands upon a Rock, waſhed by the Sea on Three Sides, and joined to the Land by a narrow Neck. Towards the Entrance of the Gate, is a huge Rock near Fourty Ells high, which one would think were alwiſe ready to fall. The Court is a large Plot of Green Ground; the old Buildings, which are Seven Story high, have very thick Walls: It had once a Church, which was demoliſhed in the late Civil Wars. *Forden* is Famous for the Birth of the Hiſtorian of that Name, whoſe Life you have in the Firſt Volume of this Work. The chief Families in this Country, are the *Keiths*, *Arbuthnets*, *Grahames*, *Stratons*, *Strachans*, *Burnets*, *Barclays*, *Falconers*, *Ramſays*, *Allardices*, *Carnegies*, *Bannermans*, and *Woods*. The Principal Rivers in this Country are *Cowy*: And *Bervy*, over which is a Stone-Bridge of Two Arches. *Pady*-Kirk, ſo call'd from its being the Burial-Place of S. *Palladius*, was much reſorted to of Old by all Ranks of People: But it is only Remarkable at this Time for its Yearly Fair, which continues for Three Days; and the Principal Thing brought to it is courſe Cloth, which is commonly tranſported to the *Netherlands*. This Country likewiſe in general, is Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage. Upon the Sea-Coaſts, they have ſeveral convenient Creeks, and ſome good Harbours; whereof *Stonehive* is one of the beſt. The Earl *Mariſchal* has a good Salmond-Fiſhing nigh to this Harbour. The Country is alſo well ſtored with all other Sorts of Fiſh.

The Shire of *Aberdeen* contains in it the Country of *Mar* and its Apurtenances, *viz.* *Birſe*, *Glentaner*, *Glenmuick*, *Strath-Dee*, *Strath-Don*, *Brays* of *Mar*, and *Cromar*, moſt Part of *Buchan*, *Formartain*, *Garioch*, and *Strathbogy*. It has *Gowry* and the *Merns*, to the South; *Buchan* on the North; and Part of *Perth*-Shire, and *Badenoch*, on the Weſt; and the *German* Ocean on the Eaſt. The Principal Towns in this Shire, are *Old-Aberdeen* a Biſhop's Seat. The chief Ornament of this Town is the Uni-

Univerſity; and the Cathedral Church Dedicated to S. *Machar*, which is a large and ſtately Structure, but was much more Magnificent before the Reformation, for about the Year 1560 it was almoſt wholly deſtroy'd. The *King*'s College is a very neat and ſtately Structure; the Church and Steeple whereof are Built of Hewn-Stone, and the Summit of the Steeple reſembles an Imperial Crown. In this Steeple, beſides others, are Two Bells of a very extraordinary Bigneſs. Hard by the Church, there is a Library well Furniſhed with all Sorts of Books, eſpecially the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers; and which of late has been very much augmented by Biſhop *Scougal*'s Books, and his Son's Doctor *Henry Scougal*, Profeſſor of Divinity there, ſo well known by his Book, call'd *The Life of God in the Soul of Man.* But I have already given an Account of this Univerſity, and of the Learned Men that were then living at the Founding of it. Since which time, it has produced Multitudes of others, that have been the great Ornaments of their Age; of whom I ſhall ſpeak, God willing, in the Third Volume of this Work. Amongſt theſe was Doctor *Johnſton*, whom we have ſo often cited for the Excellent Verſes he compoſed upon ſeveral Towns in this Nation; and amongſt the reſt he has theſe upon this Town, and the *New-Town*, the Place of his Birth.

Ad Boream *porrecta, jugis obſeſſa ſuperbis*
Inter connatas eminet una Deas.
Mitior algentes Phœbus *ſic temperat auras,*
Non æſtum ut rabidum, frigora nec metuas.
Fœcundo ditat Neptunus *gurgite, & amnes*
Piſcoſi, gemmis alter adauget opes:
Candida mens, frons læta, hilaris, gratiſſima tellus
Hoſpitibus, morum cultus ubique decens.
Nobilitas antiqua, opibus ſubnixa vetuſtis,
Martiaque *invicto pectore corda gerens.*
Juſtitiæ domus, & ſtudiorum mater honoris,
Ingenio ars, certant artibus ingenia.
Omnia ei cedunt, meritos Genitricis honores
Pingere non ulla ars, ingeniumve valet.

In *Engliſh* thus:

With circling Cliffs her lofty Turrets vie,
And meet her Rival Siſters of the Sky.
So gentle Phœbus *warms the ſharper Air;*
Nor Cold, nor Heat's Extremes her People fear.
Great Neptune *and his Sons, for Fiſh Renown'd,*
With Uſeful Floods enrich the Fertil Ground;
In one fair Current Precious Gems are found.
True Hearts, and Pleaſant Looks, and Friendly Cheer,
And Honeſt Breeding never fail you here.
Old their Eſtates, old is their Noble Blood,
Brave as their Souls and ſcorn to be ſubdu'd.
Here ſteady Juſtice keeps her awful Seat:
Wit ſtrives with Art; and Art contends with Wit.
But my great Mother's Worth and Matchleſs Praiſe,
Nor Art nor Wit can ever hope t' expreſs.

New-Aberdeen is distant from the *Old-Town* about a Mile. This Town exceeds all the other Towns, in the North, for Largeneſs, Trade, and Beauty. 'Tis adorned likewiſe with an Univerſity, Founded by *George*, Earl *Mariſchal*, in the Year 1593, to which the City has added many Buildings at their own Charge; and has a very good Library, which was Founded by the City, and greatly enlarged by the Gifts of ſeveral Learned Men, of whom, and the other Learned Men that this Univerſity has produced, I ſhall give a full Account in the Third Volume of this Work. In this College there is a Principal, Four Profeſſors of Philoſophy, a Profeſſor of Divinity, and a Profeſſor of Mathematics. In this City is alſo a Grammar-School, having One Maſter and Three Uſhers; and a Muſic-School with a Maſter. *Kintore* is a Burgh Royal, ſituated upon the River *Don*. *Inverurie* was erected into a Burgh Royal by King *Robert Bruce*, upon the Account of his having gained a Signal Victory at it. Upon the South-Side of the Water of *Ugie*, ſtands *Peterhead*, which has a Noble Road for Ships. The chief Rivers in this Country, are *Don*, over which, about Half a Mile from *Old-Aberdeen*, is a ſtately Bridge of one large Arch. *Dee*, over which, about Two Miles from the Town of *New-Aberdeen*, is a ſtately Bridge of 7 Arches, Built by Biſhop *Gawin Dunbar*. Beſides theſe Two Rivers are a great many others of leſs Note, that abound with Fiſh. The Religious Houſes here, are the Priory of *Monymusk* in *Mar*, Founded by one of the Biſhops of S. *Andrew*'s; *Deer*, in *Buchan*, Founded by *William Cuming* Earl of *Buchan*, in the Year 1218. This Country abounds with all Neceſſaries for Human Life. The Mountainous Part whereof affords very good Paſturage; and the other, very good Corn. The adjoining Sea Furniſhes them with all Sorts of Fiſh in great Plenty: And the Rivers of *Don* and *Dee* are Two of the Richeſt Rivers in *Britain* for Salmond. In ſeveral Rivers in this Country, are found Shells with Pearl. There is Abundance of Wild Fowl of ſeveral Sorts, and great Quantity of Deer in their Woods and Foreſts, It abounds with Quarries of Free-Stone for Building, and of Lime-Stone for Cultivating the Land.

The Shire of *Bamf* contains that Part of *Buchan*, which lies North of the River *Ugie*, with the Countries of *Strathdovern*, *Boin*, *Enzie*, *Strathavin*, and *Balvenie*. To the South, it is ſeparated from that Part of *Buchan* which belongeth to *Aberdeen*-Shire, by the Water of *Ugie*; to the Eaſt, it hath the Water of *Dovern*; to the Weſt, the Water of *Spey*; to the South-Weſt it hath *Badenoch* and the *Brae* of *Mar*; and *Murray*-Firth, upon the North. The Length from Weſt to Eaſt is 32 Miles, and the Breadth about 30. The Principal Towns in this Country, are *Bamf*, a Burgh Royal, ſeated at the Mouth of *Dovern* in the *Boin*, where the Sheriff hath his Courts. *Cullen* is another Royal Burgh, but it has no Port for Trade more than *Bamf*. *Frazerburgh* is a good Sea-Port Town; and *Keith* and *Turref* are Two very pleaſant Villages. The Rivers of this Country, are *Don*, *Dee*, *Ugie*, *Dovern*, and ſeveral others of leſs Note. The Principal Families in the Shires of *Aberdeen* and *Bamf*, are the *Gordons*, *Keiths*, *Hays*, *Erskins*, *Ogilvies*, *Forbeſſes*, *Leſlies*, *Meldrums*, *Udnys*, *Seatons*, *Skeens*, *Strachans*, *Fergusons*, *Bannermans*, *Fullertons*, *Urquharts*, *Inneſſes*, *Abercrombies*, and *Calders*. *Deer* and *Fyvie* were Two of the moſt conſiderable Religious Houſes in *Buchan*; but, who Founded the Laſt, I know not. The Mountainous Part of this Country abounds

abounds with Flocks of Black Cattel, Sheep, Horſes, and Goats. In this Country are a great many Foreſts. The Beef and Mutton of theſe Parts is of a delicious Taſt, and the Wool very much valued for its Whiteneſs and Softneſs. The Tract of Land, call'd *Cromar*, abounds ſo with Corn, that it is call'd *the Granary of the Neighbouring Country*. Here is a Rock ſufficient to afford very good Whet-Stones and Hones to all *Britain*. At *Balveny* there are Springs of Allum-Water; and Veins of Stone in the Earth, from whence Allum is boil'd. Here is likewiſe a great deal of Lime-Stone. And near the *Slains* is a Cove, where the Water, that drops from the Top of it, turns to a Stone before it reaches the Ground. In the Country of *Boin*, great Quarries of Spotted Marble have been lately found out.

The Shire of *Murray* has *Badenoch* and the Shire of *Inverneſs*, on the Weſt; *Bamf*, on the Eaſt; the Bay of *Cromarty*, on the North; and Part of *Badenoch* and *Mar*, on the South. The Principal Towns in this Country, are *Elgin*, a Biſhop's Seat, lying on the River *Loſſie* which waſhes it on the Eaſt and North, in a very Fruitful Soil. There are the Ruines of a Caſtle Eaſtward of the Town, which was demoliſhed during the Wars with the *Danes*. There was a Noble Cathedral Church here; which for Largeneſs, Splendor, Magnificence, and Workmanſhip, had not its Equal in the Kingdom. The Biſhop's uſual Place of Reſidence was at the Caſtle of *Spynie*, within a Mile of the Town, a very Noble Seat with fine Gardens and Woods. *Forreſs* is pleaſantly ſituated upon the River of *Findorn*. Our Kings ſometimes reſided here in a Caſtle, that is now Ruinous. *Nearne* is a Royal Burgh, ſituated upon the Coaſt of *Murray*-Firth, where the Water of *Nearne* runneth into the Sea. The chief Rivers in this Country, are the River *Neſſe*, which takes its Riſe from Loch *Coich* not far from the *Iriſh* Sea; and is call'd *Coich* for ſome Miles, where running North-Eaſt it falls into Loch *Gariff*, and is call'd by that Name; then it falls into a ſmall Lake call'd *Eawich*: Thereafter running South-Eaſt for Two Miles, it falls into *Lochneſs*, which extends it ſelf into 24 Miles in Length, and is of an unknown Depth. This Lake, tho' every where ſurrounded with a Barren and Uncultivated Soil, never freezes; nor does the River *Neſſe* it ſelf, which, running about 4 Miles after it comes out of the Lake, waſhes the Town of *Inverneſs*, and falls into *Murray*-Firth. The River *Nearne* riſes in the Mountains, which ſeparate *Strath-Herin* from *Glentarf*; and dividing the Valley to which it gives the Name of *Strath-Herin*, runs South-Eaſt, and falls into *Murray*-Firth, at the Town of *Nearne*. *Findorn* riſes in the Hills near *Badenoch*; and being call'd *Herin* for a long Way, gives the Name of *Strath-Herin* to the Valley thoro' which it runs; then taking the Name of *Findorn*, and, running by *Tarnaway*, the Town of *Forreſs*, and the Abby of *Kinloſs*, falls alſo into *Murray*-Firth, where it forms a very ſafe Harbour. *Loſſie* riſes a few Miles above the Town of *Elgin*, and falls into the Sea a few Miles below it. *Spey*, a large, clear, and rapid River, riſes from a Lake of its own Name, in the Hills betwixt *Badenoch* and *Lochaber*; takes its Courſe South-Eaſt, is every where Hedged in with High Mountains, until it comes within Six Miles of the Sea, where it runs thoro' a Plain and well Inhabited Country, and does much Dammage by its Inundations; has no Harbour, and the Tide does not Flow up a Mile in it. The Religious Houſes in this Country,

were *Kinloſs*, or rather *Kilfloſs*, from certain Flowers that ſprung up Miraculouſly upon the Grave of King *Macduff*, who was Murdered and Buried ſecretly here: It was Founded by King *David*. *Vrquhart* and *Pluſcardy*, Founded by *Alexander* II. The Ancient Families here, are the *Macomtoſhis*, *Macpherſons*, *Farquhardſons*, *Dumbars*, *Stewarts*, *Sutherlands*, *Grants*, *Inneſſes*, *Brodies*, *Mackenzies*, *Frazers*, *Campbels*, *Roſſes*, and *Urquharts*. This Country is about 30 Miles long, and 20 broad; is for the moſt Part Champaign and Low, but in ſome Places thereof, it riſes into pleaſant Hills. The Climate and Soil is the beſt in all the North of *Scotland*: So that, when the Neighbouring Countries ſuffer much by the Extremity of the Winter, this Country ſuffers no great Dammage, either by the Rigour of Froſts or Continuance of Snows. Whence the Inhabitants boaſt, "That they have 40 more clear Days in "a Year than any of their Neighbours. This Country is Productive of every thing that grows in any other Part of the Kingdom, and abounds particularly with Corn and Fruit, and all in very good Seaſon: So that their Harveſt is done here, while their Neighbours are ſcarcely begun. It is fitter for Corn than Paſturage, tho' they have enough of the latter in the upper Places; and no Country is better Provided with Bread, Fleſhes and Fiſhes. The Inhabitants on the Coaſts, apply themſelves to Fiſhing, wherein they excel their Neighbours. The River of *Spey* abounds ſo with Salmond, that there is Annually exported 80, or 100 Laſts; and all theſe taken in a few Months of the Summer.

The Shire of *Inverneſs* did formerly contain all the Country from *Lochlevin* to the *Orkney*-Iſlands, along the Weſtern Coaſt, beſides the Weſtern-Iſles: But it is now divided into ſeveral Shires, and comprehends at preſent *Lochaber*, *Badenoch* and the South-Part of *Roſs* to the South. It hath the *Brae* of *Mar* and *Athol*, to the Weſt; the Weſtern Sea, to the North; and to the Eaſt, *Roſs* and Part of *Murray*-Firth. The Length of it from *Inverlochy* to *Inverneſs*, in a ſtreight Line, is 50 Miles. The Principal Towns in this Shire, are *Inverneſs* and *Inverlochy*. *Inverneſs* is the Head-Town of the Shire, where the Sheriff keeps his Court; is commodiouſly ſituated on the South-Side of the River *Neſs*, on the very Bank of it, which renders it very convenient for Commerce with the Neighbouring Places: And ſometimes our Kings lived here. It has a Caſtle ſtanding on a pleaſant Hill with a fine Proſpect into the Country and Town. Of late they have Built a Bridge over the Water, conſiſting of Seven Arches, all of Hewn-Stone, whereas formerly it was of Timber. It has a convenient Harbour for ſmall Veſſels. *Inverlochy* was of old a very conſiderable Town, both for Strength and Trade: But is now only Noticeable for its being a convenient Fort for a Gariſon, to keep the *Highlanders* in theſe Parts in Order. On theſe Two Towns Doctor *Johnſton* compoſed the following Lines.

Imperii veteris duo propugnacula quondam,
Primaque regali mœnia ſtructa manu;
Turribus oppoſitis adverſo in limine ſpectant,
Hæc Zephyrum, ſolis illa orientis equos.
Amnibus hinc atque hinc cincta, utique Piſcibus amnes
Fœcundi, hæc portu perpete tuta patet.

Hæc

Hæc fuit, at jacet heu! jam nunc ſine nomine tellus,
Hoſpita quæ Regum, eſt hoſpita facta feris.
Altera ſpirat adhuc tenuis ſufflamina vitæ,
Quæ dabit & fati turbine victa manus.
Dic, ubi nunc Carthago *potens? ubi* Martia Roma,
Trojaque *& immenſæ ditis opes* Aſiæ?
Quid mœreris enim mortalia cedere fatis
Corpora? cum videas oppida poſſe mori.

In *Engliſh* thus:

Two ſtately Forts the Realm's old Guardians ſtood;
The Firſt's great Walls to Royal Builders ow'd.
Their lofty Turrets on the Shores were ſhown;
One to the Riſing, one the Setting Sun.
All round well Stock'd with Fiſh fair Rivers ly,
And one preſents a ſafe and eaſy Bay.
Such once it was, but now a Nameleſs Place,
Where Princes lodg'd, the meaneſt Cattel Graze.
T' other ſurvives and faintly breaths as yet:
But muſt ere long ſubmit to conqu'ring Fate.
Where's haughty Carthage *now with all her Pow'r?*
Where's Rome *and* Troy *that rul'd as Great before?*
Where the vaſt Riches of the Aſian *Shore?*
No Wonder then, that we frail Men ſhould dy,
When Towns themſelves confeſs Mortality.

Neſs and *Spey* are the Two Principal Rivers in this Country. The Abby of *Pluſcardy* had formerly the Fiſhing of this laſt River, by which they were extremely Enriched, which one of their Abbots obtained for them from King *Robert Bruce*. For that Prince, on a Journey, calling at this Abby, got but very mean Entertainment, and pitying them for their Poverty, deſired the Abbot to ask a Boon or Gift from him. The Abbot begged only a few Furlongs of the River, which, he ſaid, belonged to no Man. This was granted him, whereby they got the whole Fiſhing of the River. Beſides theſe Rivers, are ſeveral others and a great many Lakes, all plentifully Stored with Fiſh. The Ancient Families here, are the *Stewarts*, *Sutherlands*, *Grants*, *Inneſſes*, *Mackenzies*, *Macomtoſhes*, *Frazers*, *Forbeſſes*, *Dumbars*, *Macphersans*, *Camrons*, and *Macleods*. This Country has Plenty of Iron-Ore, great Woods of Fir; ſome of them being Seven, Nine, and Ten Miles in Length. Here are likewiſe great Flocks of Deer, Black Cattel, and Sheep.

Argyle-Shire has *Lochaber*, on the North; *Lennox*, on the Eaſt; the *Deucaledonian* Ocean, on the Weſt; and the *Iriſh* Sea, and the Firth of *Clide*, on the South. It contains the Country of that Name, *Knapdale*, *Cowal*, *Kintire*, and *Lorn*, with a great Part of the Weſtern-Iſlands. *Kintire* is a Peninſula, which runs 30 Miles out into the *Iriſh* Sea; is well Inhabited, eſpecially upon the Coaſts, and is Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage; has in it a Burgh of Barony ſituated upon the Loch of *Kilkerran*, call'd *Campbel*'s-Town, where is a ſafe Harbour for Ships. The chief Family here is the *Macconels*. *Knapdale* is joined to *Kintire* on the North, by a narrow Neck of Land, ſcarce above a Mile Broad, thoro'

which the People of the Country draw their Boats to prevent their Sailing round *Kintire*. This Country has *Lochfine*, on the East; and the *Iriſh* Sea, on the Weſt and South; and *Lorn*, on the North: It abounds with Lakes and Bays, ſeveral of which contain Iſlands and Caſtles, and is fitter for Paſturage than being Cultivated. *Cowal* lies betwixt *Lochfine*, on the Weſt; the Firth of *Clide*, on the Eaſt; the Iſle of *Bute*, on the South; *Argyle* and the *Grampian* Mountains on the North. It abounds with Lakes and Bays. *Argyle*, properly ſo call'd, has *Knapdale* and *Cowal*, on the South; *Lochaber*, on the North; *Lennox* and the *Grampian*-Hills, on the Eaſt; and *Lorn*, on the Weſt. The chief Towns in this Country, are *Inverrara*, a Burgh Royal, near which is the Caſtle, the Reſidence of the Family of *Argile*, adorned with Fine Gardens, ſtanding on the Water of *Eira*, where it falls into *Lochfine*; and *Liſmore* a Biſhop's Seat. Here are a great many Rivers and Lakes, the Principal of which, are *Lochfine*, which is about 60 Miles in Length and 4 in Breadth. This Loch is Famous for the great Quantities of good Herrings, that are taken in it. *Lochow* is a Freſh-Water Loch, 24 Miles long, and one broad; out of which the River of *How* runs for ſome Six or Seven Miles; and then enters *Loch-Ediff*. In this Loch there are Twelve Iſlands; in Two of which, are the Caſtle of *Enconnel* and *Glenurquhart*: Where it enters into the Sea, it abounds with Salmond; and from this Loch the Family of *Argile* had their Ancient Title of Lairds of *Lochow*. *Lorn*, (where is the Caſtle of *Dunſtaffage*, Famous for being the Seat of our Old Kings) is the pleaſanteſt and moſt Fruitful Part of the Shire. The Ancient Families of this Shire, are the *Campbels*, *Lamonds*, *Macconals*, and *Macdougals*. In *Kintire*, is the Priory of *Saundel*, Founded by *Sowre Maclerdy*. The whole Country is Mountainous, abounding with high Rocks and black Mountains, covered with Heath, which afford excellent Paſturage for their Black Cattel and Deer; of both which, as likewiſe of Goat and Sheep, they have great Plenty. As a good Part of the Weſtern Iſles make up a Part of the Shire of *Argile*; another Part of them belongs to the Shire of *Roſs*. But before we ſpeak of them, we ſhall give an Account of *Roſs* it ſelf, and the other adjacent Countries to it.

Roſs comprehends the Shires of *Tayn* and *Cromerty*. The Firſt includes the greater Part of *Roſs*, with the Iſles of *Shye*, *Lewis*, and *Herris*: The Second, a ſmall Part of *Roſs* lying upon the South-Side of *Cromerty*-Firth. 'Tis in Length 50, and in Breadth 30 Miles. The Principal Towns in this Country, are *Tayn*, a good Trading Town, and a Burgh Royal, which gives Name to the Shire; it has a Firth about 20 Miles long, but is unſafe for Ships. This Town was Famous of Old, for being the Burial-Place of S. *Duthac*, a Biſhop held in great Veneration, and to whom they made frequent Pilgrimages. *Roſſemarkie*, is a Town Famous for the Burial-Place of one S. *Boniface*, an *Italian*, who was ſent to *Scotland* with the Deſign of Reconciling them to the Ceremonies and Diſcipline of the Church of *Rome*: He Landed in the River of *Tay*, at the Mouth of a little River, that divided the Countries of *Angus* and *Merns*, about the Year 620. Here he Built a Church to the Memory of S. *Peter* the Apoſtle; another not far from thence, at *Tebin*; and a Third, at *Reſtennoth*. Having finiſhed theſe Works, he travell'd thoro' *Mar*, *Buchan*, *Murray*, and *Bogie*-Land, Preaching the Goſpel where-

wherever he went. At length coming to this Country, and, chooſing this Town, by reaſon of its pleaſant Situation on the Sea-Side, for the Place of his Reſidence, here he erected another Church, in which he was Bury'd. *Molocbus*, another Learned Biſhop, who accompany'd him in all his Travels, that he might not be ſeparate from him at his Death, gave Orders that he ſhould be Buried in the ſame Church with him, which was accordingly done: But afterwards this Biſhop's Relicts were tranſported to *Liſmore* in *Argile*, becauſe of his great Labours in that Country. When King *David* Founded the Biſhopric of *Roſs*, it ſeems the Biſhops had their Deſignations from this Town; for, in an old Charter of theſe Times, there is one *Macbeth*, *Epiſcopus Roſmarkenſis* mentioned. *Chanonrie* is pleaſantly ſituated in a moſt Beautiful Valley, having a lovely Proſpect to the Firth of *Arthurſeer*; and above it are ſeveral fruitful and pleaſant Hills: It is now the Biſhop's Seat; and had a large Cathedral Church, a Part whereof ſtill remains. Here is likewiſe one of the Dwelling Houſes of the Family of *Seaforth*. *Cromerty* is a Place of Trade; the Firth whereof is about Fifteen Miles long, and in many Parts about Two Miles broad, is accounted one of the Nobleſt and ſafeſt Harbours that's to be ſeen any where in *Europe*; and for that Reaſon, call'd by Geographers, *Portus ſalutis*. Not far from this, is the *Litus altum*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, becauſe the Shore, riſes to a great Height there, which is now call'd *Tarbet*. *Beauly*, formerly a pleaſant and rich Priory, lies near the Mouth of the River of that Name. This Country abounds with Lakes and Rivers, well ſtored with all ſorts of Fiſh. The Chief of which, are *Loch-ew*, *Loch-broom*, Famous for its Noble Herring-Fiſhing every Year, *Chircaig*, *Cheuliſcong*, *Loch-carron*, and *Conan*, on which there is a good Salmond-Fiſhing; and in this River are found Pearls of good Value. The Ancient Families here, are the *Mackenzies*, *Frazers*, *Monroes*, *Roſſes*, *Inneſſes*, *Dumbars*, and *Urquharts*. The Religious Houſes here, are *Beauly*, Founded by *John Biſſet*; and *Ferne*. This Country abounds with all ſorts of Fiſh and Wild-Fowl. The Straths or Valleys, upon the Water-Sides, are full of Woods. The Soil is for the moſt Part Mountainous, and perhaps in *Kintail* and ſome of the adjacent Countries, there are as high Mountains to be ſeen, as any where in *Europe*. And tho' this Country be but barren in Corns, ſave in that Part of it, which lies towards *Murray*-Firth; yet they have great Plenty of Fiſhes in their Lakes, great Flocks of all Sorts of Cattel, Abundance of Deer and Wild-Fowl, and all things elſe that are neceſſary for Human Life. In this Country, there is much Marble, and a great many Mines that might enrich the whole Nation, if Care were taken about them. In it are Two Monuments, built after the manner of *Arthur's-Oven*.

Southerland has *Roſs*, on the South; *Caithneſs*, on the North-Eaſt; *Aſſynt*, on the Weſt; and *Strathnaver*, which is Part of it, on the North. *Dornoch*, the chief Burgh of the Shire, is a Burgh Royal and a Biſhop's Seat, being that of the Biſhop of *Cathneſs*; it ſtands between the Rivers of *Portnecouter* and *Unes*: Here is a Cathedral Church and a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Southerland*. *Dunrobin*, the Principal Dwelling-Houſe of the Earl of *Southerland*, is ſeated upon a Mote, hard by the Sea, and has very fine Gardens. *Borow* and *Toung* are the Two Principal Places in *Strathnaver*. *Southerland*, from Weſt to Eaſt, is in Length about 55 Miles; and in Breadth, from South to North, 22 Miles,

but taking in *Strathnaver*, is 33. There is a great Number of Rivers and Lakes in this Country, well ſtored with all Sorts of Fiſh; the Chief of which, are *Portnecouter*, *Unes*, *Loch-ſhin*, which is 14 Miles in Length, *Loch-naver* and *Loch-lyol*, and about 60 more Lakes, in which there are ſeveral pleaſant Iſlands. The Old Families in this Country, are the *Gordons*, *Southerlands*, *Murrays*, *Mackays*, *Grays*, *Glanguns*, *Seil-Thomaſes*, *Seil-Johns*, and *Seil-Phaleys*. A little Eaſtward of the Town of *Dornoch*, there is a Monument like a Croſs, call'd the *Thane*, or *Earl's Croſs*; and another beſide *Embo*, call'd the *King's Croſs*, where one of the Kings or chief Commanders of the *Danes* is ſaid to have been ſlain, and bury'd. In the Pariſh of *Creigh*, are ſome Hills of excellent White Marble. They have likewiſe, in this Country, Plenty of Iron-Ore. And 'tis thought, that at *Dureneſs*, there is both Gold and Silver to be had. They have Coal, Freeſtone, Limeſtone, and good Slate in Abundance. This Country in general is Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage; and abounds with Fiſh, Fowl, Sheep, Black Cattel and Deer. The Valleys are very pleaſant, and well Inhabited; and what proves the Climate and Soil to be much better, than could be expected from its Northerly Situation, is, that Saffron grows very well and comes to Maturity here. It has Three remarkable Forreſts, beſides Abundance of other Woods which afford good Game. Amongſt their Wild Fowl, there is one Sort of Bird, peculiar to this Country, which the Inhabitants call *Knag*; it much reſembles a *Parrot*, and digs its Neſt with its Beak in Trunks of Oak. Here are many Commodious Harbours for exporting the Products of the Country, which are Corn, Salt, Coal, Salmond, Beef, Wool, Skins, Hides, Butter, Cheeſe, Tallow, *&c.*

All that Tract of Land, lying between *Portnecouter* and *Dunsbay*, was of Old call'd *Cattey*, and the Inhabitants are by *Ptolemy* call'd *Catini:* So much as lies Eaſtward from the Hill *Ord* was Named *Cateyneſs*, and afterwards *Cathneſs*. It is divided from *Southerland*, by the Mountain *Ord*, and a Tract of Mountains, running from it as far as *Knockſin*; on the Eaſt, it is Bounded by the *German* Ocean; and on the North, by *Pentland*-Firth. It is about 21 Miles from Eaſt to Weſt, and about 30 from South to North. The chief Towns in this Country, are *Weik*, which is pleaſantly ſituated, and convenient for Trade, and has a good Harbour for Ships, on the Eaſtern Coaſt. *Thurſo*, another Town with a good Harbour, lies upon the Northern Coaſt in a little Bay. *Dornock* is Famed for being the Biſhop's Seat. Here King *James* IV. appointed the Sheriff of *Cathneſs* to reſide, or elſe at *Weik*, as Occaſions ſhould require, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. There are a great many Lakes and Rivers in this Country. And *Ptolemy* makes Mention of the River *Ila*, which *Cambden* conjectures to be the *Wiſle*. The whole Coaſt, except the Bays, is high Rocks; ſo that they have a great Number of Promontories, amongſt which are *Sandſide*-Head, at the Weſt End of the Country, pointing North to the opening of *Pentland*-Firth. *Holborn*-Head, *Dinnet*-Head, both pointing North to the Firth. *Dunsbay*-Head, which is the North-Eaſt of *Cathneſs*, where the Firth is but 12 Miles over, near which is the ordinary Ferry to *Orkney*. *Noſs*-Head, pointing North-Eaſt; and *Clythneſs* pointing Eaſt. In this Country there are many Foundations of Ancient Houſes, now ruinous, ſuppoſed to have formerly belonged to the *Picts*. Many Obelisks alſo are erected here and there, and in ſome Pla-

ces

ces ſeveral of them together. The Ancient Families in this Country, are the *Southerlands*, *Sinclairs*, *Keiths*, and *Mowets*, &c. The Soil is Moiſt and Clayie, which makes their Harveſt late. The Coaſts and Rivers abound with Fiſh; and the Mountains, with Black Cattel, Sheep, &c. This Country of all *Britain* hath the ſhorteſt Nights and longeſt Days, for its being diſtanced 59 Degrees and 40 Minutes from the Equator: The longeſt Day is 18 Hours and 25 Minutes; and the ſhorteſt Night 5 Hours and 45 Minutes. So that the Ancient Panegyriſt was in the wrong, when he ſaid, That the Sun did not ſet at all here, but ſlipt aſide, and glanced upon the Horizon; relying upon the Authority of *Tacitus*, who ſays, *That the extreme Points and plain Levels of the Earth, having low Shades, rais'd up no Darkneſs at all.* But *Pliny* ſpeaks more Truth and Reaſon, where he treats of the longeſt Days, according to the Inclination of the Solar Circle to the Horizon: *The longeſt Days*, ſays he, *in* Italy, *are Fifteen Hours*; *in* Britain, *Seventeen, where the light Nights in Summer prove that by Experience which Reaſon would oblige one to believe. That, at the Solſtice, when the Sun approaches nearer to the Pole of the World, the Places of the Earth (under the Pole) have Day, Six Months thorough (o), the Light's having but a narrow Compaſs; and Night for ſo long, when it is far remote in Winter.*

Having thus finiſhed the Deſcription of the Main-Land, I ſhall now proceed to the Iſles, making Mention only of the moſt conſiderable ones amongſt them. The Firſt of which is the Iſland *Glotta*, mentioned by the Emperor *Antonine*, call'd at this Day *Arran*, from a Caſtle of the ſame Name: It lies in the Mouth of the River *Clide*, is 24 Miles in Length, and 16 in Breadth; is Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage. The innermoſt Parts are Mountainous, but the Bottoms alongſt the Shore are well inhabited. It has Four Churches; and many Caſtles, of which that of *Brodich* is the ſtrongeſt, being one of the Seats of the Family of *Hamilton* Superiors of this Iſland. The oldeſt Families here, are the *Boids*, *Hamiltons*, and *Maclowis* or *Fullertons*. Here are ſeveral Rivers, which abound with Salmond; and the Sea about it abounds with Herrings, Cod, and Whitings.

Near to *Arran* ſtands the Iſland of *Bute*, which is 10 Miles in Length and 4 in Breadth: It has a Royal Burgh and Caſtle, call'd *Rothſay*, which gives the Title of Duke to the Eldeſt Son of the King of *Scotland* ever ſince King *Robert* III's Time. It has Four Churches, is well Inhabited, has good Paſturage and Corn, and a Noble Herring-Fiſhing. The chief Families here, are the *Stewarts*.

In the Mouth of *Clide*, likewiſe lies *Aliſa*, which is a ſteep Rock ſomewhat reſembling the *Baſs* in the Mouth of *Forth*, being inacceſſible on all Places but only by one Paſs, and not inhabited but at one Time of the Year, when a great Fleet of ſmall Veſſels comes here to Fiſh for Cod. It abounds with Variety of Sea-Fowl, eſpecially Solan-Geeſe; and has Multitudes of Rabbits. *Gigaia* is 6 Miles in Length, and a Mile and a Half in Breadth. There is a Church in this Iſland, and a Burial-Place for the *Macneels*, the Proprietors of it. *Corkir*, which Dyes a Crimſon-Colour; and *Croſtil*, which Dyes a Philamote, grow upon the Stones here. There is likewiſe here a very good Medicinal Well.

(o) Anguſto lucis ambitu.

Jura lies 12 Miles from *Gigaia*, and is 24 Miles long, and 6 or 7 broad. This Iſle belongs to the Duke of *Argile*, and is reckoned one of the wholſomeſt Places in *Scotland*, abounding with good Paſturage and Corns, and Rivers well furniſhed with Salmond and other Fiſhes. The Inhabitants here live to a great Age. Mr. *Martin*, in his late Deſcription of theſe Iſles, ſays, That he was very credibly informed, that one *Gillouir Macrain*, who lived in this Iſland of *Jura*, Died about 50 Years ago, in the 180 Year of his Age. Near to theſe ly many Iſlands of leſs Note, which we purpoſely omit. Two Miles from *Jura*, lies *Scarba*, 4 Miles long and 1 broad, Famous for its extraordinary Tides, of which I ſhall give an Account afterwards. *Liſmore*, the Seat of the Biſhops of *Argile*, lies betwixt *Ila* and *Jura*, being 8 Miles long and 2 broad, and in it are good Mines. *Bernera*, before the Reformation, was a Sanctuary. Here is a Noble Wood of Yew. Weſt from *Jura* lies *Ila*, 23 Miles long; and in ſome Places, 8, and in others 16 broad. It abounds with Corn, Cattel, Deer, Lead-Mines, and abundance of Limeſtone. Here they have ſeveral Rivers, and Freſh Water-Lakes that abound with Salmond and Variety of Fiſhes. Amongſt the Lakes that are here, *Lochfinlagan* is the moſt Famous, being 3 Miles in Circumference, and the Place where *Macdonald* King of the Iſles, reſided; the Ruines of whoſe Court are yet to be ſeen. Here are 4 Churches and a Chapel, the moſt Remarkable of which, is S. *Columba*'s Chapel. Two Leagues North from *Ila*, lies *Colonſa*, ſeparated from *Oranſa* only by Tide of Flood. *Oranſa* is 4 Miles in Circumference, is Fruitful in Corn and Graſs, has a Church and a Chapel; and at the Reformation had a Monaſtery, Founded by S. *Columba*. The chief Inhabitants here, are the *Macduffs*. *Colonſa* is 4 Miles in Length, and a Mile Broad. There is a Church and Two ruinous Chapels in this Iſle. Twelve Miles from *Ila* lies the Iſle of *Mul*, 24 Miles in Length, and as much in Breadth. It abounds with Cattel, Fiſhes, Corn, &c. and has a very temperate Air. This Iſle is the Inheritance of the *Mackleans*, whoſe chief Seat here is the Caſtle of *Duart*. In this Iſle are 7 Pariſh Churches. Near this lies the Iſland of S. *Columba* 2 Miles in Length, and above a Mile Broad. This Iſle, ſo well known by the Names of *Icolmkill*, *Jona*, and *Hy*, is Famous for being not only the Mother-Church of this Country, but likewiſe of the *Picts* and Northern Counties of *England*, as is ſhown at large in the Firſt Volume of this Work in the Life of S. *Columba*. Here the Biſhops of the Iſles have their Seat; ſeveral Kings, Princes and Noblemen ly Interred, but all the Inſcriptions upon their Tombs are worn off, except Three, which are Remarkable. The Firſt is, *Tumulus Regum* Scotiæ; that is to ſay, *The Tomb of the Kings of* Scotland, wherein 40 of them are ſaid to have been Buried. Another is the Tomb of the Kings of *Ireland*, wherein 'tis ſaid 4 of them are Buried. The Third is that of the Kings of *Norway*, wherein 'tis ſaid 4 of them ly. Next to the Tomb of the Kings, was the Tomb of *Macdonald* of *Ila*. In the Weſtward of the Burying Place, were the Tombs of Two Ancient Tribes of the *Macdonalds*, and of the Chief of the *Mackleans*, whoſe Statues ly in Armour as big as the Life. S. *Mary*'s Church in this Iſland is Built in Form of a Croſs, the Choir 20 Yards long, and the Cupulo 21 Foot ſquare, the Body of the Church 20 Yards long, and the Two Croſs-Iſles 10 Yards each. There are Two Chapels on each Side the Choir, the Entry to which opens with

with large Pillars, neatly carved in Baſs Relief; the Steeple is large, and the Doors and Windows, &c. are curiouſly carved. There is a large Altar of very fine Marble, and ſeveral of the Abbots are Bury'd within the Church. A little South of this, is the Church of S. *Owrans* or *Orentius*, who was an Ancient Chriſtian Poet, Cotemporary with S. *Columba*, about the Year 560, as it appears from *Venantius Fortunatus* another Chriſtian Poet, who lived at the ſame time, and, in the Life of S. *Martin*, joins this Saint with his Country-Man *Sedulius* in the Two following Lines.

Hinc quoque conſpicui radiavit lingua Seduli
Paucaque perſtrinxit florenti Orentius *ore.*

Upon this Account, *Dempſter* (*p*) reckons him amongſt the *Scots* Writers, and tells us, That he, having followed the Emperor's Court, became ſo enamoured with him, that he made him a Count *Palatine*; that he Marry'd a Vertuous Lady call'd *Nicaſia*, who, after his Death, renounced the World and led a Religious Life; and that he himſelf Died in the 60th Year of his Age. All which he proves from the following Epitaph, written upon him by the above cited *Venantius Fortunatus*, *Epigr. Lib.* iv. *Ep.* xxiv.

Non hic noſtra diu fugienti tempore vita,
Quæ ſub fine brevi vix venit, inde redit.
Ecce caduca volant præſentia ſæcula mundi.
Sola fides meriti neſcit honore mori.
Clauditur hîc pollens Orentius *ille ſepultus,*
Cui Palatina *prius manſit aperta domus.*
Conſiliis habilis, regalique intimus aulæ,
Obtinuit celſum dignus in arce locum.
Vir ſapiens, juſtus, moderatus, honeſtus, amatus,
Hoc rapuit mundo quod bene geſſit homo.
Sexaginta annis vix implens tempora lucis,
Conjuge Nicaſia *qua tumulante cubat;*
Cujus caſtus amor colit ipſa ſepulchra mariti,
Nec placitura homini ſe dedit eſſe Dei.

But to return to *Icolmkill*, it abounds with all Things that this Climate produces. Six Miles Weſt from this Iſland lies *Tire-iy*, 8 Miles long and 3 broad, belonging to the Laird of *Maclean*. Near this ly Two Iſlands, call'd *Kermburg*. About Half a League to the North-Eaſt, lies the Iſle of *Coll*, 12 Miles long and 2 broad. North from this, lies the Iſle of *Rum*, 16 Miles long and 6 broad; the Proprietor of this and the former Iſland, is a Gentleman of the Name of *Maclean*. Half a Mile from *Rum* lies *Canney*, 2 Miles long and 1 broad; the Proprietor is a Gentleman of the Name of *Macdonald*. When any Ship comes near to the North-End of this Iſle, the Needle of the Compaſs is diſordered. *Muck* lies South-Weſt of *Rum*, and is about 4 Miles in Circumference. *Egg* lies not far from *Colla*, and is 3 Miles in Length; and a Mile and a Half in Breadth. On the South-End of this Iſle there is a

(*p*) Lib. 14. pag. 513.

Mountain, on the Top whereof is a high Rock of about 150 Paces in Circumference, having only one Paſs up to it, in the Middle whereof is a Freſh-Water Pool. This Iſland, which belongs to the *Macdonalds*, and the reſt, are well provided with all Sorts of Sea-Fowls and Fiſhes; and the moſt of them with good Paſturage, Black Cattel, Sheep, and all other Neceſſaries of Human Life. North from *Egg* lies the *Sky*, 42 Miles long, and in ſome Places 20, and others 30 Miles broad. It has a great deal of Arable Ground, which yields great Increaſe: So that the Neighbouring Continent is ſupplied by it with Barley and Oats. It has many excellent Bays and Harbours for the Conveniency of Fiſhing and other Trade; and about 30 Rivers, which afford Salmond, and many of them Black Muſſels with Pearls. Many Freſh-Water Lakes are here, well ſtored with Trouts and Eels. S. *Columba*'s Lake has an Iſland and a Chapel in it. Moſt of the Bays abound with Herring. All the Summer, Cod, Ling, Mackrel, Haddock, Whiting, Turbat, *&c.* abound on this Coaſt, as do Oyſters, and all other Sorts of Shell-Fiſh. There are many large Caves in this Iſland, from the Roofs of ſome of which there drops a Water that Petrifies into a white Limy Subſtance, like that of the *Slains*. In this Iſle are many Monuments, ſome of ſingle Stones erected, others of Heaps laid together, the true Hiſtory of which is loſt. There are Abundance of old Forts upon the Coaſt. There are alſo ſeveral little Houſes of Stone, built under Ground, no doubt for hiding themſelves and Goods in time of War; and others are above Ground, capable only of one Perſon. This Iſle has about 10 Pariſh Churches; is well ſtored with Fewel of Peets, Wood and Turf; and in it are Black Cattel, Sheep, Hogs, Cows, Horſes, Goats, *&c.* and all Sort of Sea-Fowl. The Principal Families here, are the *Macdonalds* and *Macleods*. *Soa Bretil* lies a Quarter of a Mile South of *Sky*, and is 5 Miles in Circumference. Not far from this lies *Oronſa*, a ſmall but fruitful Iſland. A League further North lies *Pabbay* about 2 Miles in Circumference, which has ſo good Paſturage, that the Cows here give double the Milk they give in *Sky*. On the North-Side of *Sky* lies *Scalpa*, 5 Miles in Circumference. A little further North lies *Raſay*, 7 Miles long and 3 broad. On the Eaſt-Side of this Iſle is a Spring, which runs down from a Rock, and petrifies into a fine white Subſtance like Lime, of which it yields great Quantities. On the Weſt-Side, is Abundance of Caves, where the People lodge, who go thither in the Summer for Fiſhing or Grazing. The Proprietor is a Gentleman of the Name of *Macleod*. A Quarter of a Mile further North lies *Rona*, 3 Miles in Length. *Altvig* lies on the South-Weſt Corner of *Sky*, and is 2 Miles in Circumference. *Fladda*, about 2 Leagues Diſtance, is likewiſe 2 Miles in Compaſs. There are ſeveral Rocks about this Iſle, and particularly One call'd *The Round Table*, about Half a Mile in Circumference. Half a League from hence lies the Rock *Jeskar*, much reſorted to by by Fiſhing Veſſels, and noted for Scurvy-Graſs of an extraordinary Size and ſweet Taſte. Five Leagues South-Eaſt lies *Aſcrib*, about 2 Miles in Compaſs. There are ſeveral other leſſer Iſles that ly near *Sky*, and particularly Eight, which ly in one of its Bays, call'd *Loch-Faillord*. Eighty Miles Weſt from *Sky*, ly Nine Iſlands, the Chief of which is *Vaterſa*, which has a large Harbour, capable of the greateſt Ships. Two Miles from *Vaterſa* lies *Barra*, 7 Miles long. The Sea enters this Iſland at a ſmall Channel, and afterwards

wards inlarges it ſelf into a round Bay, in which there is an Iſland with a very ſtrong Caſtle. It has a good Harbour on the North-Eaſt Side, where is Plenty of Fiſh; and the Rivers on the Eaſt-Side abound with Salmond. In the Northern Part there is a green Hill, on the Top of which is a Well of Freſh Water, from whence flows a Stream, that carries with it into the Neighbouring Sea little Shapeleſs Animals, ſomewhat reſembling Cockles; and, upon an Ebb, Abundance of Shell-Fiſh are found on the Sands, which the Natives take to be thoſe that come from this Well, brought to Maturity. About a Quarter of a Mile South from *Barra* lies *Kiſmul*, the Seat of *Macneel* of *Barra*, which is encompaſſed with a Stone-Wall, Two Stories high, within which is a Tower, a Hall, a Magazine, and ſeveral other Apartments. A great many leſſer Iſlands are here belonging to him, but he himſelf holds his Lands of Sir *Donald Macdonald* of *Slate*, to whom he pays 40 Pound *per Annum*, and a Hawk, if required; and is obliged to furniſh him a certain Number of Men on extraordinary Occaſions. They kill great Numbers of Sea-Fowl in *Barra*, and Salt them for Uſe with the burnt Aſhes of Sea-Ware. Betwixt *Barra* and *Viſt* there ly 14 ſmall Iſlands. A little South of *Barra* lies *South-Viſt*, 21 Miles long; in ſome Places 3, and in others 4 Miles broad. This Iſland abounds with Freſh Water Lakes, in ſeveral of which, there are Iſlands with Forts. There is a Lake 3 Miles long, into which the Sea has made its Way, tho' the Inhabitants did all they could to hinder it: In this Lake, there is a Fiſh, which reſembles a Salmond in every thing but the Back, which is extraordinarily black. Ambergriſe is ſometimes found upon the Coaſt of this Iſland. The Proprietor is the Captain of *Clan Ronald*. Betwixt this Iſland and *North-Viſt* 2 Miles North, lies *Benbecula*, which is 3 Miles long and 3 Miles broad, and has a Bay on the Eaſt-Side for ſmall Veſſels. Here are ſeveral Freſh-Water Lakes, well ſtored with Fiſh and Fowl. The Proprietor is a Gentleman of the Name of *Macdonald*. A little North of this Iſland lies *North-Viſt*, 9 Miles long, and about 30 in Circumference. The Proprietor of this Iſle is *Macdonald* of *Slate*. Here are a vaſt Number of Freſh Water Lakes, with ſmall Iſlands in them, and well ſtored with all ſorts of Fiſhes and Sea-Fowls. On the Eaſt-Side are ſeveral Bays, where Ships may ſafely ride; the Chief whereof are *Loch-eport*, *Loch-rona*, and *Loch-maddies*. This laſt Harbour is capable of Hundreds of Veſſels of the largeſt Size; and in it 400 Veſſels have been Loaded with Herring in one Seaſon. The Arable Land in this Iſland is ſo Fertile, that their Barley, Oats and Rye, yield from Ten to Thirty Fold. There is a ſmall Iſland in this Bay, upon which a Magazine was erected, for carrying on a Fiſhery, in the Reign of King *Charles* I. Several other leſſer Iſlands ly on both Sides of *North-Viſt*, the moſt remarkable of which, are *Eouſmil* on the Weſt, a Rock about a Quarter of a Mile in Circumference, noted for its Seal-Fiſhing, about the End of *October*, where 320 are ſometimes taken at once. Three Leagues and a Half further Weſt ly 9 or 10 more Rocks, which abound with Sea-Fowl and Seals. Not far from theſe Rocks lies *Valay* 4 Miles round, and is very fruitful in Corn and Graſs, where are Three Chapels. A little further North lies *Borera*, 4 Miles round, where is a Freſh Water Lake, well ſtored with Eels of an extraordinary Bigneſs. Half a League South from this lies *Lingay*, which abounds with all Neceſſaries. Not far from

this lies the *Lewis*, which has its Name from the *Iriſh* Word *Leog*, ſignifying a Lake, with which this Iſland abounds; by the Inhabitants and Strangers it is commonly called the *Long-Iſland*, being from Eaſt to Weſt, taking in the *Harris*, according to Mr. *Martin*'s Account of it, 100 Miles in Length, and from 13 to 14 in Breadth; but according to others, it is only 60 Miles in Length; and the *Lewis*, properly ſo called, is but 36 Miles in Length. This Iſland is reckoned Part of the Shire of *Roſs*, and belongs in Property to the Family of *Seaforth*. There are in it ſeveral convenient Bays and Harbours; the Chief of which are *Loch-ſtornvay* on the Eaſt-Side, in the Middle of the Iſland; the *Birken* Iſlands, 7 Miles Southward: *Loch-colmkil*, 3 Miles further South; *Loch-ſeafort*, from whence the Proprietor has his Deſignation; and *Loch-carlvay*, 24 Miles South-Weſt, which is remarkable for great Numbers of Cod, Ling and Whales, that frequent it. All the Bays and Coaſts abound with Cod, Ling, Herring, and all other Sorts of Fiſhes taken in the Weſtern Seas, beſides Plenty of Shell-Fiſh of all Sorts. It is Arable on the Weſt-Side, for about 16 Miles on the Coaſt; and is likewiſe Plain and Arable in ſeveral Places on the Eaſt. Their common Grain is Barley, Oats and Rye; and, in ſome Places, they have Flax and Hemp. The Mountainous and Heathy Parts abound with Muir-Fowl and Deer. They have likewiſe Abundance of Cows, Horſes, Sheep, Goats and Hogs: Their Black Cattel are ſmall but very Prolific, and good Meat. Their Freſh Water Lakes and Rivers afford Plenty of Eels, Trouts, Salmond, &c. Their Lakes and Coaſts abound with all Sorts of Sea-Fowl: And, upon the Account of their Product, eſpecially their Fiſhing, their Harbours are well frequented by Foreigners. There are Two Miniſters in this Iſland, but ſeveral Churches and Chapels, the moſt of which are ruinous. *Skarinch* was a Religious Houſe in this Country, but by whom Founded, I know not. There are many leſſer Iſlands that ly round the *Lewis*, the Chief of which is *Garve*, in the Mouth of *Loch-carlvay*, a high Rock about Half a Mile in Compaſs, which affords good Paſturage. The Two *Berneraes*; one, 2 Miles long; and the other, 4, and 4 Miles broad: Both fruitful in Corn and Graſs. Near *Carlvay* Bay there ly 4 ſmall Iſlands. Six Leagues further ly the 6 *Flanan* Iſlands, which belong to the *Lewis*, whoſe Inhabitants go to them every Summer, and bring from thence great Store of Fowls, Eggs, Down, Feathers and Quills. One of theſe Iſlands is call'd the Iſland of *Pigmies*, becauſe many little Bones reſembling thoſe of Men are digged out of the Ground there. Twenty Leagues from the Point of the Neſſe in the *Lewis* lies the Iſland of *Rona*, a Mile long, and Half a Mile broad, and has a Hill on the Weſt Part, which makes it viſible from the *Lewis* in the Summer-time. It was Inhabited with Five Families, who had the Iſland and Fiſhery about it divided among them; were very exact and nice in their Properties; Marry'd amongſt themſelves, and, when they turned Supernumerary, ſent them to the *Lewis*: But this Ancient Race of poor People were all Deſtroy'd about 14 Years ago, after this manner. A Swarm of Rats, none knows how, coming into the Iſland, ate up all their Corn. Thereafter an *Engliſh* Ship, being in great Streſs for want of Proviſions, Sailing by here, and making Signs of their Diſtreſs, the poor People took them aſhore, there being no Landing in this Iſland, but by their Aſſiſtance; and they, ſo ſoon as they had Landed, did rob the Inhabitants of all the

the Proviſions that the Rats had left them, by which Means they all Dy'd of Famine. Here is a Chapel Dedicated to S. *Ronan*, where they repeated *The Lord's Prayer*, *Creed*, and *Ten Commandments*, every *Lord's Day:* And once every Year, a Miniſter came from the *Lewis* to Catechize, Baptize and Marry them, with whom they ſent their Rent, which conſiſted of ſome Barley-Meal, (ſewed up in Skins) Fiſh and Sea-Fowl, but moſtly of Feathers, there being incredible Flocks of all Sorts of Sea-Fowl upon this Iſland, which the Inhabitants took, in great Numbers every Year, by Gins. S. *Ronan*, the Patron of this Iſland, *Dempſter* ſays, was one of our *Scots* Biſhops (*q*), who lived about the Year 603, and wrote a Book, if we may believe him, upon the Clerical Tonſure; *ſcripſit*, ſays he, *de Tonſurâ Clericali*. *Buchanan* ſays, That, in his Opinion, the Inhabitants of this Iſland were the only People in the World who never wanted any thing, and were ſatisfy'd with their Condition, having Plenty of all they deſired, being equally ignorant of Luxury and Avarice; and who poſſeſſed, thoro' their Ignorance of Vices, that Innocence and Tranquillity of Mind, which others can ſcarcely attain unto by great Labour, and with the Help of the beſt Inſtructions Since this, another Colony has been ſent to this Iſland from the *Lewis*. Four Leagues Eaſt from *Rona* lies *Soulisker*, a Rock a Quarter of a Mile in Circumference, which abounds with vaſt Number of Sea-Fowls, and particularly Solen Geeſe: As alſo there Builds one Fowl, not found elſewhere, call'd *Colk*, it is leſs than a Gooſe, and all covered with Down, but of different Colours, which it caſts when it Hatches; it has a Tuft on its Head, reſembling that of a Peacock, and a Train longer than that of a Houſe-Cock. There are 24 Churches in the *Lewis*, and the *Herries*, and the Iſlands belonging to them. That Part, which is call'd *Herries*, and which belongs in Property to the Laird of *Macleod*, produces the ſame Sorts of Grain, and with greater Increaſe than the *Lewis*. The Weſt-Side is for the moſt Part Arable: On the Coaſt it has a Noble Harbour, call'd *Scalpa*, a Mile and a Half long, and a Mile broad; and there are Two other Harbours within 3 Leagues of it. *Mertricks*, a Four-footed Creature about the Size of a large Squirril, are pretty Numerous here, and in the *Lewis*; their Skins are very fine, and of a brown Colour, and make good Furr; and 'tis ſaid, that the Dung of this Animal yields a Scent like Musk. Here, as well as in the *Lewis*, are Abundance of Otters, Seals, Fiſhes of all Sorts, Sea and Land-Fowls, and amongſt others, Eagles and very good Hawks. The Shores abound with various and curious Shells, Coral; great Quantities of *Os Sepiæ* are found in the Sands; vaſt Numbers of *Mulucca*-Beans, and ſometime Ambergreaſe. There are other Iſlands of ſmall Extent belonging to the *Herries*, the Chief of which are *Bernera*, 2 Leagues to the South, which is 5 Miles in Circumference, and very Fruitful in Barley and Rye; and here are Two Chapels. Half a League from hence to the Weſtward, lies *Pabbay*, 3 Miles in Circumference, it has alſo Two Chapels. Half a League to the North lies *Sellay*, a Mile in Circumference. *Taranſay*, a League further North, is 3 Miles round. There are ſeveral other Iſlands, in the Neighbourhood, of 2 or 3 Miles in Circumference each; all of them Fruitful in Corns and Paſturage, and abounding with Fiſh; particularly *Hermetra*, where a Magazine for a Fiſhery was erected in the Reign of K. *Charles* I.

(*q*) Lib. 15. pag. 541.

Eighteen Leagues Weſt from *North-Viſt* and 20 from *Herries*, ly the Iſlands call'd S. *Kilda* or *Hirt*, which are the moſt Remote of all the *Scots* Iſles to the North-Weſt, and belong in Property to the Laird of *Macleod*. The Firſt, properly call'd S. *Kilda*, is 2 Miles long and 1 broad, fac'd round with a ſteep Rock, except at a Bay on the South-Eaſt, where Veſſels arrive: The Inhabitants are about 200 in Number; and tho' they be Proteſtants, yet, in their Chapel, they have ſtill an Altar and a Crucifix; and their Marriage-Oath, and all their other Deciſive Oaths, are taken by laying their Hand upon the Crucifix; they meet every *Lord's Day* in their Chapel, and repeat the *Lord's Prayer*, *Creed*, and *Ten Commandments*. *Macleod* commonly makes ſome Cadet of his Family, Steward of this Iſland; and his Deputy, in his Abſence, is the chief Man in the Iſle, and generally, except when a Miniſter is ſent from the *Herries*, he Baptizes and Marries the People. Their Rent is pay'd in Fiſh, Fowl, Feathers, Wool, Butter, Cheeſe, Cattel and Corn; in all which, this Iſle is ſufficiently provided. They live altogether in a little Village on the Eaſt-Side of the Iſland, and they have but one Boat, in which each of them has a Share according to their reſpective Eſtates. They have no Money amongſt them, but Barter with one another for what they want; and the richeſt Man in the Iſle has not above 8 Cows, 80 Sheep and 2 or 3 Horſes. They have Two other Iſlands, which belong to them; the one call'd *Soa*, about Half a Mile from the Weſt-Side of S. *Kilda*, a Mile in Circumference and very high and ſteep all round; the other is call'd *Borera* and lies about 2 Leagues North of S. *Kilda*, a Mile in Circumference, and very high and ſteep: All Three afford good Paſturage, and abound with prodigious Numbers of Sea-Fowl, from *March* till *September*. They have Solen-Geeſe in ſuch Numbers, that they keep a great many of them Annually in a Stone-Houſe, built on Purpoſe, and for preſerving their other Fowl, Eggs, &c. Their Eggs they preſerve in the Aſhes of Peet, and eat thoſe of the Solen-Geeſe raw, and ſay that they are very Pectoral. They have another Bird here, call'd *Fulmar*, about the Size of a Moor-Hen, it picks its Food out of live Whales, and other Fiſhes; when any one approaches them, they ſpout out pure Oil from their Bills, which the Natives have a Way to catch, when they ſurpriſe the Fowl, and make uſe of it for their Lamps, and likewiſe in all Rheumatic Pains and Aches; it ſerves them alſo for Vomits, Purges, Swellings, or Strains, and diſcuſſing of Tumors; in all which Caſes, they ſay, it is very ſucceſsful. The Inhabitants are excellent at Climbing of Rocks, being accuſtomed to it from their Infancy, in order to catch the Fowl that Build on them. They have Two Ropes, which belong to them in common, for this Purpoſe, and are 24 Fathoms in Length each, and covered with Cows Hides, ſalted for the Uſe, to prevent their being cut by the Rocks. The Men climb by Turns, and bring Home ſome Thouſands of Eggs and Fowls at a Time. They alſo make Gins of Horſe-Hair for catching their Fowls. A great Number of the Inhabitants of all theſe Weſtern Iſlands have that, which they call the *Second Sight*, which is a Repreſentation, by way of Viſion, of ſomething to come, and makes ſuch a ſtrong Impreſſion upon the Seer, that they cannot ſee or think of any thing elſe, while the Viſion laſts; and they appear chearful or otherwiſe according to the Nature of the Object repreſented: They uſe no previous Means to attain it, and to moſt of them

them it is very troubleſome. The Inſtances of the Truth of this *Second Sight* are ſo many and ſo frequent, that it cannot be diſputed.

We now come to the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*. The *Orknies*, call'd by the *Latins*, *Orcades*, have the *Caledonian* Ocean on the Eaſt; the Sea, that divides them from *Shetland*, on the North; and *Pentland* Firth, 24 Miles long, and 12 Miles Broad, which divides them from the Main-Land of *Scotland*, on the South. The Ancients differ'd about their Number, for *Pliny* reckon'd them 40; and *Oroſius* 33: But they are only 28. *Stroma* lies ſo near the Coaſt of *Cathneſs*, that it was always poſſeſſed by the Earls of that Country, and therefore not reckon'd amongſt the *Orcades*: This is a ſmall Iſland, and very Fruitful. The Firſt of the *Orkney* Iſlands is *South-Ranalſa*, 6 Miles long, and 5 broad; Fruitful in Corn, and well Inhabited: It has a ſafe Harbour on the North-Side; but, on the South-Eaſt, has the dangerous Rocks, call'd *Pentland Skerries*. It abounds with Cattel, has good Paſturage, and Two Pariſh Churches. A little to the South-Weſt lies *Swinna*, a ſmall Iſland, Fruitful in Corn, capable of maintaining a few Husband-Men and their Families, and has a good Fiſhing on its Coaſts. The Whirle-pools near this Iſland, are call'd the *Wells of* Swinna. Beyond *Swinna* lies *Waes* and *Hoy*, which are but one Iſle 12 Miles long, and full of high Mountains; but that Part, called *Waes*, is Fruitful and well Inhabited. This Iſland has ſeveral good Harbours, particularly that called *North-Hope*, one of the beſt in the World and propereſt for a Fiſhing-Trade. That Part, call'd *Hoy*, from which it is only ſeparated by a Spring-Tide, has the higheſt Mountains in *Orkney*; and from their Tops, about the Summer-Solſtice, the Sun is to be ſeen all Night over. Here in a Valley, betwixt Two Mountains, lies a Stone, call'd the *Dwarf-Stone*, it is 36 Foot long, 8 Foot broad, 9 Foot thick, hollow'd within by Art; has a Square Hole of 2 Foot high for an Entrance, and a Stone by it of the ſame Dimenſions for a Door within. At one End there is a Bed Artfully cut out, with a Pillow large enough for Two Men to ly at Length; at the other End, is a Couch; in the Midle is a Hearth for a Fire, and a Hole cut out above it for a Chimney. It lies a Mile from any Houſe, and the Ground about it is all covered with Heath; it is ſuppoſed to have been an Hermite's Cell. On *Rora*-Head, a high and rugged Promontory in this Iſland, an extraordinary Fowl, which the Inhabitants call *Leyer*, builds its Neſt; it is about the Size of a Duck, and ſo fat that it ſeems to be nothing elſe: It is thought by the Inhabitants, who eat it with Pepper and Vinegar, one of the moſt delicious Fowls in all their Iſlands. In the North Part of this Iſland, is a Church. Three Miles from *South-Ranalſa* lies *Burra*, 3 Miles long and 1 broad, Fruitful in Corn and Paſturage; it alſo abounds with Rabbits, and has a Chapel that belongs to the Pariſh of *South-Ranalſa*. *Stewart* of *Mains* built a very handſome Houſe in this Iſland. Weſt from this lies *Flotta*, 5 Miles long, and 3 and a Half broad, moſt of it encompaſſed with high Rocks. It has a Church, and abounds with excellent Land-Fowl in its Heaths; but has little Corn-Ground, and not many Inhabitants. Near this ly *Faira*, *Cava* and *Gramſey*, Fruitful and pleaſant tho' ſmall Iſlands. We paſs by ſeveral *Holms*, as they call them, which are left for Paſturage, and come to *Pomona* the largeſt of the *Orkney*-Iſlands, and for that Reaſon call'd the *Main-Land*: It is 24 Miles long; in ſome Places 9, and in

others 6 Miles broad, which in general is very Fruitful and well Inhabited. Here lies *Kirkwal*, the only Town in *Orkney*, a Royal Burgh, pleaſantly Situated upon a Bay near the Middle of the Iſland; is about a Mile in Length, and the Seat of Juſtice, where the Steward, &c. keep their Courts: It conſiſts of One Street, the Houſes are well built, and moſt of them covered with Slate. Here was a very ſtrong Caſtle, which belonged to the Crown, but is now ruinous. Near to the Caſtle ſtands the Biſhop's Palace; and near to it, another Palace which was begun by *Patrick Stewart*, Earl of *Orkney*, in the Year 1574, but not finiſhed, becauſe of his untimely Death. The Cathedral Church here is built of Hewn-Stone, excellently Poliſhed, has 14 Pillars on each Side, and a Steeple erected on Four large Pillars in the Middle, in which are very fine Bells. This Church is Dedicated to S. *Magnus*. Here is likewiſe a Grammar-School, and Two Weekly Mercats; as alſo an Annual Fair which holds for Three Days. There are Four very good Harbours in this Iſland: One at *Kirkwal*; Another, at *Deerſound*; a Third, at *Grahames*-Hall; and the Fourth, at *Kerſton*. Here are ſeveral Mines of white and black Lead; alſo ſeveral Gentlemen's Seats; and divers Lakes and Rivulets, which abound with Salmond and other Fiſh. Eaſt from the Main-Land lies *Coppinſha*, a ſmall Iſland, Fruitful in Corn and Graſs, has a good Fiſhing, and abounds with Fowl: It is very conſpicuous to Sea-Men; as is the *Holm* to the North-Eaſt of it, call'd the *Horſe of Coppinſha*. North from the Main-Land lies *Shappinſha*, 5 or 6 Miles long, and 3 broad, which has a very ſafe Harbour, and a Pariſh-Church. To the South-Eaſt lies *Stronſa*, 6 Miles long and 3 broad, well known, becauſe of its good Harbours, to thoſe who frequent this Country, and *Shetland* for Fiſhing: It is very Fruitful and well Inhabited, and has a Rock belonging to it, call'd *Ouskerrie*, remarkable for its good Fiſhery. A little North of it lies *Papa Stronſa*, a very pleaſant, fruitful little Iſland. Farther North lies *Sanda*, about 12 Miles long, and 8 Miles broad, well Inhabited, has Two Harbours, and abounds with Cattel, Fiſh and good Grazing. Eaſt of it lies *Eda*, 10 Miles long, and ſome Places 5 Miles broad, where is made good Salt; it alſo abounds with Fiſhes of all Sorts, but not with Corn or Graſs. The Inhabitants of *Sanda* are furniſhed in their Fewel from this Iſle. Three Miles Weſt from *Kirkwal* lies *Damſey*, a ſmall but fruitful Iſland. To the North-Weſt lies *Rouſa*, 8 Miles long and 6 broad, which has many Promontories and high Hills; but, on the Coaſt, is Fruitful and well Inhabited, and abounds with Fiſh, Fowl and Rabbits. There are ſeveral other Iſlands in the Neighbourhood that are Fruitful enough for their Extent. Eight Miles North from *Kirkwal* lies *Egliſha*, 3 Miles long and 2 broad, which is a ſafe Road for Ships, is very pleaſant and fruitful, and has a Pariſh-Church. Five Miles North-Eaſt lies *North-Fara*, 3 Miles long, thinly Inhabited, but affords the common Commodities of the Country. *South-Fara*, which lies near *Burra*, is much of the ſame Extent and Nature. North from *Egliſha* lies *Weſtra*, 8 Miles long; in ſome Places 5, in others 3 Miles broad; is well Inhabited, abounds with Corn, Cattel, Fiſh and Rabbits, and has a ſtrong Caſtle with a convenient Harbour. Two Miles North-Eaſt, lies *Papa Weſtra*, 3 Miles long, and a Mile and a Half broad; is well Inhabited, has a good Harbour, and, together with the other *Weſtra*, makes up a Pariſh.

Be-

Betwixt *Orkney* and *Shetland* lies the *Fair Iſle*, which riſes up in Three Promontories, and is ſeen both in *Orkney* and *Shetland*. The *Shetland*-Iſlands ly in the 61 and 62 Degree of Northern Latitude; and have *Norway* on the Eaſt, which to them is the neareſt Part of the Continent of *Europe*: They are in all, 46 Iſlands; 40 *Holms* or leſſer Iſlands, left for Paſturage; and 30 Rocks frequented only by Fowl. The Firſt of theſe Iſlands is call'd the *Main-Land*, being 60 Miles long, and in ſome Places 16 Miles broad. It runs into the Sea with Abundance of Promontories, is beſt Inhabited and Cultivated upon the Shore; but the inner Part is Mountainous and full of Lakes or Bogs. In this Iſland, are Two little Towns, the Firſt and oldeſt is *Scalloway* on the Weſt-Side of the Iſland, where is a Caſtle 4 Stories high, and the Inhabitants are about 100 in Number; the Second and largeſt is *Lerwick*, which by their Fiſhing Trade is increaſed now to about 300 Families. The other remarkable Iſlands here, are *Zeal*, commonly call'd *Yell*, 18 Miles long, and 9 broad; it has 3 Churches and ſeveral Chapels. Further North lies *Vuſt* much of the ſame Dimenſions, plain, pleaſant to the Eye, fruitful and well Inhabited. *Trondra* lies over againſt *Scalloway*, 3 Miles long and 2 broad. A little North-Eaſt lies *Whalſey*, 3 Miles long and 3 broad. On the Eaſt of *Braſſa*-Sound lies *Great Rule*, 8 Miles long and 2 broad, and has a good Harbour. Six Leagues Weſt from the *Main-Land* lies *Foula*, 3 Miles in Length. More to the Eaſt lies *Braſſa*, 5 Miles long and 2 broad, and has ſome Arable Ground and 2 Churches. *Burray* is 3 Miles long, has good Paſturage, abounds with Fiſh on the Coaſt, and has a Church in it: No Rats or Mice will live therein. *Unſt*, 8 Miles long, and the pleaſanteſt of the *Shetland* Iſles, has 3 Churches and as many Harbours; the Inhabitants ſay, That no Cats will live in it. *Shetland* is divided into 12 Pariſhes, but there are more Churches in it. This Country, like *Orkney*, has no Wood; the Inhabitants are very bold in venturing to Sea at all Seaſons for Fiſh, and in climbing the Rocks for Fowl: About the Summer-Solſtice, they have ſo much Light all Night, that they can ſee to read by it, for the Sun ſets between 10 and 11 at Night, and riſes between 1 and 2 in the Morning; on the other Hand, the Day is ſo much ſhorter, and the Night longer in the Winter, which, with the Violence of the Tides and the Tempeſtouſneſs of the Seas, deprives them of all Foreign Correſpendence from *October* till *April*. They abound with moſt of the Products of the other Northern Iſlands; and their Language is old *Gothic*, as was likeways that of *Orkney*, but moſt of them now ſpeak *Engliſh*.

In the Firth of *Forth* ly the Iſlands of *Inch-Garvie*, *Inch-Colm*, *Micre-Inch*, *Crammond-Inch*, *Inch-Keith*, *May*, and the *Baſs*; all of them little and pleaſant Iſlands, only fit for Paſturage, abounding with all Sorts of Sea-Fowl; and on their Coaſts are taken all Sorts of Fiſh. In *Inch-Colm* was an Abbacy, Founded by King *Alexander* I. for the Monks of the Order of S. *Auguſtine*, whoſe Steeple is yet intire, and ſeveral neat Vaults are ſtanding; the Chapter is of a round Figure, built of Square Stones, with Seats of Stone round it, and by the Ruines that are ſtill to be ſeen, it appears it was a moſt Stately Building. In the Iſle of *May* was a Priory, that belonged to S. *Andrew*'s, much repair'd to, before the Reformation, upon the Account of S. *Adrian*'s Chapel, who lies Buried here. King *Charles* I. gave Infeftment of this Iſle to *John Cuninghame*

Laird of *Barns*, with Liberty to build a Light-Houſe to be a Guide to Mariners in the Night-time: Accordingly he built a Tower 40 Foot high, Vaulted to the Top, and covered with Flag-Stones, whereon, all the Year over, there burns a Fire of Coals in the Night-time, which not only directs all the Ships that come out of the Firths of *Forth* and *Tay*, but all thoſe that Sail between S. *Ebb*'s-Head and *Red-Caſtle* near *Montroſe*; for which the Maſters of Ships are obliged to pay for each Tun ſome ſmall Thing. The *Baſs* is a high Rock, on which an impregnable Fort was built, but lately demoliſhed by the Government; and it is of ſo difficult Acceſs, that thoſe that enter it, muſt climb up by the Help of a Rope thrown down for that purpoſe: Here are great Numbers of Solen-Geeſe, and a great Variety of other Sea-Fowls.

From this brief View of the Kingdom it appears, that this Country is ſo far from being Barren, Barbarous and Poor, as our Enemies have repreſented; that, on the contrary, we abound not only in all the Neceſſaries of Human Life, but have likeways what may entertain the moſt exalted Luxury. So that, what the Poet ſaid in the following Verſes, of the whole Iſland in General, may more Particularly be applied to this Northern Part of it.

Tu nimio nec ſtricta gelu, nec ſydere fervens,
Clementi cœlo temperiêque places.
Cum pareret Natura Parens, varioque favore
Divideret dotes omnibus una locis,
Sepoſuit potiora tibi, matremque profeſſa,
Inſula ſis fœlix plenaque Pacis, ait.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid deſiderat uſus,
Ex te proveniet, vel aliunde tibi.

In *Engliſh* thus:

Nor Cold nor Heat's Extreams thy People fear,
But gentle Seaſons turn the Peaceful Year.
When teeming Nature's careful Hand beſtow'd
Her various Favours on her Num'rous Brood,
For Thee th' indulgent Mother kept the beſt,
Smil'd in her Face, and thus her Daughter bleſt:
In Thee, my Darling Iſle, ſhall never ceaſe
The conſtant Joy of Happineſs and Peace.
Whate'er can furniſh Luxury or Uſe,
Thy Sea ſhall bring Thee, or Thy Land produce.

I have purpoſely omitted to ſpeak of the *Roman* Encampments, Coins, and Inſcriptions in *Scotland*; ſince, God willing, a full Account is to be given of them, together with the Natural Hiſtory of the Kingdom in the Third Volume of this Work. But for the Reader's Curioſity, I have given, in the *Appendix*, N°. 2. an Alphabetical Liſt of the moſt of our Ancient Barons, with the Firſt Riſe of their Families, and the Preferments they have had in Church and State. I have likewiſe annexed a Liſt of the Religious Houſes, N°. 3. with theNames of their Foundations, their Founders, Order, and the Shires where they are.

His Death & Character.

Our Author lived not long after he had finiſhed his Hiſtory; for we find Two Perſons of great Learning, lamenting his Death about the Year

Year 1550. The First is *Bartholomæus Latomus*, with whom our Author was intimately acquainted, when he was teaching the *Belles Lettres* at *Paris*: This Learned Person, so well known by his Notes and Observations upon (r) *Cicero*, *Terence*, and *Horace*, composed the following Epitaph upon him.

Quisquis ad tumulum obstupescis istum
Tædas perpetua micare luce,
Lucem perpetuis adesse tædis;
Et quis sic statuit, cupis doceri?
Fiat: Hîc recubat Boethus Hector,
Ille qui Patriæ suæ tenebras,
Atque illas patrias, nitore Linguæ
Invecto Latiæ, *fugavit ultra*
Thylen, *& vitrei vigoris Arcton.*
Persolvunt Scotides *proin Camœnæ,*
Cum passim incipiant queantque haberi
Romanæ, *meritas suo Parenti*
Grates, & tumulum volunt ad istum
Tædas perpetua micare luce,
Lucem perpetuis adesse tædis.

The other is composed by *Joachimus Wolfius*, a *German*.

Excultas artes nuper sola Itala *tellus*
Cis Alpes *patrio est ausa tenere solo.*
Sed simul imperii transivit gloria, Musæ
Mutarunt sedes eloquiumque suas.
Occupat has Hector *Boreale* Boethius *orâ,*
Captivasque sua sub ditione tenet.
In Scotiam *si sic transmigravere Camœnæ,*
Forte olim imperii sceptra beata trahent.

Of all our Historians next to *Buchanan*, our Author *Hector Boeis* has been the most censured and commended by the Learned Men that have made Mention of him. *Humphrey Lhuyd*, the *English* Antiquary, looks upon his whole History to be nothing else but a Heap of Lies and Fables, from the Beginning to the End; as appears from this following Epigram of his (*f*).

Hectoris *Historici tot quot mendacia quæris,*
Si vis ut numerem (Lector amice) tibi:
Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare Marinos
Et liquidi stellas dinumerare Poli.

For which *Dempster* affirms, That *Lhuyd* ought to be whipt from *Parnassus*: For, says he (t), can there be any thing more Childish than this Address in Verse, *Lector amice?* And what Noble Epithets are those, *Fluctus marinos*, *liquidi Poli?* Lastly, What a Beautiful Gingle of Words,

(r) Le Grand Dict. Hist. par M. Vault. (*f*) Frag. Brit. Descrip. fol. 32. &c. Tract. de Mona Insula, apud Ortel.
(t) Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. 2. pag. 98.

tot quot? numerem, numerare, dinumerare? But the Learned Sir *Thomas Craig* takes another Way of Anſwering this, which is by the following Epigram upon *Holinſhed*, one of their Famed Hiſtorians.

Quæris Holinſhedii *Hiſtoriam cognoſcere, Lector?*
Augeæ *ſtabulum dicere jure potes:*
Non hanc Eurotas, *non hanc* Tyrinthius *ipſe*
Expurgare poteſt, ſpongia ſola poteſt.

The Biſhop of S. *Aſaph* (*u*) is ſo firmly perſwaded of our Author's being a Fabulous Hiſtorian, that he will not allow him ſo much as to have ſeen the Memoirs he cites in his Hiſtory; and that, when this Hiſtory was firſt Publiſhed, *Gawin Dowglas*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, warned *Polydore Virgil*, of giving too great Credit to it, and wiſhed him not to follow that Author, in any Account he might have Occaſion to give of the Affairs of *Scotland*. But, as the Biſhop of *Carliſle* has obſerved (*x*), *Polydore* does not mention *Boeis* at all, nor could he in any ſuch Manner; for he takes Notice with a juſt Concern, that Biſhop *Dowglas* dy'd in the Year 1520. Whereas *Boethius*'s Hiſtory was not Publiſh'd till 1526; and himſelf informs us, that the Records, from which he formed it, were ſent to him from *Icolmkil*, in the Year 1525, and no ſooner. It's very hard then in the Biſhop not to allow him common Honeſty, eſpecially when he tells the World that he had *Veremund*, his Principal Author, from the Earl of *Argyle*, who was then living. As for what Biſhop *Stilling fleet* ſays (*y*), That there is not one Word of *Veremund* in all Biſhop *Elphinſton*'s Hiſtory; I am afraid, this Learned Prelate has either read ſuperficially over this Hiſtory, or elſe his Copy is different from that in the *Bodleian* Library, where he Quotes him expreſly in the 7th Book and 14th Chapter.

The Learned Biſhop of *Carliſle* is as ſevere, in his Cenſure of our Author, as the Two forecited Prelates. "For, ſays he (*z*), in the Six Firſt "Books of his Hiſtory, there are a great many Particulars not to be "had in *Fordon*, or any other Writer now extant; and unleſs the Au"thors, which he pretends to have ſeen, be hereafter diſcovered, he "will continue to be ſhrewdly ſuſpected for the Contriver of almoſt as "many Tales, as our *Jeoffry* of *Monmouth*----- In Matters relating to his "Nation, he certainly follows the moſt Fabulous of our Hiſtorians, "more than he is willing to own, having only given a new Turn of his "Pen to what they had written; and then commonly Fathered it on "*Veremund* and *Campbel*. In his Account of *Achaius*'s Treaty, *Kenneth*'s "Victory over the *Picts*, the Metropolitical Power of the See of "*York*, &c. he is extremely Formal and tedious, giving us large Samples "of his Oratory in the Occaſional Speeches, which he puts into the "Mouths of his ſeveral Great Men. To theſe he adds a Collection of "Prodigies and Miracles, which happened upon every conſiderable Re"volution; and either he, or his Friend the Phyſician of *Aberdeen*, "(who, as *Dempſter* ſays, aſſiſted him in the compoſing of his Hiſtory) "garniſhes every Diſh with Flowers of choiſe Obſervations, in Natural "Hiſtory. His Principles in Polity are no better than thoſe of *Buchanan*, "whoſe

(*u*) Hiſtorical Account of the Ch. Government of Great Britain, in the Preface. (*x*) Scots Hiſt. Libr. pag. 104 (*y*) Origines Britan. in the Preface, pag. 52. (*z*) Ubi ſup.

" whoſe *Jus Regni* is effectually confirmed by what he ſays (*a*) of the " making and depoſing of Kings and Biſhops, by the ſole creating Pow- " er of the People. Thus far he. Yet the ſame Learned Prelate ſays, " That the Elegancy of his Expreſſions is fine, and well becomes the " Character which an eminent Maſter of the like Rhetoric has given of it. He means Biſhop *Leſly*. And ſpeaking of his Geographical Deſcription of the Kingdom, he ſays (*b*), " Moſt of the *Scots* Hiſtorians, which are " already publiſhed, have prefixed ſhort Geographical Deſcriptions of " the Kingdom to their Hiſtories; that being a Method which was " thought Natural and convenient by the like Writers of other Nations. " *Hector Boethius* is the largeſt, and he takes Occaſion to let his Reader " know, that he was ſingularly addicted to the Study of Natural Hiſto- " ry; and much delighted with ſuch Phyſical Curioſities as were moſt " ſurpriſing and extraordinary. His Correſpondents, he aſſures us, " were Perſons of extraordinary Learning in ſeveral Parts of the Nation; " among whom was *Edward*, Biſhop of *Orkney*, who furniſhed him " with a Faithful Account of the Healthy and Vigorous Conſtitution of " the Inhabitants of thoſe Iſles: The reſt did not (all of them at leaſt) " deal ſo fairly by him, ſeveral of them having moſt certainly impoſed " upon his good Nature and eaſy Faith. 'Tis a terrible Story, which " Sir *Duncan Campbel* told him, of the Monſtruous Gooſe-Footed Otter " of the Loch *Garloil*, which ſtruck down great Oaks with its Steer; " and yet the Fiſhermen eſcaped its Fury by climbing into Trees. The " Sea-Monks at the Iſle of *Baſs*, and *James Ogilvy*'s Wild Men of *Norway*, " (who could pull up the talleſt Firr with as much Eaſe, as an ordinary " Body can root up a Turneep) are proper Companions for theſe: And " the Credibility of the Three Parallel Stories muſt reſt upon the Re- " porters. But the Author himſelf is only anſwerable for the Account, " which (amongſt others) he gives of the Clakis or Barnacle, which " he affirms upon his own Word: Since what he pretends to have fre- " quently obſerved (of a Perfect Bird, Feathers and all being formed " in theſe Shells) is extremely diſſonant, from what the Naturaliſts in " our Days have taught from nice and credible Experiments. He is " more Authentic in what he reports of the Guſtards in the County of " *Merſs*; and the Salmond at *Aberdeen*; and above all, he is to be " applauded for what he hints of the Purple Fiſh, reckoning it amongſt " the *Conchæ intortæ*. This ſhews, that he rightly underſtood *Bede* (*c*), " who has ſomewhat to the ſame Purpoſe; and that Mr. *Cole*'s Diſco- " very (*d*) of this very Fiſh ought not to be reckoned among ſuch as *had* " *not formerly been publiſhed by any Author*. He does not appear to have " been quite ſo happy in the Uſe he made of the ſame Ancient Hiſtorian " (and ſome others) in Matters of Antiquity: Or elſe he would hardly " have placed the *Brigantes* in *Galloway*; the *Silures* in *Carrick*; and the " *Deiri* in *Merſs* and *Lothian*.

Our Learned Country-Man, Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Stralogh*, is no leſs diſpleaſed with our Author's Hiſtory than the above-cited *Engliſh* Hiſtorians. " For, ſays he (*e*), he being ignorant of the Laws of Hiſtory,

(*a*) Cont. lib. 6. fol. 92. b. & lib. 7. fol. 128. b. (*b*) Scots Hiſt. Libr. pag. 8. (*c*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 1. c. 1. (*d*) Phil. Tran. Vol. 15. Numb. 178. N. 1278. (*e*) Epiſt. MS. ad D. Buch. Hiſtoria Boethii ut liberè apud te loquar. Ille Legum Hiſtoriæ ſcribendæ ignarus, rudi ſæculo ea ſcripſit quorum nos pudet. Quid illa de Ptoſomæi Regis Legatione ad Geographiam noſtri regni veſtigandam? Quis ille de Carataco Tractatus è Tacito ad verbum deſcriptus? Illum

" wrote in a Barbarous Age, what we are aſhamed of. Such as that " Story of *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, ſending Learned Men to make a " Geographical Deſcription of our Kingdom. And that about *Caratacus*, " which he has, Word by Word, taken out of *Tacitus*: For no Man, " that knows any thing of Antiquity, will rank him amongſt our Kings. " *Buchanan*, not ignorant of this, that he might not expoſe *Boethius*, or " that Strangers might not think, there was a Blemiſh in our Hiſtory, " ranked him amongſt our Kings, but does not mention thoſe Glorious " Things of him; for the very Name of *Caratacus* proves him to have " been a Provincial *Britain*. Why makes he the *Silures* to be amongſt " us, ſince it appears from the *Roman* Writers, that they are the In- " habitants of *Wales*? What for a Fable is that concerning *Camelon*? " What for threatning Letters of our Kings are theſe to *Julius Cæſar*! " to paſs by the Fable of *Gathelus* and a great many others.

But other Learned Men have had a quite different Opinion of our Author and his Performances. For *Eraſmus*, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſays in one of his Epiſtles (*f*), " That he was a Man " of an extraordinary and happy Genius, and of great Eloquence. *Alexander Lyon*, in his Letter to the *Scots* Nobility, ſays (*g*), " That he de- " ſerved very well both of them and of the Republic.

The Learned Mr. *William Gordon*, in his Epiſtle to the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*, ſays (*h*), " That they have very much Reaſon to rejoice, " that the Hiſtory of our Nation, written in a moſt Polite Stile, Faith- " fully and Learnedly, had been Firſt Publiſhed to the World out of their " Univerſity. And a little after, he ſays (*i*), " That *Boethius* was a " Man excellently well ſeen in all the Sciences.

Joannes Ferrerius Pedemontanus, who continued this Hiſtory, ſays (*k*) in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to *James Beaton* Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, " That he was a Man of ſingular Learning and Erudition, and one who " had tranſmitted to Poſterity, in a moſt decent Stile, the Noble and " Heroic Atchievements of our Kings and Predeceſſors in Seventeen " Books, from the Firſt Riſe of the Nation, to the *Calends* of *May*, in " the Year of our Lord 1526. And the ſame *Ferrerius* ſpeaking of the Eighteenth Book, which was Publiſhed in the Second Edition of this Hiſtory, ſays (*l*), " That our Author has treated of all Things there " ſo largely, that he believes, there is no Man on the like Subject could " have done it more ſignificantly or to better purpoſe.

Paul Jove Biſhop of *Nocera*, ſo well known in the Republic of Letters, in his Deſcription of *Britain*, ſays of our Author (*m*), " That he " wrote the Hiſtory of the *Scots* Kings down to King *James* III. with " equal Eloquence and Diligence. And ſpeaking of our Author's De-

ſcription

Illum nemo antiquitatis prudens Regibus noſtris annumeraverit. Illum Buchananus inſcitiæ tantæ gnarus, ne Boethius ludibrio haberetur, aut Hiſtoriæ labem apud Exteros ſentiret, nolens e Regum ſerie delere, magnifica tamen illa intacta relinquit. Nomen ipſum Caratacum arguit provincialem Britonem fuiſſe. Quale hoc Silures nobis aſcribi, quos hodiernæ Walliæ partem tenuiſſe Romani ſcriptores teſtatiſſimum faciunt! Quam portentoſum de Cameloduno commentu ! Quales ſunt illæ Regis noſtri ad Cæſarem Julium epiſtolæ minaces! Nonne hoc eſt ſerio delirare! Ignoſco Gatheli fabulæ; cum nævus ille omnibus tam communis: At illi plus ſatis immorari, omnia ſigillatim, tanquam illorum temporum æqualis, referre multum mihi diſplicet.

(*f*) Eraſ. in Ep. Vir ſingularis ingenii fœlicitatis, & facundi oris. (*g*) Haud parum meritus de nobis, deque noſtra Republica H. Boethius. (*h*) Plurimum gaudendum vobis exiſtimo, quod noſtræ gentis Hiſt. diſertiſſimo ſtylo fideliter, atque erudite conſcripta ex noſtra Academia Aberdonenſi primum prodierit in lucem. (*i*) Boethius vir in omni ſcientiarum genere apprime eruditus. (*k*) Hector Boethius vir ornatiſſimus, & ſingulari doctrina præditus, qui Regum veſtrorum, & Scoticæ gentis res clariſſime ſuſceptas, & fortiſſime geſtas memoriæ ad Poſteritatem tradidit, typiſque Aſcenſianis libris xvii. ad Calendas Maias, Anno ſalut. Chriſtianæ MDXXVI. decenter expreſſit. (*l*) In quo ſuſe omnia ita ſcribendo conſecutus eſt, ut nihil plenius aut ſignificantius a quopiam in re perſimili fieri poſſe credam. (*m*) Hector Boethius inſigni facundia, & pari diligentia perpetuam Scotorum Regum Hiſtoriam ad Jacobum ſui nominis III. deducit.

ſcription of *Scotland*, he ſays (*n*), "That he made it his Buſineſs, "being led on by Curioſity and the Love of his Country, to leave no "thing unobſerved, that was Praiſe-worthy, either in our Deſarts or "Mountains, or in our Lakes and Seas.

Joannes Gualterius, in his Chronicle, *Tom.* 2. *Page* 280. ſays (*o*), "That our Author was exquiſitely well Vers'd in all the Parts of Phi-"loſophy and Theology, and a moſt eminent Hiſtorian.

Biſhop *Leſly*, in his Hiſtory, *Lib.* 9. *Pag.* 414. ſays of our Author (*p*), "That his Stile has the Purity of *Cæſar*'s; and that for the Nervouſ-"neſs of his Words and Reaſonings, he ſeems to have transferred to "himſelf that of *Livy*.

Buchanan ſays in the Second Book of his Hiſtory, That our Author, n his *Deſcription of* Scotland, hath delivered ſome Things not ſo true; nd he hath drawn others into Miſtakes, whilſt he was over Credulous f thoſe to whom he committed the Enquiry after Matters, and ſo Pub-iſhed their Opinions rather than the Truth: Yet elſewhere, he ſaith *q*), "That he was not only notably Learned in the Liberal Sciences "above the Condition of thoſe Times, but alſo of an exceeding Cour-"teous and Human Inclination.

Biſhop *Spotiſwood*, in his Hiſtory, *Book* 2. *Page* 68. ſpeaking of our uthor, ſays, That he was a great Philoſopher, and much commended y *Eraſmus* for his Eloquence and Felicity of Ingine; yet is he traduced y ſome of the *Engliſh* Writers for a Fabulous and Partial Hiſtorian: ut they, who like to peruſe his Hiſtory, will perceive, that this is oken out of Paſſion and Malice, and not upon any juſt Cauſe.

From theſe Teſtimonies, and the Poems that were made upon him y a great many eminent Wits, it appears, that, as to the Endowments of is Mind, he was well ſeen in the *Belles Lettres*, Theology, Philoſophy, nd Hiſtory; but ſomewhat Credulous and much addicted to the Be-ief of Legendary Stories. As for the Accompliſhments of his Body, tis ſaid, That he was Diſcreet, Genteel, Well-bred, Attentive, Gene-ous, Affable and Courteous. He was acquainted with the moſt of the Learned Men of his Age, and a Man of ſo great Probity and Integrity, hat the Great *Eraſmus* ſays of him, That he knew not what it was to make a Lye. So that Mr. *John Vaus*, in his Commendatory Poem upon our Author's Book of *The Lives of the Biſhops of* Aberdeen, had Reaſon to ſay,

Siqua manet gratos animos, libroſque diſertos
Gloria, ſi prodeſt Stemmata noſſe Patrum;
Parta tibi eſt, Hector Bœoti, *gloria jugis,*
Uno qui libro tot bene geſta refers.
Ergo Aberdoniæ *dum Sedes ſtabit & Aræ,*
Pons & Gymnaſium, nobile ſtabit Opus.

(*n*) Boethii muneris fuit, qui curioſitate & diligentia amoris patriæ digniſſima nihil intactum & ſine laude, vel in aſpretis atque paludibus reliquit. (*o*) Hector Boethius, in omni Philoſophiæ & Theologiæ genere verſatiſſimus Hiſtoricus egregius. (*p*) Illius Stylus tam eſt terſus, ut Cæſaris puritatem decoxiſſe, ac rationum verborumque ponderibus ita nervoſus, ut Livianam gravitatem in ſuam naturam tranſtuliſſe penitus videatur. (*q*) Quod non ſolum artium liberalium cognitione ſupra quam illa ferebant tempora inſignis erat, ſed etiam humanitate & comitate ſingulari præditus.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. SCotorum *Hiſtoria ab illius Gentis origine*, Pariſ. *in Fol.* 1526.

II. *Cum Continuatione* Joh. Ferrerii, Pariſ. 1574 & 1575, *in Fol.*
III. Aberdonenſium *Epiſcoporum vitæ*, Pariſ. 1522. *in Quarto.*

THE

LIFE of *JAMES LAING*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne.*

His Birth and Education.

THIS Gentleman was Born in the Shire or County of *Aberdeen*, about the Year of our Lord 1499 (*a*), in the Reign of King *James* IV. He was very early put to the Schools by his Parents; and in a few Years, he became a great Maſter of the *Belles Lettres*, Philoſophy and Theology. His Parents, finding he had a moſt excellent Genius for Letters, ſent him over to the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he apply'd himſelf cloſely to the Study of Theology; and entring into Holy Orders, he Preached for ſeveral Years in that Famous City. At length he commenced Doctor of Divinity in the *Sorbonne*, the Principal College of the Univerſity of *Paris*; and afterwards he was made Profeſſor of Theology there, which he taught with great Applauſe till his Death. We have Two Books of this Author, containing an Account of the Lives and Characters of moſt of all the *Reformers*. The Firſt was Publiſhed, at *Paris*, in the Year 1581, as alſo the Other in the Year 1585. But ſince I have already had the Occaſion of giving an Account of moſt of them, I ſhall only take Notice of a few that I have not as yet mentioned, and who have made very conſiderable Appearances in the World, by reaſon of the great Multitudes of People that have embraced their Sentiments. The Firſt of theſe is,

He goes over to the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he enters into Holy Orders.

He is made Dr. of Divinity, and Profeſſor of Theology in the *Sorbonne*.

He writes the Lives of the *Reformers*.

An Account of ſome of them.

John Calvin.

John Calvin or *Cauvin*, who was Born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, upon the 10th Day of *July* (*b*), 1509; whoſe Father *Gerard Cauvin*, and his Mother, were Perſons of a very mean Birth, yet finding he had an excellent Spirit, they ſent him to an Uncle of his at *Paris* a very rich Tradeſman, who took all imaginable Care about his Education. He ſtudy'd his Grammar and Poetry in the College *de la Marche*, and his Philoſophy in the College of *Montague*. At the Age of Eleven Years, he was provided to the Chapel of *Noſtre Dame de la Geſine* in the Church of *Noyon*; and, at the Age of Eighteen Years, he obtained the Curacy of *Marteville*, but in the Year 1529 he changed this laſt with that of *Pont l' Eveque* nigh to *Noyon*. Yet notwithſtanding of theſe Benefices, he did not enter into Holy Orders; but, on the contrary, by the Advice of *Peter Robert Olivetan*, he gave over all Thoughts of ſtudying Theology, and went to *Orleans* to ſtudy the Law under the Famous Profeſſor *Peter de l' Etoile*, who was afterwards Honoured with the Charge of Preſident to the Parliament. After he had ſtudy'd for ſome time here, he went to *Bourges*, to

(*a*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. xi. pag. 438. Georg. Conæus, de Duplici Statu Relig. apud Scot. lib. 2. pag. 167.
(*b*) Papyr. Maſſ, Hieron. Bolſac. & Theod. Beza in vit. Calvin. M. du Pin, Nov. Bib. Tom. 13. Maimb. Hiſt. du Calv. &c.

ear that great Lawier, *Andrew Alciat*, who was attended by an extraor-
inary Concourſe of Scholars; that Univerſity being then the moſt Fa-
ous and Flouriſhing in *France* for the Study of the Law. Here he like-
iſe ſtudy'd *Greek*, under *Melchoir Volmar* a *German*, who was then
rofeſſor of this Language at that Univerſity. *Olivetan*, who was *Calvin*'s
elation, was a great Favourer of *Lutheraniſm*, for which he was after-
ards obliged to fly to *Switzerland*, where he Tranſlated the Bible out
f *Hebrew* into *French*, and Printed it at *Neufchattel*. This Man, I ſay,
ad made a very favourable Repreſentation of the Opinions of *Luther*, and
e other *Reformers*, to *Calvin*; *Volmar*, who had as good an Opinion of
em, underſtanding this, contracted an intimate Friendſhip with him,
d confirmed him in his Reſolution of joining the *Reformers*: Whereu-
on he immediately begun to apply himſelf to the Study of Theology;
d knowing that the Scriptures could not be well underſtood without
e Knowledge of the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, he not only endeavoured to be
n abſolute Maſter of theſe Two Languages, but likewiſe of the *Syriac*.
Vhilſt he was thus imploying his Time at *Bourges*, he received the News
f his Father's Death, which obliged him to return to *Noyon*, where
e ſtay'd not long. For, reſolving to propagate the Doctrines of the
eformers as much as was in his Power, he ſold his Two Benefices to
wo Prieſts: Then came to *Paris*, where he kept a cloſe Correſpondence
ith all thoſe of the *Reformed* Religion there; and, in all their Aſſemblies
Meetings, he was look'd upon as the Learnedſt and moſt proper for
xplaining the Scriptures to them. Likeways it did not a little heighten
s Reputation, that, at this Time, he not being above 23 or 24 Years
Age, did publiſh a Commentary, upon *Seneca*'s Book of *Clemency*, writ
a noble Stile of *Latin*, and Dedicated to *Claude Hangeſte* Abbot of S.
loy de Noyon. The Rector of the Univerſity at *Paris*, at this Time, was
ne *Nicolas Coppus*, (Son to *William Coppus* the King's Phyſician) who
aving ſecretly embraced the *Lutheran* Opinions, and being intimately
cquainted with *Calvin*, did with him compoſe an Oration, wherein they
ouched very handſomely ſeveral of the Doctrines of the *Reformers*.
oppus, upon the Firſt Occaſion that offer'd, *viz.* the 1ſt of *November* 1532,
aving pronounced this Harangue before them, is ſummoned before the
arliament, at the Inſtance of the Faculty of Theologues, for having
dvanced ſeveral Things contrary to the Catholic Faith and Chriſtian
iety. The Rector, in Obedience to the Parliament, was going in his
ormalities to appear before them; but being advertiſed by the Way
o take Care of himſelf, or otherways he would repent it, he imme-
iately returns to his College, throws away his Habit, and makes his
ſcape to *Baſle*. The Judges being informed, that *Calvin* had a Hand in
he compoſing of this Diſcourſe, ſent *John Morin* the Lieutenant-Cri-
minal to the College of *Forteret*, where *Calvin* Lodged, to Impriſon him:
But he having made his Eſcape, they ſeiſed his Papers, whereby they diſ-
covered a great many Correſpondents. The Queen of *Navarre*, who was
a great Protector of all Learned Men, and a Favourer of the *Reformation*,
having in a Manner appeaſed the Storm that was raiſed againſt *Calvin*
and his Friends, *Calvin* retired to *Xaintoinge*, where he was kindly recei-
ved and entertained by his Friend *Lewis du Tillet*, Chanon of *Angouleme*
and Curate of *Claye*; at whoſe Deſire he wrote his Book call'd *Chriſtian*
Advices to be read by the Curates, when at Maſs. In this Chanon's Houſe

he likewiſe compoſed the moſt of his Books of *Inſtitutions*. From *Xaintoinge* he went to *Nerac*, to ſee *M. le Fevre d' Etaples*, with whom he kept an intimate Correſpondence. Thereafter he returned to *Paris*, in the Year 1534. At which time, the Lieutenant-Criminal *Morin* (*b*) was violently perſecuting thoſe of the *Reformed* Religion. This made *Calvin* reſolve to leave *France*, and retire to ſome other Country. So, after he had publiſhed at *Orleans*, his Treatiſe of *Pſychopannychie*, that's to ſay, againſt thoſe who affirmed, That our Souls ſlept to the Day of Judgment, he retired to *Baſle* in *Switzerland*, where he contracted an intimate Friendſhip with *Capiton* and *Grynæus*, Men ſufficiently known in the Republic of Letters, for their great Knowledge in the *Hebrew* Language. Here it was that *Calvin* publiſhed his *Inſtitutions*, which he Dedicated to the *French* King, *Francis* I. to ſerve as an Apology for the *Reformers*, who were then accuſed in *France*, as *Enthuſiaſts* and *Anabaptiſts*. The Preface is Dated from *Baſle*, the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1536.

After the publiſhing of this Book, *Calvin* went to *Italy* to wait upon the Princeſs of *Ferrara*, Daughter to the *French* King, *Lewis* XII. This Princeſs having an extraordinary Genius for Letters, in ſo much that ſhe knew Philoſophy and the Learned Languages as well as any in her Age, and being a great Patroneſs of Learning and Learned Men, and eſpecially thoſe of the *Reformed* Religion ; *Calvin* reſolved to try, if he could gain her over intirely to them : And was ſo ſucceſsful in his Undertaking, that that Princeſs, notwithſtanding of all the Endeavours uſed to the contrary, adhered to the *Reformed* Religion till her dying Hour ; and, after her Husband's Death, when ſhe retired into *France*, during the Civil Wars, her Caſtle was a Caſtle of Refuge to them, and there were no leſs than 300 of them maintained by her every Day. Tho' *Calvin*, whilſt he was at the Court of *Ferrara*, had taken all imaginable Care that he ſhould not be diſcovered, wearing the Habit of a Churchman, and going under the Name of *Happeville* ; yet his frequent Conferences with that Princeſs made him ſuſpected : And he had fallen into the Hands of the Inquiſition, had he not quickly made his Eſcape. So he returned to *France*, with a Deſign of ſettling his Affairs there, and of returning either to *Baſle* or *Strasburg*.

But the Civil Wars obliging him to paſs thoro' the City of *Geneva*, where *Farel* and *Vinet*, who had eſtabliſhed the *Reformed* Religion there, prevail'd with him to ſtay with them : And the Conſiſtory and Magiſtrates of *Geneva* made Choice of him for being one of their Miniſters, and Profeſſor of Theology towards the End of the Year 1536. The next Year he drew up a *Formulary* of his *Faith* and a *Catechiſm*, which was received by all the Magiſtrates and People of *Geneva* as the Standard of their Belief ; and afterwards by all the *Proteſtants* in *France*.

After this, he had a Public Conference with the *Anabaptiſts*, in which he had admirable good Succeſs, and reduced *Peter Caroli* to Silence, who had accuſed him and his Colleagues of having wrong Sentiments concerning the Trinity. And that the *Reformed* in *France*, might know what his Sentiments were, he wrote Two Letters for that Purpoſe ; the one was directed to *Nicolas du Chemin*, concerning the flying from Idolatry ; and the other to *Gerard Rouſſel*, who was newly advanced to the Biſhopric of *Oleron*, againſt the Prieſthood of the Papiſts.

The

(*b*) Vid. P. Maimb. Hiſt. du Calviniſ.

The City of *Geneva* was, at this Time, ſo divided into Factions, that the Principal Families were at Variance with one another. *Calvin*, having done all that was in his Power to reconcile them, and finding it to no Purpoſe, at laſt reſolved with his Colleagues to deny them the *Lord's Supper*, unleſs they were reconciled. About the ſame time, the Synod of the Canton of *Berne* ordered, That the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper* ſhould not be given any more in Leaven'd Bread; That there ſhould be Baptiſmal Fonts in all their Churches; and, That no other Holy Days ſhould be obſerved but *Sunday*. *Calvin* and his Colleagues refuſed to obey the Synod in theſe Things, which, together with the refuſing of them the Sacrament, ſo incenſed the Syndics of the City, that they call'd together the People, and ordered that *Calvin* and his Two Colleagues *Farel* and *Couraud*, ſhould remove out of the City in Two Days time.

Calvin retired to *Strasburg*, where he Founded a *French* Church, was the Firſt Miniſter in it himſelf, and ſhortly made Profeſſor of Theology there. During *Calvin*'s Abſence from *Geneva*, Cardinal *Sadolet* wrote a moſt Eloquent Letter to the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants to perſwade them to return again to the Church of *Rome*. *Calvin* wrote an Anſwer to this Letter in the Year 1539. Two Years after this, he aſſiſted at the Diets that the Emperor had call'd at *Wormes* and *Ratisbonne* for reconciling the *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*.

Upon his Return he was recalled to *Geneva*, where he made his Entry upon the 13th of *September*, 1541. During his Reſidence at *Strasburg*, he reviſed his Book of *Inſtitutions*, compoſed his *Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the* Romans, and Married the Relict of one *John Sterder* an *Anabaptiſt*, call'd *Idletta de Bure*.

Not long after this there aroſe great Diſputes betwixt *Calvin* and *Servetus* a *Spaniard*, concerning the Trinity: And *Calvin*, finding that he could not perſwade him, either by Reaſon or Scripture, to believe the Trinity, cauſed ſeiſe upon his Perſon and Impriſon him. For, by this time, he was ſo much reſpected by the Magiſtracy and People of *Geneva*, that he was as abſolute a Maſter there, as the Pope was at *Rome*. After he had Impriſoned *Servetus*, he conſulted with the reſt of the *Proteſtant* Cantons, what he ſhould do with him; and he and they agreed, that he ſhould be Burnt alive, which was accordingly done: And *Calvin*, to juſtify their Procedure, wrote a Book wherein he refuted the Erroneous Doctrine of *Servetus*, and maintained the Lawfulneſs of putting Heretics to Death. Upon all which a Famed Author of the *Romiſh* Church has this Reflection (*c*), *He accuſes* Servetus (ſays he) *of being an Innovator, and a Man without Religion who abuſed the Word of* God, *deſpiſing all Ancient Traditions. Do not the Catholics object the ſame Things to this* Geneva *Doctor? Have not they the ſame Reaſons to condemn him to be burnt for his Innovations? And for this they need no other Judge but the Book that he wrote with this Title*, Fidelis Expoſitio errorum *Michaelis Serveti*, & brevis eorundem refutatio, ubi docetur jure gladii coercendos eſſe Hæreticos.

Calvin, for ſeveral Years before his Death, was grievouſly tormented with the Gout, had a conſtant Pain in his Head, and was troubled with the Hemeroides, by which he loſt great Quantities of Blood. At length

(*c*) Il l'accuſe d' etre un Novateur, & un homme ſans Religion, qui abuſoit de la parole de Dieu, ſe moc quant de toute l' ancíene Tradition. Des Catholiques n' objectoient ils pas la memes choſe a ce Docteur de Geneve? N'avoint ils pas les memes Raiſons de le condamner au Feu pour ſes Nouveautez? Ill ne falloit point meme d'autre juge que le Livre qu' il venoit de publiés avec ce titre, &c. M. Simon Hiſt. Crit. du Nouv. Teſt. Par. 3. ch. 14.

he fell into a Decay, of which he Died upon the 27th of *May* 1564, Aged 54 Years, 10 Months and 17 Days.

He had an admirable and penetrating Wit, wrote elegantly, being a great Maſter of the Languages eſpecially the *Latin*, but was an ill Preacher: His Learning was of a very univerſal Extent; ſo that there were few Men in his Age that knew more than he did. In a Word, in whatever Reſpect he be conſider'd, he was truly a great Man, and one that was indefatigably Laborious, imploying all the Time that Nature could allow him, in Teaching, Preaching, and Writing Multitudes of Books on the Sacred Scriptures, and againſt the Church of *Rome*. In his Life and Temper, he was much more Regular than *Luther*, being a Man of great Sobriety, Temperance and Chaſtity. But withal he is much blamed, for his being too hot in his Zeal againſt thoſe who differed from him in his Opinions; and for brotching of ſeveral New Doctrines that the other Reformed Churches have ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. An Inſtance of his too fiery Zeal he gave, in the Burning of *Servetus*, and in his Book about the putting Heretics to Death: As likeways in the hard Names he gave to thoſe that were not of his Perſwaſion. Thus ſpeaking of *Servetus*, he calls him a moſt Proud *Spaniſh* Knave (*d*): And, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory (*e*) to Prince *Radziville*, prefixed to his Commentary upon *the Acts of the Apoſtles*, he gives ſuch Names and Epithets to the *Socinians* in *Poland*, and to the Fathers of the Council of *Trent*, that none, who have a Chriſtian Temper, can allow of.

As for his Doctrines, in which he differs from the reſt of the Reformed Churches, I ſhall here preſent the Reader with a ſhort View of them, from his own Writings; and we ſhall Firſt begin with the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures. In his Confeſſion of Faith for the Reformed Churches of *France* (*f*), 'tis ſaid, *We acknowledge theſe Books* (in ſpeaking of the whole Scriptures) *to be Canonical, not ſo much by the common Agreement and Conſent of the Church, as by the Teſtimony and inward Perſwaſion of the Holy Ghoſt.* This hath appeared to be ſo great an Extravagance to the *Proteſtants* in the *Low Countries*, who call themſelves *Remonſtrants*, that they look upon the *Calviniſts* that follow this Principle, as People that have renounced common Senſe. And *Simon Epiſcopius*, one of the great Champions of this Party (*g*), having handled this Queſtion with a great deal of Subtility, concludes, That it is a very ill ſort of Argumentation, to admit, beſides the Teſtimony of the Church, another inward Teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, to know whether certain Books have a Divine Authority ſtampt upon them or not. For according to them, it is ſufficient that we have thereupon the Teſtimony of (*h*) the Primitive Church, that certainly knew that theſe Books were written by the Apoſtles or approved by them; and that this Teſtimony is come down to us by a conſtant Tradition. The Learned *Hugo Grotius* ſays (*i*), That this Private Spirit of theirs is nothing but a Spirit to divide the Church. According to this Rule of judging the Scriptures, it is that the ſame *Calvin*, ſpeaking of *the Second Epiſtle of S.* Peter, after he hath a little enlarged upon the Diverſity of Style that is to be found betwixt them; yet he acknow-

(*d*) Servetus ſuperbiſſimus, ex gente Hiſpanica, nebulo. (*e*) Ed. Genev. Ann. 1568. (*f*) Confeſſ. Art. 4. (*g*) Hinc patet ineptos eſſe eos, qui vel præter vel citra teſtimonium Eccleſiæ requiri aiunt internum Spiritus ſancti teſtimonium; ad hoc ut libros hos divinos eſſe, & Authoritatem divinam habere intelligamus Remonſt. Con. c. 1. n. 8. (*h*) Eccleſia primitiva quæ temporibus Apoſtolorum fuit, certiſſime reſciſcere potuit, & indubie etiam reſcivit libros iſtos ab Apoſtolis ſcriptos eſſe, vel ſaltem approbatos, nobiſque iſtius rei ſcientiam quaſi per manus tradidit ac veluti depoſitum quoddam reliquit ubi ſup. (*i*) Spiritus ille privatus ſpiritus Eccleſiæ Diviſor, Grot. Anim. in Anim. River.

acknowledges it to be Divine and Canonical, becauſe it bears the Signature of *Chriſt*'s Spirit (*k*). *However it be*, ſays he, *ſince in all the Parts of the Epiſtle, the Majeſty of the Spirit of* Chriſt *is clearly manifeſt, I cannot in Conſcience reject it altogether, tho' I do not find therein the True and Natural Phraſe of S.* Peter. By the ſame Method of Reaſoning, he acknowledges *the Epiſtle to the* Hebrews: But rejects their Opinion, who think that *S. Paul* is the Author of it. *For my Part*, ſays he, *I cannot believe, that S.* Paul *is the Author of it (l).* And ſpeaking of *the Epiſtle of S.* James, he ſays (*m*), *To receive this, ſeems to me to be ſufficient, that it contains nothing unworthy of an Apoſtle of* Chriſt. Yet, in other Places, he ſeems even to have had a Regard to the Tradition of the Church, and the Authentic Copies of the Bible; thus ſpeaking of *the Epiſtle of S.* Jude, he ſays (*n*), after that he hath acknowledged that the Ancients differed very much amongſt themſelves about it, *However, becauſe the reading of it is very profitable, and it contains nothing but what is agreeable to the Purity of the Apoſtolical Doctrine, and in regard alſo that it hath been accounted Authentic for a long Time amongſt all good People; for my Part, I willingly place it in the Number of the other Epiſtles.* And ſpeaking of the Hiſtory of the Adulterous Woman in *the Goſpel of S.* John, *'Tis well known*, ſays he (*o*), *that the ancient* Grecians *knew nothing of this preſent Hiſtory; and therefore ſome have conjectured, that it hath been taken from ſome other Place, and added here: But foraſmuch as it hath been always received in the* Latin *Churches, and is found in many Copies and ancient Books of the* Grecians, *and contains nothing that is unworthy of an Apoſtolical Spirit, there is no Cauſe why we ſhould refuſe to make a good Uſe of it.*

Calvin, in his Diſputes, concerning the Trinity, with *Servetus*, *Valentine Gentile*, and ſome *Italians*, was ſo perplexed (*p*) by their Subtilities, that he complains it was turned a common Diſeaſe to ſtart new Difficulties in Religion as every Man's Wit ſuggeſted to him, but eſpecially the *Italians*, who excell'd all others in this. In the Management of this Debate, he was very cautious and reſerved in laying Streſs upon theſe Paſſages of Scripture, which he knew might admit of any Exceptions. Thus in his Commentary upon theſe Words of S. *John*'s Goſpel, Chap. 5. V. 7. *For there are Three that bear Witneſs in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt; and theſe Three are One:* Knowing that this Paſſage is not to be had in the moſt ancient Copies of S. *John*'s Goſpel, he ſays (*q*), *All this has been omitted by ſome, which, S.* Jerome *thought, did proceed rather from Malice than Ignorance or Inadvertency, and which was not done but by thoſe of the* Latin *Church. But, foraſmuch as the* Greek *Books do not agree amongſt themſelves, it is not eaſy for me to be poſitive about the Matter. Nevertheleſs becauſe the Text runs very well with that Addition, and, as I obſerve, it is extant in the beſt and moſt correct Copies, for my Part, I am very willing to admit of it.* Yet notwithſtanding of all this, they intangled him ſo, that he has ſaid ſeveral Things, that none, who believe the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, can approve of. For, in his Diſpute with *Valentine Gentile*, he ſays, That our bleſſed Lord and Saviour was αυτόθεος *God of Himſelf.* And when his Adverſary urged the Authority of all the Ancient Fathers againſt him, who acknowledged the Father only to be *God of*

(*k*) Calv. Arg. de ſes Com. ſur la 2. Epiſt. de S. Pier. (*l*) Arg. de ſes Com. ſur l' Epiſt. aux Hebr. (*m*) Arg. de ſon Com. ſur l' Epiſt. de S. Jacq. (*n*) Arg. de ſes Com. ſur l' Epiſt. de S. Jude. (*o*) Com. ſur S. Jean, c. 8. v. 1. (*p*) Vulgaris hic morbus eſt ac fere ubique regnat, quod, ut quiſque ingenii agilitate, pollet ita eum titillat inanis curioſitas; ſed in Italis propter rarum acumen magis eminet. Fid. Expoſitio. Error. M. Serveti. (*q*) Com. in Epiſt. 1. Joan. cap. 5. v. 7.

Himſelf, and particularly the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, who had declared the Son to be *Deum de Deo*, he acknowledges it to be a very harſh Expreſſion (*r*): And as to the above-cited Paſſage in S. *John*, he ſays, That *the Three in One there, do not denote the Eſſence but the Conſent.* And ſpeaking of that Prayer, *Holy Trinity, One God, have Mercy on us*, he ſays, *It is Barbarous, and does not pleaſe him* (*ſ*).

In the Controverſy concerning the *Euchariſt*, he has ſeveral Expreſſions, by which one would be induced to believe, that he thought the real Body and Blood of *Chriſt* were there; and accordingly he has been often cited by *Roman*-Catholic Authors, as acknowledging it. But the Reaſon, why he ſpoke thus, was only to ſee if he could bring over his Brethren the *Lutherans* to his Opinion: For, in other Places, he very clearly declares himſelf of *Zuinglius*'s Opinion. And, to give one Inſtance for all, diſputing againſt the *Lutherans* (*t*) upon the true Meaning of theſe Words, *This is my Body*, he ſays, *They reply, That they have the Scriptures, by which the Will of God is declared, if we allow them to exclude the Gift of Interpretation, which is in the Church, and by which the Scriptures are underſtood as they ought to be. I confeſs they have the Words of the Scripture for them, but juſt ſo as the* Anthropomorphites *of Old had, who made God a Corporeal Being.*

Finding that the Law of *Moſes* did not in many Things agree with that of the Goſpel, he thereupon accuſes the Patriarchs with Crimes, which the reſt of the *Proteſtant* Churches never laid to their Charge. Thus, in his Commentary upon *Geneſis* (*u*), ſpeaking of *Abraham*'s Marrying of *Agar*, he ſays, Sarah *ought not to have done a Thing that was againſt the Will of God and the Lawful Courſe of Nature. God wills that Human Kind ſhould be Peopled and Multiply'd by the Means of Holy Marriage:* Sarah *perverted this Law in polluting the Bed, that was dedicated only to Two. Neither can* Abraham *be excuſed for obeying the fooliſh and contrary Counſel of his Wife.* And ſpeaking, in the ſame Commentary, of *Jacob*'s Two Wives, *Rachel* and *Leah*, he ſays (*x*), *Since* Moſes *propoſes to the* Iſraelites *theſe wicked Things which were in the very Beginning of their Race, they ought not to be puffed up too much with their Nobility, or glory too much for their being deſcended of the Holy Fathers: For how excellent ſoever* Jacob *was, yet the Lineage that they have, ariſes from a ſtinking Ordure, inſomuch, that Two Siſters had Carnal Dealing with him, in the ſame Bed, after a moſt Brutal Manner. And then, to Crown the Work, there were Two Concubines added to them.* And a little after, ſpeaking of *Job*, he ſays (*y*), Job *was an excellent Perſon, and ſovereign in Piety; yet we ſee how he was oppreſſed with great Pains, and how, after a profane Way, he makes Men to periſh as the Beaſts do at their Death.* But what he ſays of the Patriarchs, is nothing comparable to the harſh Expreſſions he has concerning our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour: For he

(*r*) Dura locutio fateor. (*ſ*) Epiſt. 2. ad Polan. in Tract. Theolog. pag. 796. (*t*) Excipiunt ſe verbum habere quo palam facta eſt Dei voluntas, nempe ſi illis conceditur donum interpretationis ex Eccleſia profligare quod lucem verbo afferat; fateor illos habere verbum, ſed quale olim Anthropomorphitæ quum Deum corporeum facerent, Inſt. lib. 4. § 25. (*u*) Sarai ne devoit pas entreprendre choſe qui ne fuſt conforme a la volonte de Dieu, & l'ordre legitime de nature. Dieu a voulu qui le genre humain fuſt peuplè, & multiple par le moyen du ſainct Mariage. Sarai pervertit la loy d'iceluy, en polluent le lict qui eſtoit dedie a deux tant ſeulement. Abraham auſſi ne peut eſtre excusè d'avoir obey au fol & revers conſeil d'ſa femme. Sur le 16. Ch. de la Geneſ. § 1. (*x*) Puiſque Moyſe propoſe aux Iſraelites ces Meſchantez, qui ont eſtè des le prèmier commencement de leur race, il ne faut point qu'ils ſoyent enflez de leur nobleſſe pour le glorifier, par trop d'eſtre iſſus des ſainèts Peres. Car quelque excellent que ſoit Jacob, toutes fois ſi eſt ce que le lignage qu'ila, ne vient que d'une puant ordure, entant que deux ſœurs ſont meſlees avec luy en un meſme lict, par un facon brutalle, & puis deux concubines ſont adjuſtees pour faire le comble. Sur le 26. ch. de la Geneſ. (*y*) Job a eſte excellent & ſouverain en piete, nous voyons toutes fois comment il a eſtè oppriмè de grand douleur, comment il meſle les hommes avec les beſtes a en la mort, par un facon profane, ſur le 37. ch. de la Geneſ. § 35.

e thinks, That He was ignorant of ſome Things (*z*); That He was oid of all Conſolation in His Paſſion; That He had merited Nothing or us, unleſs His Soul had ſuffered the Tortures of the Damned (*a*): Yea, That, as Man, He Deſpaired upon the Croſs. *If*, ſays he (*b*), *you bject, That it is abſurd and ſcandalous, to affirm* Chriſt *Deſpaired*; *I Anſwer, That this Deſperation proceeded from Him as He was Man, not as he was God.*

His Doctrines likewiſe concerning *Predeſtination*, *Election*, and *Reprobation*, have been rejected by the moſt of the other *Proteſtant* Churches: For God Almighty, according to him, has created a Set of Men, whom he calls the Elect, only to be ſaved; and, tho' they Sin, yet they cannot be damned, becauſe their Sins are not imputed to them. *We believe*, ays he (*c*), *the Sins of the Faithful are but Venial Sins; not but that they deerve Death; but becauſe there is no Damnation for the Children of* Grace, *in s much as their Sins are not imputed to them.* Whereas, He has created another Set of Men, whom he calls the Reprobate, without any Regard o their Merit, but only becauſe He will have it ſo, and that it was Decreed to be ſo before ever they were formed in their Mother's Womb. And (*d*), *That God not only permits the Devil to inflame our Luſts, but likeviſe makes Uſe of him as the Inſtrument of His Wrath to procure our Damnaon: Yet, for all this*, ſays he, *we do not call* God *the Author of Evil; becauſe, by making Men fall into a Reprobate Senſe, He does not exerciſe a confuſed Tyranny, but exerces His Juſtice, altho' it be hidden from us.*

His Sentiments, concerning the *Civil Power*, have been likewiſe rejected by moſt of the *Proteſtant* Churches: For he founds all Dominion n Grace; and expreſly allows of Subjects riſing in Arms againſt their Native Princes. *Earthly Princes*, ſays he (*e*), *do bereave themſelves of Authority when they erect themſelves againſt God; yea, they are unworthy to be ccounted in the Number of Men, therefore we muſt rather Spit in their Faces han Obey them.* And, as to the *Eccleſiaſtical Government*, he ſays (*f*), ſpeaking of the Primitive Church, That they made Choice of one in every Church, out of the Presbyters, to whom they gave the Title of Biſhop, who was neither in Honour or Dignity ſo far above his Fellow-Presbyters, as to have any further Dominion over them, than by his Exhortations, Counſels, and Admonitions, to induce them to do what was condeſcended upon by the Plurality: And this was done, ſays he, by a Human Inſtitution, to ſhun thoſe Diſputes and Diſſentions that commonly ariſe from a Parity. But neither by this Account, nor any

(*z*) En ſon Harmonie ſur 14. cap. de S. Mat. § 36. au meſme lieu ſur 21. cap. de S. Mat. § 18. (*a*) Verum de Chriſti deſcenſu ad inferos, ſepoſita ratione ſymboli, certior expoſitio quærenda eſt: Et nobis ex Dei verbo conſtat non modo ſancta & pia ſed plena quoque eximiæ conſolationis. Nihil actum erat ſi corporea tantum morte defunctus fuiſſet Chriſtus; Sed operæ ſimul pretium erat ut divinæ ultionis ſeveritatem ſentiret: Quo & iræ ipſius intercederet, & ſatisfaceret juſto judicio. Inſtit. lib. 2. cap. 16. § 10. Nec dubium eſt quin idem docere velit Apoſtolus in Epiſt. ad Hebræos, ubi ſcribit, Chriſtum a ſuo metu fuiſſe exauditum (reverentiam alii vertunt vel pietatem, ſed quam parum aptè, res ipſa evincit, & ipſa etiam loquendi forma.) Chriſtus ergo cum lachrymis & clamore valido orans, a metu ſuo exauditur: non ut a morte ſit immunis, ſed ne abſorbeatur ut peccator: quia illic perſonam noſtram gerebat. Et certe nulla fingi poteſt magis formidabilis Abyſſus, quam ſentire te a Deo derelictum, & alienatum & quum invocaveris non exaudiri: perinde ac ſi in tuam perniciem ipſe conſpiraſſet. Eo Chriſtum videmus fuiſſe dejectum, ut coactus fuerit, urgente anguſtia, exclamare, *Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquiſti?* Quod enim nonnulli volunt, ex aliorum potius opinione quam ex ſuo ſenſu ſic loquutum fuiſſe, nequaquam probabile eſt: Quum ex intimi animi angore deductam fuiſſe vocem conſtet. Id. ibid. § 11. (*b*) In Luc. par. 2. hom. 54. (*c*) Cæterum fidelium peccata venialia eſſe: Non quia non mortem mereantur, ſed quia Dei miſericordiâ, nulla eſt condemnatio iis qui ſunt in Chriſto Jeſu, quia non imputantur, quia venia delentur. Inſt. lib. 3. cap. 4. § 28. (*d*) Quod ergo ſcriptura clare oſtendit, dicimus, æterno & immutabili Conſilio Deum ſemel conſtituiſſe, quos olim ſemel aſſumere vellet in ſalutem, quos rurſum exitio devovere. Hoc conſilium, quoad electos, in gratuita ejus miſericordia fundatum eſſe aſſerimus, nullo humanæ Dignitatis reſpectu. Quos vero damnationi addicit, his juſto quidem & irreprehenſibili, ſed incomprehenſibili ipſius judicio, vitæ aditum præcludi. Inſt. lib. 3. cap. 21. § 7. Deus non modo Satanæ libidini nos permittit, ut ignem concupiſcentiæ accendat, ſed eo utitur ut iræ ſuæ miniſtro, quoties vult homines in exitium præcipites agere. Neque tamen propterea Deum vocabimus malorum Autorem, quoniam homines mittendo in ſenſum reprobum, non confuſam Tyrannidem exercet, ſed juſta ſua judicia, licet arcana, exequitur. See his Harmony on theſe Words. Ne nos inducas in tentationem. (*e*) In Daniel, chap. 6, ver. 22, and 25. (*f*) Lib. 4. Inſt. cap. 4. § 2.

other, can he vindicate his taking upon himſelf the Office of a Prieſt, preaching, and giving the Sacraments, without any Ordination or Miſſion; nay, not ſo much as that of Presbyters.

Upon all the other Points of Doctrine, in which the *Lutherans* differ from the Church of *Rome*, *Calvin* agrees with them; but the *Lutherans* are noways ſatisfy'd with *Calvin*'s Explications, even of thoſe Doctrines in which they differ from the Church of *Rome*: In ſo much, that one of the *Lutheran* Superintendents has written a Book, wherein he pretends to demonſtrate, That the *Calviniſts* have wrong Notions of almoſt all the Articles of the Chriſtian Religion (*g*). And the Title of the Firſt Article of his Second Book, is to prove, *That their Books and Sermons are full of Lies, Calumnies, Wranglings, Malice and Contumelies* (*h*). And as the *Lutherans* have given this odious Repreſentation of the *Calviniſts*; ſo *Calvin* has given a far more odious Character of the Church of *Rome*: For he ſays (*i*), ſpeaking of the Pope and the Cardinals, *That the Firſt Article of their ſecret Theology, that reigns amongſt them is, That there is no God. The Second, That all that is written or preach'd, concerning Jeſus Chriſt, is nothing elſe but Lies and Falſhoods. The Third is, That all that which is contained in the Scripture, concerning Eternal Life and the Reſurrection of the Dead, are only meer Fables.* And tho' he lays not this Charge to them all, and confeſſes that few of them ſpeak ſo; yet, that for a conſiderable Time it had been the known Religion of the Popes.

Mich. Servetus

Michael Servetus was the Firſt that renewed the Doctrine of the *Antitrinitarians*. He was, by Birth, a *Spaniard*, and Born in the City of *Tarragona*. In his younger Years he apply'd himſelf cloſely to the Study of the *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew* (*k*) Languages; and having made a conſiderable Progreſs in them, he purſued the Study of Medicine, took his Degrees, and Practiſed for ſeveral Years at *Paris*. Finding, that the Writings of the *Arabian* Phyſicians were moſt of them in that Language, he left *Paris*, and made a Voyage to *Afric*; on purpoſe to learn the *Arabic*, in order to read the Writings of their beſt Phyſicians and Learneſt Men. Upon his Return to *Europe*, perceiving how the *Reformers* had expoſed ſeveral Doctrines and Abuſes in the Church of *Rome*, he was induced, by their Arguments, to quit the Communion of that Church, and joined himſelf with the *Zuinglians*. But as he thought their rejecting of the Real Preſence of *Chriſt*'s Body, in the Sacrament, was highly Reaſonable, ſo he thought, that it was no leſs Reaſonable to reject the commonly received Doctrine of the Trinity. Upon this, he got a great many Followers, and became the Head of the *Antitrinitarian* Party; and not long afterwards, *Lelius Socinus*, an *Italian*, refining upon his Syſtem, they have been ever ſince diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of the Chriſtian Societies, under the Name of *Socinians*.

When *Servetus* begun firſt to broach this Doctrine, is not certainly known. For, *Calvin* ſays, it was 20 Years before his Death; and *Beza* makes it 30: But, be that as it will, it is certain, that the Firſt Edition of

(*g*) Theologiæ Calviniſtarum libri tres, in quibus, ceu in tabellà quadam quaſi ad oculum, pluſquam ex 223 Sacramentariorum publicis ſcriptis, pagellis, verbis propriis, & Auctorum nominibus indicatis, demonſtratur eos de nullo fere doctrinæ Chriſtianæ articulo rectè ſentire, collecti operà, & ſtudio M. Conradi Schluſſelburg. Diœceſeos Rateburgenſis Superintendentis, &c. (*h*) Sacramentariorum libri & conciones, mendaciis, calumniis, conviciis, maledictis, & contumeliis abundant. (*i*) Primum enim, arcanæ illius Theologiæ quæ inter eos regnat, caput eſt, nullum eſſe Deum. Alterum, quæcunque de Chriſto ſcripta ſunt ac docentur, mendacia eſſe & impoſturas. Tertium Doctrinam de futurâ vitâ & ultimâ reſurrectione, meras Fabulas. Non omnes ita ſentiunt & pauci ita loquuntur fateor; jampridem tamen hæc ordinaria eſſe cœpit Pontificum Religio, Lib. 4, Inſt. cap: 7. Sect. 27. (*k*) Vid. Calv. Op. Theol. Le Grand Dict. Hiſt. par. M. Vaultier. Biblioth. Antitrin. Simon Hiſt. Crit. des Princip. Comment. du Nouv. Teſtam. &c.

of his Book concerning the Errors about the Trinity was publiſhed in the Year 1531; but, not being pleaſed with this Edition, as it appears from his Preface before his Dialogues about the Trinity, Printed in the Year 1532, he publiſh'd a Second Edition, in the Year 1555, a Year before his Death.

After this he reſolved to have gone to *Venice*, and there to have finiſhed a large Commentary, which he deſigned upon all the Books of the Old Teſtament; but, coming to *Geneva*, *Calvin* cauſed him to be apprehended. And how this happened he tells us (*l*) in One of his Epiſtles, where, ſpeaking of him, he ſays, *This is he, of whom that Faithful Miniſter of* Chriſt, *and of happy Memory*, Bucer, *tho' otherways he was of a calm and meek Diſpoſition, ſaid, That he ought to have his Bowels torn out of him.* Having gone to *Vienna* to publiſh a further Defence of his peſtiferous Doctrines, he was diſcovered and thrown into Priſon; but having made his Eſcape, he wandered up and down *Italy* for Four Months. Then he tells us, how that, when he came to *Geneva*, one of the Syndics, at his Deſire, did firſt Impriſon him, and then Burnt him alive. And concludes, regreting the Slothfulneſs of thoſe whom God had Armed with the Civil Power, and yet did not avenge themſelves on thoſe who oppoſed the Glory of his Name.

Servetus was burnt at *Geneva*, as we have already obſerved, upon the 17th of *October* 1553. One of his Followers, who has written the Hiſtory of his Sufferings, amongſt other Things, tells us, That after (*m*) he had been Condemned to be burnt, and that he had ſtaid in the Flames about Two or Three Hours, which was partly occaſioned by Want of Fewel, he told the Spectators, what a deplorable Thing it was, that the Two Hundred Pieces of Gold, that they had taken from him, contrary to all Law, and the Chain of Gold that they had got about his Neck, could not buy ſo much Wood as might quickly put an End to his miſerable Life. *William Farel*, one of the Miniſters and *Calvin*'s Vicar, being preſent, was conſtantly urging him to *believe in* Jeſus Chriſt *the Eternal Son of God*; to which he alwiſe returned this Anſwer, *I believe* Chriſt *to be the True Son of God, but not to be Eternal.* At length, with theſe Words, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I recommend my Spirit*, he expired.

This Gentleman underſtood the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew* and *Arabic* Languages; and, as we have obſerved before of him, in the Life of *Alexander Aleſius*, had he confined himſelf to his own Profeſſion, the World in all Probability had been much obliged to him.

(*l*) Quum Michael Servetus jam ante annos viginti, Chriſtianum orbem virulentis ſuis ac peſtiferis dogmatibus infecerit, Nomen tibi non ignotum eſſe arbitror. Quod ſi librum non legiſti, fieri tamen vix poteſt, quin de ipſo genere Doctrinæ aliquid audieris. Is eſt de quo fidelis Chriſti Miniſter, & ſanctæ memoriæ, D. Bucerus, cum alioqui manſueto eſſet ingenio, pro ſuggeſto pronunciavit, dignum eſſe qui avulſis viſceribus diſcerperetur. Sicuti ab eo tempore non deſiit venenum ſuum ſpargere: Nuper Viennæ majus volumen, ſed ex iiſdem erroribus contarcinatum, excudi clanculum curavit. Re vero patefacta, in carcerem eſt conjectus; unde, neſcio quomodo elapſus, per Italiam erravit fere quatuor menſes. Tandem huc, malis auſpiciis, appulſum, unus ex Syndicis, me auctore, in carcerem duci juſſit. Neque enim diſſimulo, quin officii mei duxerim, hominem pluſquam obſtinatum & indomitum, quod in me erat compeſcere, ne longius manaret contagio. Videmus quam licentioſe paſſim graſſetur impietas; ut ſubinde novi errores ſcaturiant: Quanta ſit eorum ignavia quos Deus gladio armavit ad vindicandam Nominis ſui gloriam. Epiſt. No. 156. ad Sultzerum, Ann. 1553. (*m*) Atque ita demum Servetus eductus & abreptus eſt, atque lento igne uſtulatus, totus concrematur. In quo igne, cum horas tantum non duas aut tres circumcurſitans, ac vehementiore vento ſuborto, eoque flamma depulſa, demori non poſſet; poſtremo deficientibus lignis, ejulare & exclamare cœpit, Heu me miſerum qui vitam hoc rogo finire nequeo! Anne ducenti coronati aurei mihi capto abrepti & non exuſti, lege reclamante, torquiſque aureus de collo dependens, ſufficiebant, quibus affatim lignorum coemi & huc congeri potuiſſet, mihi miſerando conſumendo. Aderat hic Guliſelmus Farellus, Eccleſiæ Genevenſis ſenior Miniſter, Calvini Vicarius, qui non ceſſabat Serveto in extremis acclamare, Crede in æternum Dei Filium Jeſum Chriſtum: Cui conſtanter Servetus, Ego credo Chriſtum eſſe verum Dei Filium ſed non æternum. Ac ſic tandem exuſtulatus expirans peremptus eſt, in manus Dei Patris commendato Spiritu, &c. Petrus Hyperphrogenus in Hiſtoria MS. de Serveto & ejus morte apud Chriſt. Sand. Bib. Antitrin. pag. 8.

But that the Reader may know, what this Author's Opinions were concerning the Trinity, for which he loſt his Life; I ſhall here give a brief View of them, from his Famed Book *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, or, *Concerning the Errors about the Trinity.*

In the Firſt Book he proves, from many Paſſages in the Old and New Teſtament, That *Jeſus Chriſt* was truly Man: And his Deſign in this, he ſays (*n*), was to correct the Error of thoſe who conſidered him, Firſt as the Word and Son of God, but not as Man, and thereupon thought that he had nothing of Man in him; whereas he conſiders him, firſt as Man, and then as the Word. And, from their not doing this, he ſays (*o*), ariſes theſe Compound, Barbarous and Sophiſtical Words that have been given to our Saviour; ſuch as *Humanity*, *&c.* whereas Chriſt's Words, which are the Foundation of the Church, are plain and eaſy; and that we ought to imitate his Apoſtles, who did not Preach Chriſt in theſe Compounded Words. After this he proves, by the Miracles that our bleſſed Lord performed, That he was that Son of God that was promiſed to the *Jews*; for *Peter*, ſays he (*p*), concludes, from the Signs and Miracles that he performed, *We know that thou art Chriſt the Son of the Living God.* And it is according to this Filiation, in his Opinion, that God is really and truly his Father and not *Joſeph*, being engendred by the Omnipotency of God and the Operation of the Holy Spirit: And therefore he deſires us to take Notice of theſe Words, in S. *Luke*'s Goſpel, Chap. 1. V. 35. *And the Angel anſwered, and ſaid unto her, The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the Power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee; therefore alſo that Holy Thing that ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God*; and, above all, to take Notice of the Word *Therefore*, becauſe it explains, in what this Filiation of *Jeſus Chriſt* conſiſts. It being Objected againſt him, That, by this, he made little or no Difference betwixt our Saviour and the Faithful. He anſwers, That there is a great deal of Difference betwixt theſe Two Filiations; becauſe the Faithful (*q*) are only Children of God, by the Grace that they receive from *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is himſelf the Author of this Filiation: And he ſupports this Difference from the Words of the Evangeliſt, where the Article ὁ is added to the Word *Son*, when he is ſpeaking of *Jeſus Chriſt*; which ſhows, That he was not the Son of God as the Faithful are, but his Son by his Birth and not by Adoption. And the Father, according to him (*r*), did not only beget our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour; but, in the Begetting of him, he made him God and like unto himſelf. Then he proves his Divinity by many Paſſages of Scripture, Nothing being truer than this Propoſition, *That Chriſt is God.* For proving of this, he brings that Paſſage of S. *Paul*, *Philip.* Chap. 2. V. 6. *Who, being in the Form of God, thought it not Robbery to be equal with God*; and from theſe Words of S. *Thomas* to him, *John* 20. 28. *And* Thomas *anſwered and ſaid unto him,*

(*n*) In ſcrutandis Divinæ Triadis ſanctis arcanis ab homine exhorrendum eo duxi, quia ad verbi ſpeculationem, ſine fundamento Chriſti, aſcendentes quamplurimos cerno qui parum aut nihil homini tribuunt, & verum Chriſtum obliviori tradunt, quibus ego ad memoriam quis ſit ille Chriſtus reducere curabo. Ser. de Error. Trin. lib. pag. 1. Tu propria autoritate novum & ineptum nomen & Apoſtolis inauditum ei imponis, humanitatem tantum eum vocans. Id. ib. pag. 4. (*o*) Tolle obſecro has Sophiſticas technas, & videbis lucem magnam. Chriſti Sermones ſunt fundamenta Eccleſiæ, qui ſimpliciſſimi ſunt & plani. Imitemur Apoſtolos qui non, arte humanâ compoſitis verbis, Chriſtum prædicabant. Id. ib. pag. 5. (*p*) Ex ſignis quæ fecit, infert Petrus, cognovimus quod tu es Chriſtus, filius Dei vivi. Id. Ibid. (*q*) Et nos ſi filii dicimur, hoc eſt dono & gratia per ipſum nobis factâ; ideo ipſe hujus Filiationis auctor, excellentiori longe modo, dicitur filius. Et quando de Chriſto fit mentio, ponitur articulus & dicitur, Hic eſt ille Filius Dei, ad deſignandum eum, non generali appellatione dici filium, uti nos, ſed peculiari quadam & inſigni ratione: Eſt enim ipſe naturalis Filius; ſed alii non ſunt filii originis: Fiunt filii Dei, non naſcuntur filii Dei--- Per adoptionem dicimur filii, Rom. 8. Epheſ. 1. At Chriſtum, ſimili ratione, facere adoptivum, impietas eſt Bonoſionorum. Serv. ib. pag. 9. (*r*) Non ſolum eum genuit, ſed Deitatis plenitudine eum decoravit, ut in hoc aſſimilaretur Patri Filius. Id. ib. pag. 10.

him, My Lord, and my God; and that of the *Romans*, Chap. V. 9. 5. *Whose are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the Flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.* Then he proves at length, That this Divinity of our Saviour, was a Grace and Privilege, bestowed upon him by his Father, and not by his Nature; the Father being only in Scripture acknowledged as God (*f*) by his Nature. And this, he says, is very plain from what past betwixt the *Jews* and our Saviour, *John* Chap. 10. V. 33. to the 38. *The* Jews *answered him, saying, For a good Work we stone thee not, but for Blasphemy, and because that thou being a Man, makest thy self God.* Jesus *answered them, Is it not written in your Law, I said ye are Gods? If he called them Gods, unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctify'd, and sent into the World, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God? If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not: But if I do, tho' you believe not me, believe the Works; that ye may know and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him.*

Altho' he makes use of the same Reasons that the *Arians* made use of, to prove that our Saviour was not Co-equal and Co-essential with his Father; yet he declares himself a great Enemy to the *Arians*: For, says he (*s*), *Arius*, who considered the Son as a Thing different from his Father, and who did not comprehend the Glory of *Jesus Christ*, did most foolishly bring in a new Creature of his own making: Whereas, without supposing any Thing that was distinct from the Father, he might have granted the Truth of that Proposition, The Father is greater than I. To illustrate this the more, he observes, That the Word *God* is Equivocal in all Languages save in the *Hebrew*, which makes use of the Word *Jehovah*, when the true God is designed; and of the Word *Elohim*, or of some such like Word, to point out what is only Nominally God: And in this last Sense it is, says he (*t*), that *Jesus Christ* is called our God; and that the Prophet *Isaiah* said of him, Chap. 9. V. 6. *For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the Government shall be upon his Shoulders, and his Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.* And in the same Prophecy, *Isaiah*, Chap. 43. V. 3. the Name of God, or *Elohim*, is given unto *Cyrus* King of *Persia*; and why should we refuse to give this Name to *Jesus Christ*, considered as Man, when *Moses*, in *Exodus*, is made the God of *Pharaoh*? And, at length, after he has inlarged very much upon the Ambiguity of the Word Θεὸς which the Evangelists and Apostles make use of, he concludes, That, if the Ancient *Greek* Fathers had known the *Hebrew* Language, and this Distinction of Words, they had not embroiled this Subject so as they have done (*u*).

Having thus spoke of *Christ*, as he is Man, he proceeds to consider him as he is the Word. And he believes, That in the whole Scriptures, from the Beginning to the End, he is no where called the *Word*, but in the Gospel according to S. *John* (*w*). And having examined the Reasons,

(*f*) Ex privilegio igitur ei datum est ut sit Deus, quia per eum sanctificat.---Et, ut inquit Petrus, accepit a Deo Patre Honorem & Gloriam; nam per naturam, solum Patrem dici Deum satis indicat Scriptura. Id. ib. pag. 12. (*s*) Arius, cum de filio diversum a Patre sentiebat stultissime, & Christi gloriæ incapacissimus, novam creaturam homine excellentiorem introduxit, cum tamen eâ seclusâ, & seclusâ omni distinctione potuisset concedere, Pater major me est: Sed separatarum rerum pluralitatem philosophari volens fœdissime lapsus est, pag. 13. (*t*) Quod juxta vocem Elohim, Christus sit factus Deus noster, non magis est quam dicere quod sit factus Dominus noster, Judex noster. Ibid. pag. 13. (*u*) Nec tantum nobis secissent negotii, si Hebraice Græci didicissent. Fol. 15. (*w*) Excepto illo unico Joannis verbo, dico universas Scripturas, a prima usque ad ultimam, loqui de homine ipso Christo, Id. ibid. fol. 20.

that are brought for proving the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, he concludes againſt thoſe who adhere to the *Athanaſian* Creed, That they are really and truly *Tritheiſts*, or acknowledge Three Gods. For tho' they blend the Three in One, ſays he (*x*), yet they make a Tripartition of this One: Whereas the Unity, betwixt God and our Saviour, conſiſts in an Unity of Wills, and not of Natures. Thus, for Example, when *Chriſt* ſays, in S. *John*, Chap. 10. V. 30. *I and my Father are One*, this ought to be underſtood of an Unity of Concord and Vertue, and not of Nature; and he ſays, That *Tertullian*, *Juſtin Martyr*, and all the Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writers, are of this Opinion. And, here he endeavours to prove (*y*), That the *Greek* Word οὐσία does not ſignify that which we call Nature, but Power, Riches, Faculties, *&c.* which are all of them fully in Chriſt: For his Power, Will and Conſent is the ſame with the Fathers. And the *Greek* Word ἕν, *One*, ſignifies neither in *Greek* nor in *Latin*, an Unity of Nature; there being none but *Metaphyſicians*, that make Uſe of it in that Senſe. And foreſeeing it might be Objected, That the Fathers of the *Grecian* Church were of a contrary Opinion, he Anſwers, That S. *Baſil*, diſputing againſt *Eunomius*, ſays not, That this Word Naturally is to be taken ſo, but only by a *Philoſophical* Conſequence (*z*). Tho' *Servetus* had ſeen *Eraſmus*'s Opinion, concerning that Famous Paſſage in the Firſt Epiſtle of S. *John*, Chap. 5. V. 7. *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven, The Father, the Word and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe Three are One*; yet he does not reject this Paſſage, (as an Addition, not to be found in the Ancienteſt MSS. Copies of the Bible) as our late *Antitrinitarians* have done: But on the contrary, receives it as *Canonical*, with all the reſt of the Bible; and affirms, That S. *John*'s Meaning here, is not an Unity of Nature, but a Conformity and Unity of Witneſſes (*a*). After this, he anſwers all the Arguments brought by the Maſter of the Sentences, to prove the Trinity, and turns ſeverals of them into Ridicule: Then he fortifies and ſtrengthens the Objections, that the School-Men have made againſt the Trinity, and which according to him (*b*), they never ſolidly Anſwered; and particularly Sixteen brought by *Holcoth*, and ſome others by *Peter d'Aliaco*. To theſe Reaſons he joins the Teſtimonies of the moſt Ancient Fathers of the Church, *viz.* S. *Ignatius*, *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*: And tho' this laſt be One of thoſe, whoſe Authority he makes moſt Uſe of; yet he ſays (*c*), that he is not alwiſe favourable to him. And amongſt the reſt he cites the Book Entitled, *Recognitiones* Clementis, which tho' it be *Apocryphal*, yet according to him, it retains a great deal of the Ancient Simplicity of the Apoſtolical Age.

There is nothing that diſpleaſes him ſo much as the Word *Perſon*, in the Senſe that thoſe who believe the *Athanaſian* Creed give it: For he

(*x*) Quod ſi ita eſt, quid culpantur Tritheitæ qui tres Deos dicunt? Nam iſti tres Deos, aut unum tripartitum moliuntur. Ibid. fol. 22. (*y*) Οὐσία Græcis non ſignificat naturam, ſed facultates, opes, fortunas, divitias & poteſtatem, quæ omnia ſunt in Chriſto opulenter, & ejus cum patre eſt una Poteſtas, unus Conſenſus & Voluntas--- Unum vero naturaliter non ad ſingularitatem, ſed ad unanimitatem & concordiam pertinet; ut duo credantur in unâ virtute: Et hoc eſt quod Antiquiores unam Uſiam rectè dixerunt, quia eſt una Poteſtas a Patre filio tradita. Ib. fol. 23. (*z*) Reſpondeat ad hoc magnus Baſilius contra Eunomium. Lib. 4. ubi non ex propriâ ſignificatione id eſſe dicit, ſed Philoſophando ſyllogizat. Fol. 23. (*a*) Mens enim Joannis eſt, ex conformitate teſtium, efficaciam veritatis oſtendere. Ib. fol. 25. (*b*) Triadem hanc imaginariam impugnare poſſem 16 rationibus quas ponit Robertus Holcoth, in I. Sententiarum, Diſt. 5. ad quarum nullam bene reſpondet nec reſpondere poteſt, niſi ſophiſticè; imo articulum hunc contra omnem rationem naturalem eſſe concedit. Vide etiam præludia Petri de Aliaco. Lib. 1. Quæſt. 5. ibid. fol. 32. (*c*) Similiter Tertullianus, etiamſi aliquando ſibi conſtare non videatur, tamen clariſſimas veritates multas ex Apoſtolica Traditione prædicat. Ibid. fol. 34, Licet ut liber Apocryphus, eſt tamen antiquus, nempe Recognitiones Clementis, ubi etiam idiotis planiſſime prædicatur Chriſtus; multiplicemque ibi illius antiquæ ſimplicitatis reperies odorem. Ibid.

he ſays (*d*), That if it ſignifies any Thing that is real, it is a neceſſary Conſequence that there are Three Realities or Subſtances in God; from which, according to him, they are really *Tritheiſts*, and conſequently they oppoſe the whole Scriptures, that manifeſtly eſtabliſh the Unity of the Divinity. After this he cites ſeveral Paſſages of the Sacred Scriptures, where the Word *Perſon* is taken in another Senſe; and as for Profane Authors, he ſays (*e*), That it is ſo known to the *Latines*, *That it could not be but ſome Devil that ſuggeſted to them theſe Perſons in the Trinity, that are purely Imaginary and Metaphyſical.* For according to him (*f*), the *Greek* Word προσωπον, and the *Latin*, *Perſona*, ſignify nothing elſe but a Form or exterior Appearance: And that it was in this Manner, that one Perſon of the Divinity manifeſted it ſelf in *Jeſus Chriſt*; and the Apparitions and Revelations of the Old Teſtament were another of God the Father; and the ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, was another. And ſo in the Goſpel there are Three Perſons or Manifeſtations of the Divinity, but not Three different Subſtances. Having eſtabliſhed this Notion of the Word *Perſon*, he not only condemns the *Catholics*, but likewiſe the *Arians*, the *Eunomians*; and in general, all thoſe Sects, who have each of them, according to their ſeveral Prejudices, explained the Myſtery of the Trinity. For, having, ſays he (*g*), once erred in the Fundamental Principle, they have added Error to Error, and heaped up one Blaſphemy upon another.

He begins his Second Book, by explaining theſe Words of our Lord and Saviour to *Nicodemus*, S. *John*, Chap. 3. V. 13. *No Man hath aſcended up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the* Son *of Man which is in Heaven.* Now ſince theſe Words expreſly ſhow, That the Son of God was in Heaven before he appeared upon Earth; the *Antitrinitarians* of this Age are at a great deal of Pains, to find out ſuch an Expoſition of them, as not to claſh with their Opinion concerning our Saviour's Divinity, and they do not agree amongſt themſelves in their Interpretations of it: But, according to *Servetus*, all this ariſes from their not conſidering, that wherever *Jeſus Chriſt* is, Heaven is (*h*); which he endeavours to ſupport by other Paſſages of the Scriptures of the like Nature. From whence he infers, That *Jeſus Chriſt*, by theſe Words (*i*), had no other Deſign than to ſhow, that the Kingdom of the Goſpel, that is Celeſtial, was not known but to him alone; and that it could not be revealed, but to ſuch as believed him to be the Son of God.

After this he proceeds to explain the Beginning of the Goſpel of S. *John*, where 'tis ſaid, *In the Beginning was the Word:* Here is underſtood, ſays he, that which *Moſes* tells us concerning the Creation of the World. *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth; and God ſaid, Let there be Light, and there was Light, Geneſ.* Chap. 1. V. 1. and 3. So in the New Creation, or the Beginning of the Kingdom of the Goſpel, when God, by his Almighty Word, had made the Virgin to Con-

(*d*) Clare ſequitur eos eſſe reales Tritheitas, & per conſequens Scripturis & unitati Dei realiter repugnare, & Sophiſtice unum Deum connotativum defendere, ibid. fol. 36. (*e*) Extra Scripturas ſignificatio vocis, Perſona, eſt Latinis ita per ſe nota, ut aliquis Diabolus iis ſuggeſſerit Mathematicas fingere Perſonas, & pro Perſonis imaginarias & Metaphyſicas res nobis oſtendere, ibid. (*f*) In Chriſto enim relucebat una Deitatis Perſona, & in apparitionibus ſeu locutionibus Dei Patris, alia, & in miſſione Spiritus alia, & ſic Tres in Evangelio Perſonæ, Divina ſcilicet manifeſtatione; & alius Paracletus ſecundum Tertullianum, dicitur, non ſubſtantiæ Nomine, ſed Perſonæ; quia alius aſpectus, & alia fuit ibi Deitatis Species & Diſpoſitio: Apparitionum namque modos conſiderat Scriptura, & non Metaphyſicas rerum naturas, ibid. (*g*) Ecce quomodo, errato ſemel in fundamento perditiſſimi homines in altum pelagus quæſtioni minori quæſtionem majorem adjicientes, & quilibet novum excogitans Deum novas Blaſphemias ei ſemper adjungit. Ibid. fol. 38. (*h*) Mirantur aliqui circa hoc, quis eſt ille filius hominis qui in Cœlo tunc eſſet? nec conſiderant, quod Cœlum illic eſt ubi Chriſtus eſt. Ibid. fol. 44. (*i*) Vult dicere Chriſtus, quod, Regnum Evangelii quod eſt Cœleſte nulli adhuc erat notum niſi ſibi ſoli; nec poteſt notificari niſi credentibus ipſum eſſe Filium Dei. Ibid. fol. 45.

ceive our Lord and Saviour, he ſent him into the World, he being the true Light of the World; that enlightens all Men (*k*). And this was a Diſpenſation of the Divinity, by which he made the Secret of his Will known unto the Sons of Men (*l*), the Word in God being nothing elſe but God that ſpeaks; and after that he had pronounced his Word, then it became Fleſh or the Word of God. And a little after he ſays (*m*), That *Jeſus Chriſt* is call'd the Word of the Father, becauſe he enounces his Mind, and that he has made it known to the World. Upon theſe Words, *And the Word was with God*, S. *John*, Chap. 1. V. 1. he ſays, That S. *John* very well foreſaw, that this Expreſſion would give an Occaſion to ſome to think, that there was a real Being diſtinct from God the Father; and therefore he immediately adds, That this Word was God himſelf, that's to ſay (*n*), according to S. *Irenæus*, the Word is the Father himſelf that ſpeaks. According to this Idea he explains a great Number of Paſſages in the Old and New Teſtament, and Paſſages of the Ancient Fathers, and paſſionately wiſhes, that he could ſee all the Writings of the Fathers that had been before the *Arian* Schiſm (*o*).

In his Third Book, where he explains according to the ſame Method, many Paſſages of the New Teſtament that relate to *Jeſus* as the *Word*, he begins with theſe Words (*p*), *Before* Abraham *was*, *I was*: And upon his Suppoſition, that the Word is the Father that ſpeaks unto Men, there is no Difficulty in explaining of this Paſſage; for in this Senſe he was not only before *Abraham*, but before *Adam*. And he deſires us to take particular Notice of the Difference betwixt theſe Two Expreſſions (*q*), *The Word was Fleſh, and the Word was made Fleſh*; for S. *John*, ſays he, does not ſay, *That the Word was made Fleſh*, according to the Signification that is commonly given to theſe Words; but that *the Word was Fleſh*, and that this is the true Signification of the *Greek* Word ἐσκήνωσεν. I wiſh, ſays he, that we had read, *the Word was Fleſh*, as we read in the ſame Chapter, *There was a Man ſent from God*, V. 6. for here is the ſame *Greek* Word ἐσκήνωσεν. So the Word, in the 3d Verſe, ought to be tranſlated, *All Things were by him, and Nothing was without him*; and thoſe of the 33. *Pſalm*, V. 6. *He ſpoke, and all Things were*: And that, in the Beginning of *Geneſis*, V. 3. *And God ſaid, Let there be Light, and there was Light*. The Reaſon he brings for all this, is founded upon this, That S. *John* expreſſes by the Word ἐσκήνωσεν, the *Hebrew* Verb that *Moſes* makes Uſe of, and which ſignifies, *there was*; and he recurrs to the ſame *Hebrew* Language for explaining the *Greek* Word λόγος. Laſtly, he confirms all this by the

(*k*) In principio erat verbum, id eſt eloquium ſeu vox Dei, quia in principio dixit Deus, Fiat, & factum eſt, & Verbum illud factum eſt Lux vera, dum dixit fiat Lux & illud idem Verbum, illa eadem Lux eſt homo Chriſtus qui eſt Lux mundi, Lux vera, illuminans omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. Fol. 47. (*l*) Sciendum quod antiquior Apoſtolorum traditio, per ſacramentum Verbi, intelligit quandam in Deo diſpoſitionem ſeu diſpenſationem, quâ placitum eſt ei arcanum voluntatis ſuæ nobis revelare; & hoc Tertullianus οἰκονομίαν, & Irenæus Diſpoſitionem ſæpiſſime appellant Et ſicut Deus erat ille ſermo; ita, etiam, ſecundum Irenæum, ipſemet Pater loquens dicitur eſſe λόγος, ut ſic diſtinguantur ſicut res ipſa & rei diſpoſitio, quaſi res ipſa lateat, & per ſonitum verborum patefiat. Ibid. fol. 48. Verbum ergo in Deo proferente eſt ipſemet Deus loquens; poſt prolationem eſt ipſa caro ſeu verbum Dei. Ib. (*m*) Propterea dicitur ipſe ſermo Patris, quia Patris mentem enunciat & ejus cognitionem facit. Ibid. fol. 49. (*n*) Joannes iſtos Philoſophos qui ita arguunt, Verbum illud erat apud Deum, ergo erat res aliqua diſtincta, ad quorum tollendam calumniam adjecit ſtatim, & Deus erat illud verbum, hoc eſt, ut inquit Irenæus ipſemet Pater loquens dicitur eſſe λόγος. Ibid. fol. 50. (*o*) Quorum (Clementis & Dionyſii) ſcripta, ſimiliter & omnium aliorum qui ante Arianum Sciſma ſcripſerunt, utinam vidiſſem. Ibid fol. 52. (*p*) Verbum Caro factum eſt, Joannis eſt illuſtre præconium, quod in ſcrutandis Chriſti arcanis, ſemper eſt præmittendum: Ex quo facile intelligimus, antequam Abraham naſceretur ego ſum, illud Dei oraculum quod ante Abraham prolatum & manifeſtatum, ab ipſo Abraham eſt auditum & viſum; voce enim viſibili ante Abraham imò ante Adam prolatâ, Chriſtus jam ab initio egreditur ex ore Dei. Ibid. fol. 67. (*q*) Non dixit Joannes, verbum Caro factum eſt ad mentem illorum, ſed verbum caro fuit, verbum caro extitit; & hæc eſt propriiſſima ſignificatio ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐσκήνωσεν; nam illud, quod erat verbi perſona, eſt nunc ipſe Chriſtus. Utinam nos legiſſemus, verbum caro fuit, ſicut ibidem dicitur, fuit homo miſſus a Deo; eadem enim eſt Græca vox. Similiter omnia per ipſum fuerunt, & ſine ipſo fuit nihil; ſicut & Pſalmo 33. Ipſe dixit & facti ſunt. Gen. Dixit Deus, Sit Lux, & fuit Lux: Hebraica enim vox eſt ibi in hac ſignificatione clariſſima; & Joannes eo verbo uſus eſt, quo Deus in principio mundi uſus eſt; & profuit poſuit ἐσκήνωσεν quod & Græca tranſlatio clare indicat. Ibid. fol. 113.

the Teſtimonies of the Ancient Fathers, and recommends to his Readers (*r*), that they would not abandon the Ancient Tradition of the Church, which if they did not, they would find it eaſy for them to overcome all the Novelties, Fictions and Blaſphemies that had ariſen in that Age.

In theſe Books he attacks likewiſe the Opinions of *Calvin* and *Luther*, concerning Preſcience, Predeſtination and Free-Will, calling them horrible Opinions; and that he wonders at *Calvin*'s Impudence in calling himſelf (*ſ*) an Orthodox Miniſter of the Church. He, who was a Follower of *Simon Magus*, who was the Firſt that affirmed, That Man had not Free Will, and had brought upon himſelf the Guilt of being a Criminal, Accuſer and a Homicide. And whereas *Calvin* objected againſt him, That he was a *Pelagian*. He anſwers (*t*), That he makes all thoſe paſs for *Pelagians* that do not embrace the Impieties of that Magician: And, at that Rate, there has not been any of the Doctors of the Church till his time, yea not the Apoſtles themſelves, but have been *Pelagians*; for there was never one of them that took away Free Will, but that *Simon Magus*.

Our Author, Dr. *Laing*, beſides the Lives of the Principal Reformers, whom he calls Heretics, has written the Life of *Theodore Beza*; and an Account of the Death and Sufferings of *Edmond Campian*, a Jeſuit. But, ſince *Beza* was not the Head of any Sect or Party, but a rigid *Calviniſt*, I ſhall not trouble the Reader with the Hiſtory of him. As for *Edmond Campian*, ſince not only the Account of his Death, but of his Life was written by his Scholar, Dr. *Turner*, I ſhall take Notice of him in that Doctor's Life.

His Death and Character,

This Author died in the Year 1594, in the 93 Year of his Age. He is highly commended by *Joannes Roennius*, in his Oration in Praiſe of the *Sorbonne*. And, from his Writings, it would appear that *Dempſter*'s Character of him is very juſt: For he tells us, That he was a moſt violent Enemy to the Reformers; but a Man of a good Life, of great Reading, and had the Eſteem of being one of the Learndeſt Men in his Society, at that Time.

(*r*) S. Ignatium, Joannis Evangeliſtæ diſcipulum, legas, eandem ſicut in Irenæo phraſin reperies, quam obſecro ſerva nec ab antiqua traditione in puncto recedas; & ex hoc omnes noſtri ſeculi adinventiones, blaſphemias & nugas facile rejicias, Ibid. (*ſ*) Mirari ſubit hominis impudentiam, qui ſe ortho doxum dicat Miniſtrum Eccleſiæ. Accuſatorem, Criminalem & Homicidam, Ibid. (*t*) Quicunque non eſt Simon Magus, eſt Calvino-Pelagianus Omnes igitur quotquot fuerint in Chriſtianiſmo, ſunt a Calvino damnati, etiam Apoſtoli, etiam Apoſtolorum Diſcipuli, etiam veteris Eccleſiæ Doctores; nemo enim unquam liberum Arbitrium ſuſtulit, niſi Simon iſte Magus. Servet. ap. Calv. in Refut. cavill. Serv.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *IN Magiſtrum Sententiarum, Lib.* 4.
II. *In univerſam* Ariſtotelis *Philoſophiam, Lib.* 10. *Dempſter* ſays, that he ſaw this Book in MS. with our Author.
III. *Quodlibeta* Sorbonica.
IV. *De Vita, Moribus & Rebus Geſtis Hæreticorum noſtri temporis.* Par. 1581, *in* 8*vo.*
V. *De Vita & Moribus* Theodori Bezæ, &c. Par. 1585, *in* 8*vo.*
VI. *Hiſtoria de Morte R. P.* Edmundi Campionis *e S. J. Ibid.*

THE LIFE of *ROBERT TURNER*, D. D. and Rector of the Univerſity of *Ingolſtadt*.

His Parentage, Birth and Education.

THIS Gentleman's Father, upon the Beginning of the Reformation in *England*, under King *Henry* VIII. having embraced the Reformed Religion, tranſported his Family from S. *Andrew*'s (*a*), where he then lived, to *England*; and having ſettled them at *Barnſtaple* in *Devonſhire*, he ſent his Son, our Author, to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he Study'd for ſome time in *Exeter-College*, but to no purpoſe, as he tells us himſelf in one of his Epiſtles (*b*), *Having ſpent the moſt of his Time in Trifles and Toys.* At length falling in Company with *Edward Campian*, who afterwards turned *Jeſuit*, he was by him perſwaded to quit the Church of *England*, in which he had been brought up by his Parents, and to turn *Roman* Catholic. So leaving his Country and Parents for Religion's ſake, as he expreſſes it himſelf, he went over to *France*, and from thence to *Italy*; and having apply'd himſelf for ſome Years to the Study of Divinity in the *German*-College at *Rome*, he entred into Holy Orders: Here it was likewiſe, that he received his Degree of Doctor of Divinity. Not long after he went to *Bavaria*, where *Martine*, Biſhop of *Aichſtet*, made him Rector of the College of that City. The Fame of his Learning and Prudence daily increaſing, *William* Duke of *Bavaria* ſent for him, and made him one of his Privy Counſellors, and Rector of the Univerſity of *Ingolſtadt*. The *Bavarians*, who looked upon this Promotion of our Author to be a ſlighting of his own Subjects, as if there had not been ſufficient Men of Parts and Abilities among themſelves, eſpecially ſeeing him employed in ſeveral Negotiations to the moſt of the Princes of *Germany*, repreſented him to their Prince as a Man of a Factious Temper, and earneſtly intreated he might be removed, which was accordingly granted them. Whereupon our Author retired for ſome time to *Paris*: But, about a Year or Two after, he returned again to *Bavaria*, and was made Chanon of *Breſlaw* in *Sileſia*. Afterwards going to *Ingolſtadt*, he was imploy'd to teach the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, who contracted ſuch a Love for him, that, after he had finiſhed his Studies, he made him his Secretary; in which Station he ſpent the Remnant of his Days with great Pleaſure and Satisfaction.

He changes his Religion & goes over to *France*, and from thence to *Italy*, where he enters into Holy Orders.

He is created D. D. and Rector of the College of *Aichſtet*.

He is made Privy Counſellor to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and Rector of the Univerſity of *Ingolſtadt*, and Chanon of *Breſlaw*; then Secretary to Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*.

He writes ſeveral Books An Account of them.

This Author, beſides ſeveral Books written by himſelf, was very active in cauſing many of *Edmond Campian*'s Writings to be Publiſhed: And, to teſtify the Love and Reſpect he bore to him, he wrote and publiſhed the Hiſtory of his Life and Death.

This *Edmond Campian* was Born in *London*, on S. *Paul*'s Day, in the Month of *January* 1540. He had his Education in School-Learning amongſt

(*a*) Le Grand Dictionar: Hiſtor. par M. Vaultier. Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 1. pag. 258. (*b*) Epiſt. No. 78. p. 400.

amongſt the *Blue-Coats* in *Chriſt*-Church Hoſpital, within the ſaid City: His Firſt Appearance was in the Year 1553, upon Queen *Mary* of *England*'s Acceſſion to the Throne: At which time he pronounced a moſt Eloquent Oration before her. Not long after this, S. *John*'s College in *Oxford* being founded, he was one of theſe whom the worthy Founder put in, to ſtudy there: And in the Year 1564, he took his Degree of Maſter of Arts, and was *Junior of the Act*, celebrated upon the 19th of *Februory* the ſame Year. At which time, he was particularly taken notice of for his Eloquent Orations. Then applying himſelf to the Study of Theology, he entred into Holy Orders, and was ordained a Presbyter of the Church of *England* by *Richard Cheyney* Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, and became a moſt famous Preacher. In the Year 1566, when Queen *Elizabeth* was entertained by that Univerſity, he was Reſpondent in the *Philoſophy-Act* in S. *Mary*'s Church; and acquit himſelf ſo well, that he was highly applauded by the Queen and whole Auditory. In 1568 he was made Junior-Proctor of the Univerſity, being the Firſt of his College who did undergo that Office. In the Year following, he took a Journey into *Ireland*, and wrote the Hiſtory of that Nation, which Sir *James Ware* afterwards publiſhed. About this Time, he having left the Church of *England*, and gone over to that of *Rome*, he was diſcovered, apprehended and impriſoned; but, having made his Eſcape out of Priſon, he came over again to *England*, in the Year 1571. From thence he went to the *Low Countries*, and in the *Engliſh*-College at *Douay*, made a public Recantation of the Proteſtant Religion; and not long after had the Degree of Batchellor of Divinity conferred upon him there. Thence he went to *Rome*, where he was admitted into the Society of *Jeſus*, after he had paſt his Novitiateſhip in the Year 1573. And the General of this Order, finding him to be a Gentleman of excellent Endowments, ſent him into *Germany*, where he lived for ſome Time at *Brune*, and afterwards at *Vienna*. During his Reſidence at *Vienna*, he compoſed a Tragedy, Entitled, *Nectar & Ambroſia*, which was acted before the Emperor with great Applauſe. This Society having about this Time erected a College at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, the General thought none was ſo fit as *Campian* to be ſent for inſtructing the Youth there, he being an excellent Diſputant and well ſeen in Controverſy. Accordingly he was ſent thither, where he taught Philoſophy and Rhetoric for about 6 Years time. But Pope *Gregory* XIII. finding that he might be of greater Uſe in the Miſſion of *England*, ordered him and F. *Parſons*, (one of the ſame Society, and Author of that excellent Book, call'd *The Chriſtian Directory*) to go for *England*; which they did, and arrived ſafely at *London* in the Year 1580, to the great Satisfaction of all the *Roman* Catholics there. And indeed the Pope was not deceived in his Conjecture; for there never were Two more active Men than they proved to be for the gaining of Proſelytes to the Church of *Rome*.

In the Year 1581 *Campian* cauſed Print privately, in the Houſe of one *Stonor* a Catholic Gentleman, who lived near to *Henly* in *Oxford*-Shire, *Ten Reaſons* for proving the *Roman* Catholic Religion to be the only True Religion. This Book was ſo Artfully Penned, that it afforded for a long time Matter of Debate to the Learndeſt Men of both Churches. The Firſt, who wrote againſt it was *William Whittaker* of *Cambridge*; and he was Anſwered by one of our Country-Men call'd

John Durry. This *John Durry* (*c*), was a Brother-Son of the Abbot of *Dumfermling*, whom we have mentioned in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of Queen *Margaret*. He was born at *Dumfermling*, and ſent by his Parents, when a Child, over to *Flanders*, where he was taught his Grammar and Philoſophy in the *Scots*-College at *Douay*. After this he apply'd himſelf to Theology, paſſed his Novitiateſhip amongſt the *Jeſuits*, entred into Holy Orders, and became one of that Society: And, as we have ſaid, when *Whittaker* wrote his Book againſt *Campian*'s *Ten Reaſons*, he wrote an Anſwer to him under this Title, *Confutatio Reſponſionis* G. Whittakeri *ad Decem Rationes quibus fretus* Ed. Campianus, *Societatis* Jeſu *Theologus, Certamem Eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *Miniſtris obtulit in Cauſa Fidei*, Pariſ. *ex Officina* Tho. Brummenii 1581. & Ingolſtadii *ex Typographia* Davidis Sartorii, 1585, in 8*vo*. It was this Book of *Campian* likewiſe that was the Occaſion of the Famous *Chillingworth*'s turning *Roman* Catholic: But, upon a more ſerious Review of what he had done, he returned again to the Church of *England*, and wrote in his own Vindication his Famed Book, called, *The Religion of Proteſtants, a ſafe Way to Salvation*. The Stateſmen, finding by this Book of *Campian*, that he might create a great deal of Diſturbance, ordered a ſtrict Search to be made for him. But all proving in vain, one *George Eliot*, who had been a zealous Catholic, and now turned a *Prieſt-Catcher*, as the *Oxford* Antiquary calls him; this Man, I ſay, at the Deſire of Secretary *Walſingham*, undertook, for a conſiderable Reward that was promiſed him, to find him out. Thereafter, having got ſome Intimation, that he was in the County of *Berks*, he goes to the Houſe of one *Edward Yates* Eſq; at *Lyford*, being accuſtomed to frequent this Gentleman's Houſe when he was a Catholic; and happening to meet with his Cook, after ſome Talk he found by him, that *Campian* was in his Maſter's Houſe, the poor Fellow noways ſuſpecting his Deſign. By this Means he was apprehended and then carried Priſoner with Triumph through *Abendon*, *Henly*, *Colebroke*; and ſo through a Part of *London* with a Paper faſtned to his Hat, on which was written, Edmond Campian *a moſt pernicious Jeſuit*; and having ſuffered all the Inſults of the Mob, he was committed cloſe Priſoner in the Tower of *London*: Where, after ſeveral Examinations, Tortures and Hardſhips, he and ſome others of his Fraternity, having been found guilty of Treaſon according to the Act of 25. *Ed.* III. and of adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome* the Queen's Enemy, and of coming into *England* to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of the Realm, *&c.* were executed at *Tyburn* near *London*, on the Firſt of *December* 1581. Mr. *Wood* in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, ſays (*d*), "All Writers, whether Popiſh or Proteſtant, ſay, that he was a Man of moſt admirable Parts, an elegant Orator, a ſubtile Philoſopher and Diſputant, an exact Preacher, whether in *Engliſh* or *Latin*, of a ſweet Diſpoſition, and a well poliſhed Man. And Mr. *Fuller*, in his Church Hiſtory, ſays (*e*), That he was of a ſweet Nature, conſtantly carrying about him the Charms of a plauſible Behaviour, of a fluent Tongue and good Parts.

Our Author has likewiſe written Commentaries upon ſome difficult Paſſages of the Sacred Scriptures, in Imitation of the Method obſerved by the Ancient Fathers of the Church; a Funeral Oration on the Death of the Biſhop of *Aichſtadt*; an Epiſtle, giving an Account of the Life and Death

(*c*) See Holenſh. Catal. of Scots Writers. (*d*) Vol. 1. pag. 164. (*e*) Tho. Fuller in his Ch. Hiſt. lib. 4. pag. 114.

Death of the ſaid Biſhop of *Aichſtadt*; ſeveral Orations; Seven Miſcellaneous Tractates, and Two Centuries of Epiſtles. He died at *Gratz* in *Iſtria*, upon the 28th of *November* 1599. This Gentleman was well ſeen in the Claſſic Authors, Morality and Politics, and all other kind of Learning, as it appears from his Works. And thoſe, who had the Occaſion of knowing him, tell us, that he was well ſeen in State-Affairs; and knew not only the different Intereſts of the ſeveral Courts of *Europe*, but likewiſe thoſe of the moſt conſiderable Families. His Death and Character.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *COMMENT. in Loca Sacræ Scripturæ ad imitationem Patrum*: Ingolſtadt, 1584, *in* 4*to*.
II. *Oratio & Epiſtola de Vita & Morte D.* Martini *a* Schamberg *Epiſcopi* Enſtad. Ingolſtadt, 1590, *in* 8*vo*.
III. *Funebris Oratio in Principem* Eſtenſem. Antw. 1598.
IV. *Vita R. P.* Ed. Campiani. *e S.* J. *&c.* Ingolſtadt. 1585, *in* 8*vo*.
V. *Orationes XIV.* Antwerp. 1598, *in* 8*vo*.
VI. *Orationum Vol. II.* Colon. 1630, *in* 8*vo*.
VII. *Tractatus ſeptem.* Ingolſtadt, 1602, *in* 8*vo*.
VIII. *Epiſtolarum Centuriæ duæ*, Ingolſtadt, 1602, in 8*vo*.

THE

LIFE of *HENRY SCRIMZEOR*, Profeſſor of the Civil Law at *Geneva*.

THIS Gentleman was deſcended from the Noble and Ancient Family of the *Scrimzeors* of *Didupe*, who, as we have formerly obſerved, were made Hereditary Standard-Bearers to the Kings of *Scotland*, about the Year 1057. He was Born in the Town of *Dundee*, in the Year 1506; and having attained to a competent Age (*a*), he was put to the Grammar-School, where, in a ſmall Space of Time, he learned the *Latin* and *Greek* to a ſurpriſing Perfection. Thereafter he was ſent to the Univerſity of S. *Andrew*'s, where he paſt his Courſe of Philoſophy with great Applauſe. Then he was ſent over to the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he ſtudy'd the Civil Law for ſome time. But the Two great Lawiers of that Age, *Eginar Baron* and *Francis Duarein*, being both of them then teaching at *Bourges*, he went and ſtudy'd under them for

His Birth and Education.

He goes over to *France*, where he ſtudies the Civil Law.

(*a*) Eloges des Homes ſcavans par M. Teſſier. Par. 1. a Utrich 1696, 8vo. Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 17. pag. 586. Le Grand Dict. Hiſt. par M. Vaultier. Thuan Hiſtor. &c.

for a conſiderable Time: Here, amongſt ſeveral other Learned Men, he became intimately acquainted with *James Amiot*, who was then Profeſſor of *Greek* in that City, and afterwards raiſed to great Honours in the Church, having attained unto the Degree of a Cardinal, and well known amongſt the Learned by his Tranſlation of *Plutarch*'s Lives from the *Greek*. This eminent Perſon recommended him to Two Perſons of Quality, of the Name of *Bucherell*, whom he inſtructed in the *Belles Lettres*, and brought up in all the other Accompliſhments that are requiſite in Perſons of Quality. By their Means, he became acquainted with *Bernard Bocnetel* Biſhop of *Rennes*, a Perſon Famous for being imployed in many Noble Embaſſies. This Prelate finding him a Man of extraordinary Endowments, invited him to accompany him in a Journey to *Italy*. This our Author willingly comply'd with, and thereby became acquainted with the moſt of the Famous Men in *Italy*; and happening to be at *Padua*, when *Francis Spira* dy'd, he wrote the Hiſtory of his Life, under the Title of, *The Life of* Francis Spira, *by* Henry *of* Scotland. Our Author, after he had abundantly ſatisfy'd himſelf in his Travels thorough *Italy*, reſolved to return to his own Country: But coming to *Geneva*, he was invited by the Syndics and Magiſtrates of that City, to ſet up a Profeſſion of Philoſophy there for the Benefit of their Youth, for which they promiſed him a ſuitable Reward. Upon this, he taught Philoſophy for ſome time there: But a Fire happening in the City, he had the Misfortune of having his Houſe burnt, and all that belonged to him; ſo that he was reduced to great Straits. His Two Noble Pupils the *Bucherells*, hearing thereof, ſent him a conſiderable Sum of Money.

From *France* he goes to *Italy*.

He is made Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Geneva*.

At this Time, there lived in *Germany Huldrick Fuger*, a Gentleman of extraordinary Learning and Vertue, who had an opulent Eſtate, which he beſtowed moſtly on Books, and in the ſupporting of Learned Men, wherever he heard they were under Difficulties, allowing them large Penſions for their Suſtenance. This Gentleman, hearing of our Author's Misfortune, wrote a Letter to him, earneſtly deſiring he would come and ſtay with him, till ſuch time as his Affairs were put in Order. Our Author accepted of this Offer, and went to *Germany*, where he lived with him ſeveral Years at *Augsbourg*. During which time he collected a moſt Noble Library, conſiſting of the moſt valuable Books that *Europe* could afford, and a great many curious MSS. in *Greek* and *Latin*. At length our Author having compoſed ſeveral Books which he deſigned to Print; and *Henry Stephen* being then at *Geneva*, and one of the moſt Famous Printers of that Age, he reſolved to return thither and Print them there. He no ſooner arrived at *Geneva*, but he was deſired by the Magiſtrates to re-aſſume his former Profeſſion of Philoſophy, which he did in the Year 1563. Two Years after that, he opened a School for teaching of the Civil Law, and had the Honour of being the Firſt Profeſſor and Founder of it in *Geneva*. But notwithſtanding that *Fuger* had recommended our Author to *Stephen* who was one of his Penſionaries; yet he being afraid that *Scrimzeor* deſigned to put up a Work-Houſe of his own, there aroſe ſuch a Diſſenſion betwixt them, that thereby the Republic of Letters was deprived of his Notes upon *Athenæus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laertius*, the *Baſilics*, *Phornuthus*, and *Palæphatus*. All which he deſigned, that *Stephen* ſhould have printed for him: But the moſt of them after his Death falling into the Hands of *Iſaac Caſaubon*, he pub-

He goes from thence to *Germany*.

He returns to *Geneva*, where he is firſt made Profeſſor of Philoſophy, and then of the Civil Law.

publiſhed ſome of them as his own. And, that we may do our Author Juſtice, I ſhall here give a brief Account of theſe Authors and their Works, that have been ſo Learnedly illuſtrated and cleared by him and the Learned *Caſaubon*.

An Account of his Works.

Athenæus was a Grammarian of *Naucratia*, a City in *Egypt*, and lived in the Second Century. He wrote Fifteen Books of Conferences, that happened at Table amongſt Learned Men. Theſe Conferences were publiſhed by *Caſaubon*, at *Leyden*, 1600, in 8*vo*. with his own Notes and our Author's, which he acknowledges he had in his Cuſtody; but withal does not diſtinguiſh his own from what was his. *Strabo* was a Philoſopher and Hiſtorian, originally of *Cnoſs* a City in *Creet*, and born in *Amaſia* a City of *Cappadocia*. He was a Stoic Philoſopher, and died about the 12th Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Tiberius*, and the 25th of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour. He wrote Seventeen Books of Geography; and is one of the beſt of all the Ancient Geographers, he himſelf having travelled through a great many of the Countries he deſcribes, on purpoſe to ſee the Situations of the Places, and the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants. This Work of *Strabo* was publiſhed by *Caſaubon*, with the Amendments and Corrections of our Author, at *Paris*, 1620. For this, *Dempſter* not only cites *Scrimzeor*'s own Letters, teſtifying that he deſigned to publiſh *Strabo* with a Commentary and Amendments; but likewiſe tells us, that *Henry Stephen*, tho' he was at Variance with *Scrimzeor*, yet was ſo generous as to upbraid *Caſaubon*, for deſigning to publiſh that Commentary as his own, which he knew to be *Scrimzeor*'s. *Plutarch* is one of the moſt noted Authors that's amongſt the Ancients, either for Philoſophy, Hiſtory, or Oratory. He was born at *Chæronea*, a City in *Bœotia*. He was brought up under *Ammonius* the Philoſopher, travell'd through *Egypt*, *Greece* and ſeveral other Countries; and was ſo much reſpected by the Emperor *Trajan*, that he honoured him with the Conſular Dignity, made him Intendant of *Illyria*, and employed him in ſeveral important Negotiations. This Philoſopher was one of the moſt univerſal Scholars, that any Age has produced, as it appears from the vaſt Number of Books that are ſtill extant under his Name, wherein he ſhows a prodigious Extent of Knowledge in all the Sciences. *Dempſter* tells us, that our Author collated all *Plutarch*'s Works with the beſt MSS. of them that could be found: And for this he cites *Edward Herriſon*, another Civilian and a *Scots* Man, who wrote a Commentary upon *Plutarch*'s Book *Of the Contradictions of the Stoic Philoſophers*. *Phornuthus* and *Palæphatus* were Two Ancient Hiſtorians, who wrote Explanations of all the Fables concerning the Heathen Gods. The Firſt of theſe was publiſhed at *Baſil*, under this Title, *De Naturâ Deorum, ſeu de Fabularum Poeticarum Allegoriis Speculatio*, 1570; and in *Greek* and *Latin* afterwards, by *Clauſerus*. The other was publiſhed the ſame Year, at the ſame Place, under this Title, ΑΠΙΣΤΑ, *Sive de Fabuloſis Narrationibus*; and afterwards in *Greek* and *Latin* ſeveral times. *Diogenes Laertius* was born at *Potamos*, of the Tribe of *Lcontis* beyond *Sunium*, which Town is now the Port of *Raphty*, as *Spon* has obſerved in the Third Tome of his Voyages. This Philoſopher, who was of the Sect of the *Epicureans*, lived near the Time of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, and wrote Ten Books of the Lives of the Ancient Philoſophers. *Dempſter* tells us, That our Author collated this Work with many Ancient MSS.

and wrote moſt Learned Obſervations upon it: But this falling with the reſt of his MSS. into the Hands of *Iſaac Caſaubon*, it's highly probable, they were very uſeful to him in that Edition of *Diogenes Laertius*, which he printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1593. *Dempſter* ſays, That he likewiſe collated the *Baſilics* with the beſt MSS. and made a *Latin* Verſion of them. Beſides all theſe I find in a Letter, written by *Buchanan* to *Chriſtopher Plantain*, extant in MS. amongſt ſeveral others of his, in the Lawiers Library in *Edinburgh*, that our Author wrote ſeveral Notes and Obſervations upon *Demoſthenes*, and *Euſebius*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and a great many other *Greek* Authors; as likewiſe upon *Cicero*'s Works, eſpecially his Philoſophical Works: All which *Buchanan* tells *Plantain*, that the Learned Mr. *Peter Young*, *Scrimzeor*'s Nephew, had in his Cuſtody, and were well worth the Printing; which if he would undertake to do, they ſhould be ſent him. But it ſeems *Plantain* did not embrace the Offer. So that the only Work that we now have of his under his own Name, is *Juſtinian*'s *Novels*, in pure *Greek*; a Work done with ſuch Accuracy, that his Name for it will laſt as long as theſe Laws continue in the World.

His Death and Character.

The Learned *Thuan* tells us, that he died at *Geneva*, in the Year 1571, in the 65 Year of his Age. But this cannot be, for I have ſeen a Copy of his Edition of the *Novels*, in the Lawiers Library at *Edinburgh*, gifted by himſelf to *Edward Herriſon* in the Year 1572, upon the Title Page whereof, he hath written with his own Hand, theſe Words, Henricus Scrimgerus *veteris amicitiæ* μνημοσυνον Eduardo Herriſono *veteri amico dono mittit*, 1572; and *Buchanan*, in another Letter to the ſame *Chriſtopher Plantain*, dated at *Stirling*, 18th *November* 1573, ſpeaks of him as then dead. So that he muſt have certainly died either in the Year 1572, or in the Beginning of 1573. The Firſt Edition of the *Novels* was Printed by *Henry Stephen* in the Year 1558, and afterwards by *Chriſtopher Plantain* with a *Latin* Verſion, in 1575.

He left his Library, by Teſtament, to *Peter Young* his Siſter's Son, of whom, God willing, we ſhall give an Account in the Third Volume of this Work. The Books were brought over to *Scotland* in the Year 1573, by his Brother *Alexander Scrimzeor*: But, what became of them afterwards I know not. *Dempſter* (*d*), ſpeaking of our Author, ſays, That he was deſcended of the Noble Family of *Didupe*, Hereditary Standard-Bearers to the King; That by the Liberality of *Huldric Fuger* he proſecuted his Studies at *Augsbourg*; That none of his Age was better ſeen than he in the *Latin*, *Greek*, and Oriental Languages; That he was a Man indefatigable in his Reading, of a moſt exquiſite Judgment without the leaſt Stain of Vain-Glory, and ſo Learned, that the Great *Cujacius* ſaid, That he never parted from his Company without Learning ſomething that he never knew before: And a little after he ſays, that both upon the Account of his Birth, and the rare Endowments of his Mind, his Memory ſhould be tranſmitted to all Generations. He is likewiſe highly commended for his great Learning by *Thuan* (*e*), *Caſaubon* (*f*), Dr. *Smith* (*g*), *Henry Stephen*, and many others. I ſhall here inſert the Catalogue of his Works, as they are ſet down by *Dempſter* and *Buchanan*.

The

(*d*) Henricus Scrimgerus ex nobiliſſima Familia Dudopæ Deidonenſis Præfecti vulgo Conſtabuli, Fuggerorum Auguſtæ Vindelicorum munificentia literas coluit, ſuo ævo Latinæ, Græcæ ac Orientalium linguarum peritiſſimus, vir indefeſſæ lectionis, judicii limatiſſimi ſine fuco ambitionis, eruditus uſque adeo, ut Jacobus Cujacius profiteatur ſe ab ejus congreſſu nunquam, niſi doctiorem recedere, multa edoctum irreperta interpretibus. (*e*) Ad An. 1571. (*f*) Epiſt. 106 in Appendice. (*g*) Vita Petri Junii.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *NOVELLÆ Conſtitutiones* Græcè, Pariſ. 1558, *& cum Tranſlatione veteri & verſione* Haloandri, Antwer. 1575, *in Folio.*

II. Plutarchi *omnia Opera cum MSS. contulit,* Eduardo Herriſono Scoto *autore* (*inquit* Dempſterus) *in notis ad* Plutarchi *Commentarium de Contrariis Stoicorum.*

III. *Notæ uberiores in eaſdem Conſtitutiones, viz.* Juſtin: *Lib. Ipſe promittit ſed an extent neſciv.*

IV. Diogenes Laertius *de Vitis Dogmatis & Apothegmatis Philoſophorum ad multa Exemplaria correctus & Obſervationibus illuſtratus MS.*

V. Athenæi *Dipnoſophiſtarum, Lib.* 15. *cum MSS. contulit, unde omnia ſua hauſerat* (*inquit* Dempſterus) *magni momenti* Iſaac. Caſaubonus *MS.*

VI. Strabonem *etiam* (*inquit* Dempſterus) *cum MSS. volebat emittere, ut ex Epiſtolis ipſius MSS. planum eſt; ſed cum Codex in manus* Iſaaci Caſauboni *veniſſet, mirum quam ille fidenter alienæ operæ nomen ſuum appoſuit, hoc certe candide* Henricus Stephanus *profitetur, etſi non bene cum* Scrimgero *conveniret.*

VII. *Baſilicorum libros cum MSS. variis collatos* Latinos *fecit, MS.*

VIII. Phornuthum *ex collatione MSS. correxit ultima ſenecta, MS.*

IX. Palæphatum *quoque ex iiſdem MSS. ita auxit, ut alius ab edito videri poſſit; qui duo autores ultimi* (*inquit* Dempſterus) *aſſervantur in Bibliotheca* Petri Junii *Equitis,* Jacobi *Regis educatoris, MS.*

X. *Epiſtolas, MS.*

XI. Demoſthenis & Æſchinis *Opera cum multis MSS. contulit, & variis Obſervationibus illuſtravit, MS.*

XII. Ciceronis *Opera cum multis MSS. contulit, & variis Obſervationibus illuſtravit, MS.*

XIII. Euſebii *Hiſt. Eccleſ. cum multis MSS. contulit, & variis Obſervationibus illuſtravit, MS.*

THE

LIFE of *DOWGAL MACKENZIE*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*.

His Birth, Parentage, and Education.

THIS Gentleman, whom *Dempſter* calls *David Mackenzie* (*a*), was Son to *Dowgal Mackenzie* of *Kiſſern*, Natural-Son to *John Mackenzie* the Ninth Baron of *Kintail*; his Mother was a Brother-Daughter of *Macleod* of *Harris*. He was born at *Kiſſern*, in the Shire or County of *Roſs*, in the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and was ſent by his Parents, at a competent Age, to the School of *Chanonry*, where he learned his Grammar. Thereafter his Parents, finding he had a great Inclination to ſtudy, ſent him to the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*, where he learned his *Greek* and Philoſophy, and received his Degree of *Maſter of Arts*. During the whole Courſe of his Studies, he apply'd himſelf with ſuch Aſſiduity, that he ſlept but very little; and was never obſerved to ſpend any of his Time, in the innocent Diverſions and Recreations of Youth. By which Means he contracted ſuch a violent Pain in his Head, accompany'd with a Defluxion upon his Eyes and Noſe, that he was in great Danger of loſing his Sight. Wherefore the Phyſicians, being afraid he would fall into a Decay, adviſed him to Travel. He, being not a little encouraged to follow their Advice by reaſon of the then Civil Wars in the Country, taking a Ship at *Aberdeen*, went over to *Holland*; from thence to *France*, where he ſtudy'd, for ſome Years, at the Univerſity of *Paris*. At length having recovered his former State of Health, he returned to his Native Country. About which time there happened to be a Vacancy of a Regency at *Aberdeen*, in which Place our Author was inſtalled with the univerſal Applauſe of the whole Maſters of the Univerſity: And in this Station he continued till his Death.

He is made Maſter of Arts.

He goes over to *Holland*, and thence to *France*.

He returns to *Scotland*, and is made Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Aberdeen*.

He writes ſeveral Books. An Account of them.

We are told by *Dempſter*, that this Gentleman compoſed and publiſhed ſeveral *Latin* Poems, and a Book of *Latin* and *Engliſh* Epigrams: But he commends him moſt for his Learn'd and accurate Obſervations and Notes upon the Prophecies of the *Sibyls*. *Lactantius* and S. *Jerome* think (*c*), they were ſo call'd, becauſe they were the Interpreters of the Deſigns and Counſels of the Gods, their Name coming from theſe Two *Greek* Words, Θεῶν βελὴ, which ſignify the *Counſel of God*, and written in the *Æolian* Dialect, is Σιὸς βελὴ, from whence comes the Word *Sibyl*. But this Etymology is generally rejected, becauſe in the Adjective

(*a*) Dempſter Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 12. pag. 498. (*b*) MS. Geneal. of the Mackenzies apud me. (*c*) Lact. lib. 1. cap. 6. Hieron. lib. 1. in Jovin. vide M. du Pin, Bib. Eccleſ. Vol. 1.

ctive Σιβύλλινος, the Three laſt Syllables, being a *Dactylus*, ſhow that the Word *Sibyl* cannot come from Σιὸς βυλή. Others, with leſs Probability, bring it from a *Hebrew* Word; others from an old *Latin* Adjective *ſibus*, which ſignifies in *Feſtus*, *acutus*, *callidus*, *i. e.* Fine or Pointed: But this cannot be, becauſe the *Grecians* had that Word amongſt them before the *Latins* had it. But the moſt probable Opinion is, that this Name *Sibyl*, being the proper Name of the Famous Propheteſs at *Delphi*, became afterwards common to others; as the Name *Cæſar*, which was proper to the Emperor *Julius*, became afterwards the Name of all his Succeſſors.

Nothing is ſo uncertain as the Number and Names of the *Sibyls*. *Plato*, in his *Phædrus*, ſpeaks only of one *Sibyl*; but tells us not of what Country ſhe was. The Author of the Book, *De Mirabilibus Auſcultationibus* in *Ariſtotle*, ſpeaks of the *Sibyl* of *Cumæa*. *Diodorus Siculus*, in his Fourth Book, ſpeaks of that of *Delphi*; and ſays, that they call'd her *Daphne*, and that ſhe was the Daughter of *Tireſias*. *Virgil*, *Pauſanias* and *Suidas* call her *Manto*. S. *Clement* of *Alexandria* calls her *Arthemis*. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Pliny* and *Juvenal* ſpeak only of one *Sibyl*: But that does not infer, that they acknowledged only one. *Strabo*, in the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Books of his Geography, ſays, that there were Two at *Erythræa*, and that they call'd the Second *Athenais*, who lived in the Time of *Alexander* the *Great*. *Stephanus* (*d*), and *Capella* (*e*), mention likewiſe Two, *viz.* *Erophila*, originally of *Troy*, who came to *Cuma*; and *Symmachia* of *Erythræa*. *Solin* (*f*) mentions Three, that of *Delphi* *Eryphila*, of *Erythræa* and the *Cumean*. *Ælian* mentions Ten (*g*), the *Erythræan*, the *Samian*, the *Egyptian*, the *Sardinian*, the *Cumean*, the *Judean*, and Four others. S. *Clement* of *Alexandria* (*h*), mentions *Manto* the *Samian*, the *Colophonian*, the *Theſſalian*, the *Theſpotrique*; and (ſays he) *a Multitude of other* Sibyls. *Lactantius* (*i*) mentions Ten of them after *Varro*: The Firſt is the *Perſian*, of which, *Nicanor*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander*, makes Mention. The Second of *Lybia*, of whom *Euripides* makes Mention. The Third of *Delphi*, of whom *Chryſippus* makes Mention in his Book of Divination. The Fourth of *Cumes* in *Italy*, of which *Nævius* and *Piſo* make Mention: The Firſt, in his *Punic* War; and the other, in his Annals. The Fifth of *Erythræa*, who, as *Apollodorus* ſays, was born in that Town. The Sixth of *Samos*, of whom *Eratoſthenes* writes. The Seventh of *Cumæ* call'd *Amalthæa*; and by others, *Demophile* or *Herophile*. The Eighth of *Helleſpont*, born at *Marpeſſes*. The Ninth of *Phrygia*, who Propheſy'd in *Ancyra*. The Tenth of *Tiburtine*, Named *Albunea*, who Propheſy'd at *Tivoli* near to the River *Teverone*; at the Bottom of which, it is ſaid, her Statue was found with a Book in her Hand. *Iſidore* and a great many others follow this Catalogue.

Now I ſhall give the Reader a clear and brief View of the Method and Manner of their Propheſying, in the ſingle Inſtance of that Famed one of *Delphi*; by which a Judgment may be formed of all the reſt.

The Oracle of *Delphi* was ſacred to *Apollo*, who was thought more peculiarly to preſide over Prophets, and inſpire into them the Knowledge of future Events. This Oracle challenged the Firſt Place, not only for

(*d*) De urbibus. (*e*) Lib. 2. De nuptiis phyſiologiæ. (*f*) Polyhiſt. c. 8. (*g*) De var. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 35. (*h*) Stromat lib. 1. (*i*) Lib. 6.

Antiquity; but likewiſe for the Truth and Perſpicuity of its Anſwers, the Magnificence of its Structures, the Number and Richneſs of the ſacred Preſents dedicated to *Apollo*, and the Multitudes, which from all Parts reſorted thither for Counſel; in all which Reſpects, it ſurpaſſed all the Oracles of the other Gods. The Place, in which the Oracle was delivered, was called *Pythium*; the Prieſteſs, *Pythia*; the Sports, inſtituted in Honour of *Apollo*, the *Pythian* Games; and *Apollo* himſelf, *Pythius*: For all which, the Grammarians give Reaſons, not worth the Reader's noticing.

The City of *Delphi*, as *Strabo* reports (*k*), was by ſome thought to be plac'd in the Middle of the World. And the Poets ſay, that *Jupiter*, being deſirous to know the middle Part of the Earth, ſent forth Two Eagles (or Crows, as *Pindar*; or Swans, as others relate) one from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt; and that they met in this Place. But whatever Truth be in this, *Strabo* tells us, that it was placed in the Middle of *Greece*. Whence it is by the Poets commonly called Ομφαλὸς, or the Navel, becauſe they reckoned that the middle Part of a Man's Body. And in Alluſion to this Name, *Strabo* and *Pauſanias* ſay, that there was to be ſeen, in the Temple, the Figure of a Navel made of white Stone, with a Ribband hanging from it inſtead of the Navel-String; and upon it were placed Two Eagles, in Memory of the Eagles ſent forth by *Jupiter*.

As to the Original of this Oracle (*l*), there are various Reports. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* tells us (*m*), it Firſt belonged to *Tellus* or the *Earth*, by whom *Daphne*, one of the Mountain-Nymphs, was conſtituted Prieſteſs. But omitting all the other Fabulous Relations concerning the Original of this Oracle, that which the above cited Author reports elſewhere (*n*), is moſtly received. This Oracle, ſays he, was Firſt diſcovered by Goats; in Memory whereof, the *Delphians*, when they asked Counſel of the God, for the moſt part offered a Goat: And the Manner of the Diſcovery was thus. Upon Mount *Parnaſſus*, where Goats were wont to feed, was a deep Cavern with a ſmall narrow Mouth, to which when any of the Goats approached, they begun immediately to leap after an unuſual and antick Manner, uttering ſtrange and unheard of Sounds. The Goat-herd, whom *Plutarch* calls *Coretas*, obſerving this, and wondering what ſhould be the Cauſe of it, went himſelf to view the Cavern: Whereupon he alſo was ſeiſed with a like Fit of Madneſs, leaping and dancing, and foretelling Things to come. This being noiſed abroad, vaſt Multitudes of People flocked to the Place; where, as many as looked in, were inſpired after the ſame Manner. At length, when many were poſſeſſed to ſuch a Degree of Divine Phrenzy, as to throw themſelves head-long into the deep Cave, there was an Edict put out, whereby it was made unlawful for any Man to approach to it: And a *Tripus* was placed upon the Mouth of it, upon which a Virgin was appointed to ſit, and there deliver the Anſwers of the God. And this is computed to have been an Hundred Years before the *Trojan* War.

Concerning the *Tripus* placed upon the Mouth of the Cave, there are various Opinions: For ſome ſay, that it was a Pot fill'd with Duſt, thoro' which the *Afflatus* or Inſpiration paſs'd into the Virgin's Belly, and

(*k*) Geogr. lib. 9. (*l*) See Potter's Grecian Antiquities, Vol. 1. Book 2. chap. 9. (*m*) Lib. 16, cap. 16. (*n*) Bib. Hiſt. lib. 16.

and thence proceeded out of her Mouth. The Scholiaſt, upon *Ariſtophanes*, ſays (*o*), that it was a wide Mouthed Braſs Pot, filled with ψῆφοιον, or *Pebles*; by the leaping of which the Propheteſs made her Conjectures: Others ſay, that it was a large Veſſel ſupported by Three Feet, into which the Propheteſs plunged her ſelf, when ſhe expected an Inſpiration. But *Cælius* has proved at large (*p*), that it was not a Veſſel, but a Table or Seat on which the *Pythia* or *Sibyl* leaned or ſat. The Cover of the *Tripus*, or as ſome ſay, the *Tripus* it ſelf, was call'd ὀλμος, which Word properly denotes a Mortar or round Stone, according to *Heſychius*. *Phurnutus* ſays, the *Tripus* was ſacred to *Apollo*, either becauſe of the Perfection of the Number Three; or in Alluſion of the Three Cœleſtial Circles, Two of which the Sun toucheth, and paſſeth over the Third in his Annual Circuit. Grammarians have a great many other Conjectures about the *Tripus*, which I purpoſely omit. But that which the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* relates (*q*) of the Golden one, conſecrated to *Apollo*, is very remarkable, which happened thus. Certain Fiſher Men at *Miletus*, having ſold their next Draught to certain Perſons that ſtood by, caſt their Nets into the Water, and drew up a Golden *Tripus*; whereupon there aroſe a very hot Contention between the Fiſhermen and their Chapmen. The Fiſhermen alledged, that they ſold nothing but the Fiſh they were to take; and that therefore the *Tripus* belonged to them. The Buyers on the other Hand replied, that they had bought the whole Draught; and therefore laid a juſt Claim to whatever came to the Net. At length when neither Side would yield, they agreed to ſubmit the Matter to *Apollo*'s Determination. Whereupon they came to *Delphi*, and there received this Anſwer,

Ἔγονε Μιλήτε, τρίποδ' πέει φοῖβον ἐρωτᾶς;
Ὃς σοφίη παντων πρῶτ', τετῶ τρίποδα δόϊ.

Thus Tranſlated by Mr. *Hutchin* of *Oxford*.

Art thou a Native of Miletus, *come*
T' enquire what muſt be with the Tripod *done?*
Give it to him, whoſe Wiſdom claims a Right
Above all others.———

This Oracle was given at the Time, when the Seven Wiſe Men Flouriſhed in *Greece*. The *Tripus* therefore was preſented to one of them, but he modeſtly refuſing it, they offered it to another; and ſo on to the reſt, till it had been refuſed by them all. Whereupon it was determined to Conſecrate it to *Apollo* himſelf, as being the Fountain of all Wiſdom.

Theſe Women, as we have ſaid, were at Firſt Virgins, till one of them was Deflower'd by *Echechrates* a *Theſſalian*. Thereafter Choice was made of Women above Fifty Years of Age, that ſo they might either be ſecured from the Attempts of Luſt; or if they ſhould be at any time forced to the Violation of their Chaſtity, having paſt the Time of Child-bearing, they might remain undiſcovered, and not bring the Oracle and their Religion into Contempt. Nevertheleſs they wore the Habit of Virgins, thereby to ſignify their Purity and Virginal Modeſty;

(*o*) Lyſiſtrate. (*p*) Lect. Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 15. (*q*) Initio Pluti.

and were obliged to obſerve the ſtricteſt Laws of Temperance and Chaſtity, not being allowed to wear rich and coſtly Apparel, or to Feaſt ſumptuouſly. The *Sibyl*, before ſhe aſcended the *Tripus*, uſed to waſh her whole Body, eſpecially her Hair, in *Caſtalius*, a Fountain at the Foot of *Parnaſſus*; where the Poets, Men inſpired by the ſame Deity, uſed to waſh and drink. At her ſitting down upon the *Tripus*, ſhe uſed to ſhake the Laurel-Tree that grew by it, and ſometimes to take the Leaves and eat them. Her ſelf alſo and the *Tripus* were Crown'd with Garlands of the ſame Plant. Nor did ſhe only make uſe of Laurel in this manner, but other Prophets alſo; becauſe it was thought to conduce to Inſpiration. Whence it was peculiarly call'd μαντικὸν φυτὸν, *i. e. The Prophetic Plant.* Being placed upon the *Tripus*, ſhe received the Divine *Afflatus* in her Belly: And ſo ſoon as ſhe was inſpired, ſhe began immediately to toſs and ſhake her Head and all the other Members of her Body, that ſhe ſeemed like one Phrenetic or Diſtracted: And, during theſe her Agitations, ſhe pronounced in hollow Groans, Gruntlings and interrupted Sentences, the Will of the God to thoſe that conſulted him. Some of them were more violently ſhaken and toſſed than others. Inſomuch that *Plutarch* ſpeaks of one (*r*), that was inraged to ſuch a Degree, that ſhe affrighted not only thoſe that conſulted the Oracle, but the Prieſts themſelves; ſo that they run away and left her: And ſo violent was the Paroxyſm, that in a little time after ſhe dy'd. *Virgil* gives us a moſt lively Repreſentation of all this in the Sixth Book of his *Æneis*, where he brings *Æneas* to conſult the *Sibyl*: And tells us, that the Cave had a Hundred Gates or Entries; and that ſhe was ſo conveniently plac'd, that when ſhe pronounced her Oracle, the many Reverberations of her Voice did not a little contribute to the Auguſtneſs and Terror of the Thing. His Words, as Tranſlated by Mr. *Dryden*, are,

A ſpacious Cave, within its farthmoſt Part,
Was hew'd and faſhion'd by laborious Art,
Thro' the Hill's hollow Sides: Before the Place,
A Hundred Doors, a Hundred Entries grace:
As many Voices iſſue; and the Sound
Of Sibyl's *Words as many times rebound.*
Now to the Mouth they come; aloud ſhe cries,
This is the Time, enquire your Deſtinies.
He comes, behold the God! Thus while ſhe ſaid,
(And ſhiv'ring at the ſacred Entry ſtay'd)
Her Colour chang'd, her Face was not the ſame,
And hollow Groans from her deep Spirit came.
Her Hair ſtood up, convulſive Rage poſſeſs'd
Her trembling Limbs, and heav'd her lab'ring Breaſt:
Greater than Human Kind ſhe ſeem'd to look;
And with an Accent, more than Mortal, ſpoke.
Her ſtaring Eyes with ſparkling Fury rowl,
When all the God came ruſhing on her Soul.
Swiftly ſhe turn'd, and foaming as ſhe ſpoke,
Why this Delay? ſhe cry'd, the Pow'rs invoke.

Thy

(r) De defect. Orac.

Thy Pray'rs alone can open this Abode,
Elſe vain are my Demands, and dumb the God.

And a little after, giving an Account how ſhe came out of her Fits, after ſhe had pronounced her Oracle, he ſays,

Thus from the dark Receſs the Sibyl *ſpoke,*
And the reſiſting Air the Thunder broke;
The Cave rebellow'd; and the Temple ſhook.
Th' ambiguous God, who rul'd her lab'ring Breaſt,
In theſe myſterious Words his Mind expreſt:
Some Truths reveal'd, in Terms involv'd the reſt.
At length her Fury fell; her Foaming ceas'd,
And ebbing in her Soul, the God decreas'd.

The Place of this Oracle, is ſaid to have been under the Earth; and concerning it are innumerous Fables, which I ſhall paſs by, taking only Notice of what is ſaid by *Pauſanias*, who himſelf conſulted the Oracle of *Trophonius*, from whence we may know what was done at *Delphi*; and by *Plutarch*, who had, what he relates, from another that had conſulted the ſame Oracle. Both which Paſſages are thus tranſlated by Mr. *Abel*, in *Potter*'s *Grecian* Antiquities (*f*). *Pauſanias*'s Words are, 'Whoſoe'er's Exigencies oblige him to go into the Cave, muſt, in the Firſt 'Place, make his Abode for ſome ſet time in the Chapel of *Good Genius* 'and *Good Fortune*. During his Stay here, he abſtains from hot Baths, 'and employs himſelf in performing other Sorts of Atonements for paſt 'Offences. He is not wholly debarred Bathing, but then it muſt only 'be in the River *Hercynna*; having a ſufficient Suſtenance from the Leavings of the Sacrifices. At his going down, he Sacrificeth to *Trophonius* 'and his Sons, to *Apollo*, *Saturn*, and *Jupiter*, (who hath the Title of 'King) to *Juno Heniocha*; and *Ceres* call'd *Europa*, reported to be *Trophonius*'s Nurſe. There is a Prieſt ſtands conſulting the Bowels of every 'Sacrifice, who, according to the Victim's Aſpects, propheſies whether 'the Deity will give an auſpicious and ſatisfactory Anſwer. The Entrails of all the Sacrifices confer but little towards the revealing of *Trophonius*'s Anſwer; unleſs a Ram, which they offer in a Ditch to *Agamades*, with Supplication for Succeſs, that Night on which they deſcend, preſents the ſame Omens with the former. On this depends 'the Ratification of all the reſt; and without it, their former Oblations are of no effect. If ſo be that this Ram doth agree with the former, 'every one forthwith deſcends, backed with the Eagerneſs of good 'Hopes; and thus is the Manner, immediately they go that Night, 'along with the Prieſts, to the River *Hercynna*, where they are anointed 'with Oil, and waſh'd by Two Citizens, Boys Aged about Thirteen 'Years, whom they call Ερμᾶς, that is to ſay, *Mercuries*. Theſe are 'they, that are employ'd in waſhing whoever hath a Mind to conſult: 'Neither are they remiſs in their Duty, but as much as can be expected from Boys, carefully perform all Things neceſſary. Having been 'waſh'd, they are not ſtraight way conducted by the Prieſts to the Oracle: 'But are brought to the River's Riſes, which are adjacent to one another.

(*f*) Vol. 1. book 2. chap. 10.

'Here they muſt drink a Doſe of it, called *Lethe*, or *Oblivion*, to deluge 'with Oblivion all thoſe Things, which ſo lately were the greateſt Part 'of their Concerns. After that, they take the Water of *Mnemoſyne*, or '*Remembrance*, to retain the Remembrance of thoſe Things that ſhall be 'exhibited to them in their Deſcent. Amongſt which, is expoſed a 'Statue adorned with that admirable Carving, that is ſet up by the 'People for *Dædalus*'s Workmanſhip; whereupon they never exhibit it 'unleſs to Deſcendants. To this therefore, after ſome venerable Obey-'ſance, having mutter'd over a Prayer or Two in a Linen Habit ſet 'off with Ribbands, and wearing Pantofles agreeable with the Faſhion of 'the Country; they approach the Oracle, which is ſituated within a 'Mountain near a Grove, the Foundation of which is built Spherical-'ways, of white Stone, about the Size, in Circumference, of a very 'ſmall Threſhing-Floor, but in Height ſcarce Two Cubits, ſupporting 'Brazen Obeliſcs, encompaſſed round with Ligaments of Braſs, between 'which there are Doors, that guide their Paſſage into the Midſt of the 'Floor, where there is a ſort of a Cave, not the Product of rude Na-'ture, but built with the niceſt Accuracy of Mechaniſm and Proportion. 'The Figure of this Workmanſhip is like an Oven; its Breadth Diame-'trically, (as nigh as can be gueſt) about Nine Cubits; its Depth, 'Eight, or thereabouts: For the Guidance to which there are no 'Stairs, wherefore 'tis required, that all Comers bring a narrow and 'light Ladder with them; by which, when they are come down to the 'Bottom, there is a Cave between the Roof and the Pavement, being in 'Breadth about Two σπιθαμαὶ, and in Height not above One. At the 'Mouth of this, the Deſcendant, having brought with him Cakes, dipt 'in Honey, lies along on the Ground, and ſhoves himſelf, Feet fore-'moſt, into the Cave, then he thruſts in his Knees; after which, the 'reſt of his Body is rowled along by a Force, not unlike that of a great 'and rapid River, which overpow'ring a Man with his Vortex, tumbles 'him over Head and Ears. All that come within the Approach of the 'Oracle, have not their Anſwers reveal'd the ſame Way: Some gather 'their Reſolves from outward Appearances; others by Word of Mouth. 'They all return the ſame way back with their Feet foremoſt. Among 'all that have deſcended, it was never known that any was loſt, except 'one of the Lifeguard of *Demetrius*. And beſides 'tis credible, the Rea-'ſon proceeds from the Neglect of the Rituals in his Deſcent, and his ill 'Deſign: For he went not out of Neceſſity to Conſult, but out of an ava-'ricious Humour, for the ſacrilegious Conveyance back of the Gold and 'Silver, which was there Religiouſly beſtow'd. Wherefore it is ſaid, 'that his Carcaſe was thrown out ſome other Way, and not at the En-'trance of the ſacred Shrine. Among the various Reports, that fly 'abroad concerning this Man, I have delivered to Poſterity the moſt re-'markable. The Prieſts, as ſoon as the Conſultant is returned, place 'him on *Mnemoſyne*'s Throne, which is not very far from the Shrine. Here 'they enquire of him what he had ſeen or heard; which when he hath 'related, they deliver him to others, who (as appointed for that Of-'fice) carry him, ſtupify'd with Amazement, and forgetful of himſelf 'and thoſe about him, to the Chapel of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*, 'where he had made his former Stay at his going down. Here, after 'ſome time, he's reſtored to his former Senſes, and the Chearfulneſs of

'his

'his Viſage returns again. What I here relate, was not received at Second Hand: But either as by ocular Demonſtration I perceived it in 'others; or what I have proved true by my own Experience. For all 'Conſultants are obliged to hang up engraved on a Tablet, what they 'have ſeen or heard. Thus far *Pauſanias* concerning the Manner of conſulting the Oracle, to which I ſhall add this memorable Story out of *Plutarch* concerning the Appearances, exhibited to the Conſultants, tranſlated by the ſame Hand.

'*Timarchus*, being a Youth of Liberal Education, and juſt initiated 'in the Rudiments of Philoſophy, was greatly deſirous of knowing the 'Nature and Efficacy of *Socrates*'s *Dæmon*. Wherefore communicating his 'Project to no Mortal Body but me and *Cebes*, after the Performance 'of all the Rituals requiſite for Conſultation, he deſcended *Trophonius*'s 'Cave: Where having ſtaid Two Nights and One Day, his Return 'was wholly deſpair'd of; inſomuch that his Friends bewailed him as 'dead. In the Morning he came up very brisk, and in the Firſt place 'paid ſome venerable Acknowledgments to the God. After that, having eſcaped the ſtaring Rout, he laid open to us a prodigious Relation 'of what he had ſeen and heard, to this Purpoſe. In his Deſcent he 'was beſet with a Caliginous Miſt; upon which he pray'd, lying proſtrate for a long Time: And not having Senſe enough to know, whether he was awake or in a Dream, he ſurmiſes, that he received a Blow 'upon his Head with ſuch an echoing Violence, as diſſevered the Sutures of his Skull, thro' which his Soul migrated; and being diſunited 'from the Body and mix'd with bright and refined Air, with a ſeeming 'Contentment, began to breath for a long time; and being dilated, like 'a full Sail was wider than before. After this having heard ſome ſmall 'Noiſe, whiſtling in his Ears a delightſome Sound, he looked up, but 'ſaw not a Spot of Earth, only Iſlands reflecting a glimmering Flame, 'interchangeably receiving different Colours according to the various 'Degrees of Light. They ſeemed to be of an infinite Number, and of 'a ſtupendious Size, not bearing an equal Parity betwixt one another. 'In this, tho' they were all alike, *viz.* Globular, it may be conjectured, 'that the Circumrotation of thoſe moved the *Æther*, which occaſioned 'that Whiſtling; the gentle Pleaſantneſs of which, bore an adequate 'Agreement with their well-timed Motion. Between theſe there was a 'Sea or Lake, which ſpread out a Surface, glittering with many Colours, 'intermixt with an Azure. Some of the Iſlands floated in its Stream, 'by which they were driven on the other Side of the Torrent. Many 'others were carry'd to and fro, ſo that they were all nigh ſunk. This 'Sea for the moſt part was very ſhallow, and Fordable; except towards 'the South, where it was of a great Depth: It very often Ebbed and 'Flowed, but not with an High Tide. Some Part of it had a Natural 'Sea-Colour untainted with any other, as miry and muddy as any Lake. 'The Rapidneſs of the Torrent carry'd back thoſe Iſlands from whence 'they had grounded, not ſituating them in the ſame Place as at Firſt, or 'bringing them about with a Circumference; but, in the gentle turning of them, the Water makes one riſing Rowl: Betwixt theſe, the 'Sea ſeemed to bend inwards about (as near as he could gueſs) Eight 'Parts of the whole. This Sea had Two Mouths, which were Inlets to 'boiſterous Rivers, caſting out fiery Foam; the flaming Brightneſs of

'which covered the beſt Part of its Natural Azure. He was very much 'pleaſed at this Sight, until he lookt down, and ſaw an immenſe *Hia-* 'tus, reſembling a hollowed Sphere of an amazing and dreadful Profun- 'dity: It had Darkneſs to a Miracle, not ſtill but thickned and agita- 'ted. Here he was ſeiſed with no ſmall Fright, by the aſtoniſhing 'Hubbubs and Noiſes of all Kinds, that ſeemed to ariſe out of this 'Hollow from an unfathomable Bottom, *viz.* He heard an Infinity of 'Yells and Howlings of Beaſts, Cries and Bawlings of Children, con- 'fuſed with the Groans and Outrages of Men and Women. Thus far he.

How theſe cunning Prieſts impoſed upon the People in all theſe Things, the curious Reader may be fully ſatisfy'd of in *Van Dale*'s Book concerning the Heathen Oracles. I ſhall now proceed to give an Account of the Prophecies, that are extant under their Names, upon which our Author has wrote ſo Learnedly.

In the Time of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, or *Superbus*, as others ſay (t), a Woman preſented him with Nine Books of the Prophecies of the *Sibyls*: But ſhe asking too great a Reward, he refuſed them. Upon which ſhe burnt Three; then returning to *Tarquin* with the other Six that remained, ſhe asked the very ſame Reward for them: And finding he would not give it, ſhe went and burnt other Three. *Tarquin*, being aſtoniſhed at the Woman's Reſolution, and not willing that they ſhould all periſh, purchaſed the Three remaining Books at the ſame Rate that ſhe asked for the Nine. Theſe *Tarquin* cauſed to be preſerved carefully in an Urn of Stone kept in the Capitol. He likewiſe created Two Officers, who were call'd the *Duumviri*, whoſe only Employment was to take Care of them, and to conſult them upon all preſſing Occaſions: But their Number afterwards increaſed to Ten, and then to Fifteen. And there were very rigorous Puniſhments inflicted upon them, if they permitted the Books of the *Sibyls* to be ſeen by any but themſelves. Inſomuch that *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that one of the *Duumviri* was puniſhed as a Paricide, for ſuffering ſome of the *Sibyls* Verſes to be copied; that is to ſay, he was ſowed up alive in a Sack, and thrown into the Sea. Theſe Books were thus preſerved till the Year 671 from the Foundation of *Rome*; being 83 Years before the Birth of our Lord and Saviour. In which Year, the Capitol being burnt, the Books of the *Sibyls* periſhed in the Flames with the reſt of the Furniture of that Temple, as we are told by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Pliny* and ſome other ancient Authors. After the rebuilding of the Capitol, the Conſuls propoſed to the Senate, that Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Greece*, *Erythræa* and *Aſia*, to make ſuch Collections, as they could find, of the Oracles of the *Sibyls*; and to bring them to *Rome*. Accordingly there were ſent to *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, *Octacillius*, *Craſſus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*; who brought with them from *Aſia* about a Thouſand Verſes attributed to the *Sibyls*, which they had collected from divers Copies belonging to particular Perſons. But the Senate, finding that ſeverals of them were either falſe or ſuperfluous, did depute Fifteen of their Number to review and expunge what they thought fit. After this was done, they were put up in the Capitol, in place of the others. In

(t) Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. lib. 4.

In the Time of *Auguſtus*, theſe Books were again reviewed, upon the Account that many Oracles, attributed to the *Sibyls*, had been added to them. So that, by the Command of that Emperor, about Two Thouſand Verſes were burnt: And thoſe, they thought to be genuine, were incloſed in Two Cheſts of Gold, and laid up to be kept in the Temple of *Apollo*. Some have been of the Opinion, that theſe Books were again burnt in the Conflagration of that City, under the Emperor *Nero*; but they bring no convincing Proofs for this. But whatever Truth be in it, it is certain, that, as long as there were Pagan Emperors at *Rome*, the Books of the *Sibyls* were alwiſe conſulted upon preſſing Occaſions (*u*). And when *Julian* the *Apoſtate* was reeſtabliſhing all the Pagan Superſtitions, he cauſed ſearch for, and conſult the Books of the *Sibyls*.

We have ſtill extant Eight Books of the *Sibyls* which our Author rejects as a ſuppoſititious Work: And ſeveral Learned Men, ſince his Time, have been of the ſame Opinion. How reaſonable this Opinion of our Author is, will appear from the following Arguments. *Firſt*, it appears that they are ſuppoſititious, from the Time in which, it is ſaid, they were written: For it is certain, that the *Sibyls* were poſterior to *Moſes*; but the Author of theſe Books ſays, that the *Sibyl* was in the Arc of *Noah*: And yet, in the Third Book he ſays, that theſe Oracles were written 1500 Years after the Eſtabliſhment of the *Grecian* Empire. In whatever Senſe this be taken, it follows from this, that all the Predictions, concerning the *Jews* and *Moſes*, are ſuppoſititious; for the 1500 Years extend to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. In the Fifth Book, the Author ſays, that he had ſeen the Second Ruine of the ſo much deſired Houſe: By which it is plain, he means the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. In the Eighth Book he ſays, that after *Γ*. which is the Emperor *Trajan*, there ſhall reign one, who ſhall have his Name from the *Adriatic* Sea, which was the Emperor *Adrian*; and after him there ſhould reign Three, which were *Antoninus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius*; and that the laſt ſhould obtain the Power of all. Which makes it appear, that this was written in the beginning of the Empire of *Marcus Aurelius*, or towards the End of that of *Antoninus*. For ſince *Lucius* was the youngeſt, it was but Natural to predict, that he ſhould be the longeſt Liver. *Secondly*, It appears from the Stile of theſe Books, that they are not genuine. For he, who has forged them, ſeems not to have been, tho' he affects to be, Enthuſiaſtic. The Verſes of the *Sibyls* were confuſed and without Order; whereas theſe, we have, are ſo orderly, that the Hiſtory of the Emperors are related Hiſtorically and not Prophetically. Neither has the Stile any Reſemblance to that of *Homer*, who borrowed ſeveral of his Verſes from thoſe of the *Sibyls*, if we may believe *Diodorus Siculus*. Whoever he was that forged theſe Books, he has been likewiſe very ignorant; for he derives the Name of *Adam* from ΑΔΗΣ. In the Second Book he ſays, that the Four Letters of that Name ſignify the Four Parts of the World; and yet in the *Hebrew* and the *Chaldaic* it has but Three Letters. He ſuppoſes, that the Letters of the Name of God make up the Number 1697, which is not true but by writing it in *Greek* after a moſt Barbarous Way. He makes out of the Name of *Jeſus*, which he compoſes of Four Vowels and Two Conſonants, 888 Years;

(*u*) See Dion in Tiber. and Nero. Ælius Spartianus in Adrian. Jul. Capitol in Gordion. Tribellius Pollio in Galienus Vopiſ. in Aurelian, &c.

out of that of *Rome*, 948. A great many Fables are related as true Hiſtories. He ſays, that the Mountain *Ararat*, is in *Phrygia*; that the River *Eurotas*, is in *Epirus*; that Gog and *Magog* were *Ethiopians*. All which makes it evident, that this Impoſtor was ignorant of *Hebrew*, Geography and Hiſtory. *Laſtly*, The Matters, contained in theſe Books, evidently prove, that they are forged; for there are ſeveral Opinions there, that were only taught by the Primitive Chriſtians; ſuch as that of the *Millenaries*, or that *Chriſt* ſhall reign a Thouſand Years upon Earth; that *Nero* was Antichriſt; that our Souls ſhould remain in Hell till the Reſurrection; and that the Fire in the Day of Judgment ſhould ſerve for purifying of them; that the Terreſtrial Paradiſe was ſtill preſerved; and that the Damned at length ſhould be delivered from their Torments; and ſeveral other Opinions that were amongſt the Ancient Chriſtians. What is ſaid of the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of his Life and Actions, is evidently taken from the Evangeliſts. For the Prophets have ſaid nothing, that comes near to that Clearneſs and Evidence, with which the Author of theſe Books ſpeaks of our Saviour. Theſe and the like Reaſons made our Author, and ſeveral other Learned Men ſince his Time, reject theſe Books: And he publiſhed only thoſe, that had been cited in the Writings of the Heathen Authors, and the Fathers of the Primitive Church. *Dempſter* ſays, that our Author died at *Aberdeen* in the Year 1588; and that he was *vir magnæ ac reconditæ eruditionis, memoria etiam in paucis rara.* 'A Man of great Learning and Knowledge, 'and endued with a ſingular good Memory. And indeed from his Book concerning the *Sibyls*, it appears, that he was a Man not only well ſeen in the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages, but likewiſe well vers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, and an excellent Poet.

His Death and Character.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *Carmina varia.*
II. *Epigrammata utrâque linguâ.*
III. Sibyllina *Oracula cum eorundem Fragmentis; ex* Platone, Ariſtotele, Plutarcho, Æliano, Pauſania, Juſtino *Philoſopho*, Diodoro Siculo, Clemente Alexandrino, Stephano, Euſtatio, Hermiâ, Suida, Procopio, Agathia, Iamblicho, *ſanctis item Patribus*, Latinis *Oratoribus*, *ac Poetis.* Par. 1578, *in* 8*vo.*

THE

THE

LIFE of *ADRIAN TURNBULL*, Profeſſor-Royal of the *Belles Lettres* and Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Paris*.

THE *Turnbulls* had their Firſt Riſe, in the Reign of King *Robert Bruce* (*a*), from a ſtrong young Man who turned off a wild Bull from the King; and for this Action was call'd *Turnbull*, as all his Deſcendants have been ever ſince, and now corruptly written and pronounced *Trumles*.

His Parentage, Birth & Education.

This Famed Author (whom the *French* call *Tournebeuf* (*b*), which is the ſame with our *Turnbull*) was Son to a Gentleman of the *Scots Garde des Corps* in *France*, as we are informed by *Dempſter* (*c*), who had it from *Turnbull*'s Son; and his Mother was a *French* Woman of a good Eſtate in *Normandy*. Upon which Account the *French* have always reckoned him as one of their Country-Men; as they have done *Barcklay*, the Author of the *Argenis*; the *Sieur de Cereſantes*; *More* Miniſter at *Charenton*, and a great many others, born of *Scots* Parents in their Country, whom I ſhall have Occaſion to mention, God willing, afterwards.

He is made Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres* at *Toulouſe*, and then at *Paris*.

He was born at the Caſtle of *Andely*, near to the City of *Rouen*, in *Normandy*, in the Year 1512 (*d*). About the Eleventh Year of his Age, he was ſent by his Parents to the Univerſity of *Paris*, where he learned the *Latin* and *Greek* to great Perfection: And having run through the whole Circle of the Sciences with a ſurpriſing Succeſs, he received his Degree of Maſter of Arts. Then, his Fame daily increaſing, he was, with great Applauſe, choſen Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres* at *Toulouſe*, where he taught for ſome Years. After this, upon the Death of *Tuſſan*, Profeſſor-Royal at *Paris*, he was inſtall'd in his Place. At which time, ſays *M. de Marolles*, Abbot *de Villeloin* (*e*), there were teaching the *Belles Lettres* at one time at *Paris*, in the ſame very College, Three of the Learn'deſt Men in the World, *viz. Turnbull*, who taught the Firſt Claſs; *Buchanan*, the Second; and *Muretus*, the Third. Shortly after this, he was made Profeſſor-Royal in Philoſophy, in which Station he died.

He is made Profeſſor-Royal in Philoſophy; and publiſhes a great many Writings.

This Author has written a great many learned and elaborate Works, of which we ſhall give the Reader a brief Account. The Firſt of theſe is his Commentaries upon a great many of *Cicero*'s Works. Now, tho' we have already ſpoken a little of *Cicero*; yet, for avoiding of Repetitions afterwards, we ſhall here give a ſhort View of his Life and Performances, upon which our Author and a great many of our Learned

(*a*) Vide Hect. Boet. in Rob. Bru. (*b*) Vide M. Vault. grand Dict: Hiſtor. Les Eloges des Hommes ſcavans par M. Teſſier, &c. (*c*) Demp. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. 18. pag. 623. (*d*) Thuan ad Ann. 1565. M. Teſſier ubi ſup. (*e*) Oratio Funeb. de Vita & Morte Adrian. Turnæb. per Leod. a Quercu.

Country Men that are to be mentioned, have wrote moſt elaborate Commentaries.

An Account of theſe Writings.

M. Tullius Cicero was born upon the 3d of *January* (*f*), in the 648 Year from the Building of the City of *Rome*; and 106 Years before the Birth of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour. His Father, who was a *Roman* Knight, was deſcended from *Titus Tatius* King of the *Sabines*; his Mother *Helvia* was likewiſe a Perſon of good Quality. His Parents, having diſcovered in him very good Natural Parts, and an early Dawning of thoſe excellent Qualities he afterwards was Maſter of, took an extraordinary Care of him. But, tho' at Five Years of Age, when other Children are not capable of applying themſelves to any thing, he diſcovered a great Inclination to Study; his Father thought good rather to keep him back a while, than preſs him to go on, at which *Cicero* ſeemed not a little diſſatisfied and impatient; eſpecially when he ſaw ſome of his Companions go to School to one *Plotius*, who was then in Vogue for a good Maſter. His Father and Friends judged the *Greek* Tongue the fitteſt thing they could ſet him to at firſt; and therefore made him begin with that. All the Learned Men, that came to *Rome* between the Time of the Conſulſhip of *M. Scevola* and the End of *Sylla*'s Dictatorſhip, were his Maſters; that's to ſay, That *Phædrus*, he commends ſo much in his Epiſtles; That *Philo*, the Academic and Scholar to *Clitomachus*, whom he mentions in his Book *De Natura Deorum*; *Mola*, the *Rhodian*, whoſe Eloquence was ſo much talked of, and under whom he ſtudied Two ſeveral times; and a certain *Sicilian* call'd *Diodotus*, a great Geometrician, of whom he learned Logic, and whom he ſpeaks of in his *Tuſculan* Queſtions. Thus, at the Age of Seventeen or Eighteen Years, he had run through the almoſt infinite Extent of all the Sciences, which might any way be uſeful to him in the Acquiſition of his paſſionately beloved Eloquence. Aſſoon as he had maſtered the *Greek* Tongue, he gave himſelf to Poetry, unto which, in his younger Years, he had a great Inclination. At Sixteen Years Old, he wrote the Poem of *Glaucus Pontius*, in Imitation of *Æſchylus*. And, the following Year, that he might the better underſtand Aſtronomy, he tranſlated the Poem of *Aratus*, of which ſome conſiderable Fragments are come to our Hands. He tranſlated likewiſe, not long after, *Plato*'s *Timæus* and his *Protagoras*; the Oeconomics of *Xenophon*, and divers other Pieces. *Plutarch* tells us, That, from his very tender Years, he diſcovered a Natural Capacity for all Sciences, ſuch as *Plato* requires in the Philoſopher, whom he deſcribes, who ought to be (ſays he) *a Lover of all kind of Knowledge*. It was in this Manner that *Cicero* paſt his Youth. In the Nineteenth Year of his Age, he was very aſſiduous in hearing the Orations of P. *Sulpicius* the Tribune, that, by the Imitation of ſo great a Pattern, he might perfect himſelf in the Practice of Eloquence. For he was the Man, who was the moſt eſteemed for Eloquence, at that time, in *Rome*; he himſelf not having begun to ſpeak in Public, till he had attained to the Age of Seven and Twenty, which he did in ſo remarkable a Manner, as made the whole Common-Wealth take Notice of him. All the moſt Famous Lawiers of the Court, fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refuſed to undertake *Roſcius*'s Caſe, who was accuſed of Paricide; when young *Cicero*, with a Confidence becoming his Age, undertook his Defence againſt the Dictator's Favourite.

The

(*f*) Vide M. Vaul: Dict. Hiſtor. M. Rapin's Compariſ: of Demoſth. and Cicero.

The good Success of which proved the first Step towards that Glory he afterwards arrived to: But it made too much Noise, not to be looked upon by *Sylla* with a jealous Eye; and by *Chrisogonus* with a Revengeful one. For this Freeman that ruled *Sylla*, who had made himself Master of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill Offices he did him, a Persecution which ended not but with the Dictator's Life. So being forced to leave *Rome*, to avoid the Storm that he saw ready to break upon him, he wisely spread a Rumor, That he did it only by the Advice of his Physicians, who told him, it would be much for his Health, that he would interrupt his Studies, and go travel for some time. He made use of this Pretence for his Retirement, lest he should seem to betray any Signs of Fear or Inconstancy, which might possibly have taken off the good Opinion all Men had conceived of him for his last Action. Thus he stayed for some time at *Athens*, where, finding himself free, and disengaged from all other Business, he acquainted himself with the different Opinions of the several Sects of Philosophers that were then famous. He also apply'd himself again to the Study of Eloquence, (that thereby he might recal into his Mind his former Notions of it,) under a certain *Syrian* Orator, named *Demetrius*. The eager Desire he then had of Knowledge, made him, in a while after, travel through all *Asia*, to be there instructed by the most famous Men in every Science; among whom was *Mencippus* the *Carian*, the best Orator of his time, *Eschylus* the *Cnidian*, *Dyonisius* the *Magnesian*, and some others. And as he made Eloquence his chiefest Aim, so many times would exercise himself therein, with these Men, upon proper Subjects; and by this means he made more Advantage, as to his Studies, of his Travels and Ramblings, than he could have gained at *Rome* in his Closet. About the same time he likewise met with *Apollonius Mola* in *Rhodes*, who had been formerly his Master in *Italy*. This Orator having heard him repeat some Piece in *Greek*, because he understood not *Latin* very well, spake that Sentence to him, which we find recorded by *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cicero*, Go Cicero, *said he, and ravish from us* Greeks, *the only Thing that was left for us to glory in, our Wit and Eloquence, that thou mayst transfer it to the* Romans, *who have already bereft us of that Reputation we once had in Arms.*

He learned in this Voyage Astronomy, the Old and New Philosophy; also the Heathen Divinity, and the Laws and Customs of *Athens*, and all the rest of *Greece*. *Diodotus* taught him the Mystery of *Pythagoras*, his Numbers, and his System of Music. He studied the *Stoicks* Morals, under *Philo* and *Clitomachus*. *Antiochus*, who, in Opposition to *Carneades*, stood up against the new Academics, instructed him in the Opinions of the Ancients: And *Zeno* and *Phædrus* taught him those of *Epicurus*, which he has so much blamed in his Writings. And at last, after the Death of *Sylla*, he returned to *Rome*, with a Mind enriched with all Sort of Knowledge, and a Body restored to a perfect Health, by the Exercise that he had used abroad in his Travels.

His Friend *Pomponius Atticus*, and the other learned Men of that Age, with whom he kept a continual Correspondence, were no little Helps to him in the Acquisition of all these Sciences, which it is hard to conceive, how one Man should understand, especially in such Perfection as he did every one of them: But as Eloquence was that for which he

had moſt Inclination, ſo did he more carefully ſet himſelf to it than any of the reſt; and neglected not the leaſt Thing which might any way further him in it. And above all he took a ſpecial Care to form the Modulation of his Voice, the Air of his Face, his Actions and Geſtures, (which *Quintilian* calls the Eloquence of the Body,) as ſhould moſt become him: And to that End he frequently conſulted the famous Actor, *Roſcius*, that from him he might learn that admirable Part of Pronunciation, which many times puts a Value upon the moſt ordinary Sorts of Trifles; and it was this *Roſcius*, as he tells us, who often put him in mind, *That the moſt eſſential Part of this Art, conſiſted in knowing how to find what becomes us: But what that is*, he ſays, *can neither be expreſt nor taught.* Yet he does ſomething towards the explaining what it is, in his *Book* of *Offices*; where talking of the Decency that ought to be obſerved in all Duties, which is the Foundation of it, he ſays, *It is nothing but a Suitableneſs of our Words and Actions to the Circumſtances of Time and Place, Occaſions and Perſons.*

Not long after *Cicero*'s Return to *Rome*, he obtained the Government of *Sicily*, with the Dignity of Queſtor, in the Year 679 from the building of the City, 75 Years before the Incarnation of our Saviour. When he was made Edile, he cauſed *Verres* be condemned for the Concuſſions that he had made in that Province. Whilſt he was Pretor of *Sicily*, he gave a ſingular Inſtance of his Integrity and good Conduct, by refuſing all the Preſents that were ſent him by the *Sicilians*, becauſe he knew well that Preſents, from whomſoever they are ſent, do make the Fidelity of a Publick Perſon ſuſpected, who ought never to think of meaſuring his Duty by his Intereſt. Neither can any great Perſons, whoſe Life and Actions are always expoſed to the Publick View, be too ſcrupulous in their Conduct, or too curious in what concerns their Duty, if they have a mind to preſerve their Reputation.

In the Year 691, from the building of the City, and 63 before the Incarnation, he was made Conſul with *C. Antonius Nepos*. And it was during the time of his Conſulſhip that he diſcovered and defeat the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*. This *L. Sergius Catiline* was a *Roman* of great Quality, but of a very dangerous Spirit, by reaſon of his being endowed with ſome very great Virtues, but more and greater Vices. He had large Thoughts and Deſigns: He was daring, of a great Spirit, of a ſtrong and vigorous Conſtitution of Body: He was temperate, watchful, always in Action, and never caſt down by his ill Fortune; cloſe and diſſembling, but openly affecting to ſeem free and candid; ſubtle without ſeeming ſo, and doing nothing without Deſign: He was liberal of what he had, even to Prodigality; and inſatiably coveting all that he had not: He had acquired to himſelf an Eloquence fit to pleaſe Malecontents and Mutineers, and to maintain and put the beſt Face upon wicked Practices. He likewiſe knew how by engaging his Perſon, to promote his Enterprizes, which he might have purſued farther had he had Conduct enough to overcome and weary out the Obſtinacy of his ill Fortune. For never was any Body more brave or daring, and yet more unfortunate then *Catiline*. This Man having engaged all the moſt conſiderable, and hot-headed Youth of *Rome* upon his Side, ſtarted up againſt *Cicero*, when *Pompey* was buſied in a long and troubleſome War, againſt the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*: So that *Rome* was then unprovided of

of Forces, and exhauſted of her Wealth, by the Luxury that then reign'd; and moſt People's Minds and Affections, whom *Sylla*'s Dictatorſhip had lately ſhaken and diſturbed, were yet unſettled. In ſo croſs a Conjuncture of Affairs, this ſeditious Fellow having found all *Tuſcany*, and a great Part of *Lombardy* eaſily inclinable to Revolt, appear'd a Candidate for the Conſulſhip. And this Demand of his was backed by the Credit and Name of *Cæſar*, who had been engaged in this Deſign the more to authoriſe them. They were likewiſe maintained by many other Perſons of Quality, who declared themſelves more openly than *Cæſar*; for he ſo well knew how to behave himſelf in theſe Kind of Buſineſſes, which for the moſt Part are very hazardous, that he never engaged but when he ſaw ſo many already declared, as took away all Poſſibility of Danger to himſelf, whatever happened: So that though he had a Share in moſt of the Plots that were laid againſt the State in his Time; yet he choſe his Side ſo wiſely, that he never was expoſed to Danger in any. And this made *Cato* ſay of him, *That of all thoſe who had Plotted againſt the State*, Cæſar *was the only Man that came ſober to deſtroy the Commonwealth.* *Cicero* had nothing to oppoſe this great Conſpiracy with, but the Power of his Eloquence; and yet he brought it to nought without any other Aſſiſtance, but that of his Reſolution. For having himſelf made *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, the Two chief Conſpirators that were to be found, be carried to Priſon, and beheaded in his Sight; the People was ſo Wonder-ſtruck at ſo bold an Action, that, by the Advice of *Catulus*, who then was Speaker of the Senate, and of *Cato*, they decreed him ſuch Publick Honours as before had no Precedent. And it was on this Occaſion that *Cicero*, by his unfeigned Zeal for his Country and unſhaken Courage, deſerved that glorious Name of *his Country's Father*; which was ſince the proudeſt Title wherewith the Vanity of all the Emperors ſuffered themſelves to be flatter'd by the baſe Fawnings of the ſlaviſh People. After ſo brave an Action upheld by the Strength of his Eloquence, the whole Party was ſo diſcouraged, that *Catiline* was fain to fly from *Rome*, the People beginning now to be inflamed with Indignation againſt him. But as this raiſed him to great Honour, ſo it likewiſe expoſed him to Envy.

Clodius was the Firſt who could not endure the Splendor of his Virtue, and made his great Reputation an Inſtrument wherewith to deſtroy him. For, ſeeing him ſo zealous for the Publick Good, he looked upon him as a main Obſtacle to his wicked Deſigns. To which purpoſe, as ſoon as he was Tribune, he made uſe of all the Authority and Power of his Office to get him baniſhed *Rome*: Which was accordingly done in the 696 Year, from the building of the City, and 58 before the Incarnation. But the People were ſo ſenſible of their Ingratitude to this great Man; that the very next Year he was recalled. And *Piſo* and *Gabinius*, who had concurred with *Clodius*, rendered their Conſulſhip odious thereby: It cannot be deny'd but that *Cicero* laid this Diſgrace of his a little too much to Heart; but it was not ſo much to ſee himſelf laid aſide from all publick Employments, as that he was forſaken by his beſt Friends; and chiefly by *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, whom he moſt eſteemed, and who had always pretended a Reſpect for him. And that ſo lively Deſcription of his Grief, which he made on this Occaſion, was thought to be rather an Effect of his Tenderneſs of Affection, than any Reſentment

proceeding from Ambition. After this, in the Year 702 from the building of the City, and 52 before the Incarnation, *Cicero* was made Proconſul in *Cilicia*, during which time the Succeſs of his Arms in his Warlike Expeditions there, and on the Banks of *Iſſus*, and near the Mountain *Amanus*, againſt the *Parthians*, ſufficiently declare that he had more Courage than moſt learned Men have imagined; and that he was much more valiant than the *Grecian* Orator, *Demoſthenes*, (with whom he is uſually compared) who being once upon Service in a ſmall Party at *Cheroneſus*, againſt the Forces of King *Philip*, and having on the firſt Onſet ſeen the firſt Ranks fall, he was ſo terrify'd, that he betook himſelf to Flight amongſt the foremoſt, and was ſo diſtracted with Fear, that he miſtook a Buſh, which caught hold of his Coat, for an Enemy; and in that Taking cry'd out for Quarter.

Cicero, after his Return from *Cilicia*, in the Civil War that happened betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, joyned with *Pompey*'s Party. And in the doing of this it is plain, that it was only becauſe he thought *Pompey* was acting for the good of his Country; for it lay in his Power to have made his Advantage of the Proffers *Cæſar* made him, by *Trebatius*, if he would have accepted of a Command in his Army. After the Death of *Pompey*, in the Year from the building of the City 706, *Cicero* was reconcil'd apparently with *Cæſar*; I ſay apparently, for, notwithſtanding of the mighty Praiſes that he beſtows on *Cæſar* in all his Publick Orations, yet we find that he abuſes him intolerably in his private Letters, which was unworthy of ſo great a Man. Yet *Cicero*'s Admirers ſay, in his Defence, for this, that a Man may lawfully ſome time praiſe thoſe that do not merit it, that they might thereby be excited to deſerving Actions. *Secondly*, They ſay that it is true, that *Cicero* has ſpoken very differently of *Cæſar*, in whom he obſerved both good and bad Qualities, neither did he ever miſtake the one for the other, and therefore he commended the good, and blamed the bad: But it was his Prudence that made him find Fault in ſecret with what deſerved it, and commend in publick what was praiſe-worthy. And laſtly, they ſay, That if it be conſidered, that it was only to ſave the Lives of his Friends, *Marcellus* and *Ligarius*, that he did ſo freely beſtow his Praiſes upon *Cæſar*, that alone will ſufficiently vindicate him; for what will not one do to ſave a Friend? This laſt, *viz.* Q. *Ligarius*, *Cæſar* was firmly reſolved to have his Life, becauſe he had born Arms againſt him, notwithſtanding that he was under great Obligations to do the contrary. *Cæſar*'s Friends diſſwaded him from hearing *Cicero*; but he not having heard him of a long time, by Reaſon of his long Abſence and Buſineſs of the War newly ended, he told them, *What Matter is it? Let us hear him, but yet it ſhall be neither here nor there for that, for I have already taken my Reſolution.* But our Orator ſpoke ſo ſtoutly for the Defence of his Friend, that he affected *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding of his Reſolution to the contrary: And *Cicero* having mention'd ſomething that happened in the Battle of *Pharſalia*, *Cæſar* found himſelf all over ſo ſtrangely moved, that, as if he had been inchanted, he let fall ſome Papers that he had in his Hand; ſo that he could not reſiſt that ſubtile Artifice he uſed, in commending him, but freed *Ligarius*, notwithſtanding of his former Reſolution againſt him. But that which vindicates *Cicero* moſt, from any bad Deſign againſt *Cæſar*, is that, tho' he was in intimate Friendſhip

ship with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, yet they would not acquaint him of their Design of Murdering him; not out of any Suspicion that they had of his Fidelity, but because they judged that his good Nature would never have consented to so violent a Resolution.

After the Death of *Cæsar*, *Cicero* favour'd *Augustus*, then call'd *Octavius Cæsar*, on purpose to ruin *Mark Antony*: But the Elogium, which he made of him and his Virtue, put him so far into the People's Favour, that it immediately raised him higher then ever *Antony* had been. So that in this he did even more than he intended himself. And that Advantage over *Pompey*, which cost *Cæsar* so much Blood in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, was not so great as that which *Cicero*'s Eloquence alone gave *Octavius* over *Antony*. For this young Man had so much Discretion, as to make use of his Nomination of him for Consul, and of the publick Employments he put him upon, as so many Steps by which he ascended the Throne of the Empire, and afforded Occasion to those fatal Conferences, between *Lepidus*, *Octavius* and *Mark Antony*, at *Modena*; where soon after was contrived that bloody Project of the Triumvirate, which cost the Senate more Blood than had been spilt on the Plains of *Pharsalia*. And the Head of *Cicero* was the Price of the Reconciliation of *Octavius* to *Mark Antony*, whilst he, minding nothing but his own Greatness, forgot both his Benefactor and the Instructions that he had given him, and signed an Order for his Death; knowing very well that his Virtue would never yield to any usurping Tyranny. So that this great Man was at length assassinated by one *Popilius*, (whom he had Defended against those who had accused him of Paricide,) in the 64 Year of his Age, upon the 7th of *December*, in the Year 711, from the building of the City, and 43 before the Incarnation.

The Works of this famous Orator, on which our Author has written Commentaries, are as follows. The First is upon his Oration for *C. Rabirius*, accused of Lese-Majesty. The Second upon his Three Orations concerning the *Agrarian* Law, against *P. Servilius Rullus*, Tribune of the People. The Third is a Vindication of these Orations against *Peter Ramus*. The Fourth is upon his First Book of *Academic Questions*. The Fifth upon his Three Books of the *Laws*. The Sixth upon that Part of his Second Book of *Oratory*, wherein he treats of Jests. The Seventh is upon his Book of *Fate*. The Eighth is upon a Dispute of *Cicero*'s, in his Book of *Fate*, against one who would not only have himself a *Logician*, but a *Dialectician*. After this is our Author's Apology for himself, against *Audomarus Talæus*. The next Author whom *Turnbull* comments upon is, *M. Varro*'s Book concerning the *Latin* Tongue. This *Marcus Terentius Varro*, was one of the learnedst Men amongst the *Romans*. He was born in the Year 638, from the building of the City, and 116 before the Incarnation. He was a fam'd Grammarian, Historian, and Philosopher. And 'tis said that he wrote near to 500 Volumes. He died in the 726 Year, from the building of the City, and 28 before the Incarnation. This Book of his concerning the *Latin* Tongue, upon which our Author writes a most learned Commentary, is Dedicated to *Cicero*. The next Author that he Comments upon is *Horace*. *Quintus Flaccus Horatius*, was born at *Venusium*, a small Town upon the Frontiers of *Lucania* and *Apulia*. His Father, as he tells us himself, was the Son of a Freedman. He was

born, under the Conſulſhip of *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, 63 Years before the Incarnation. His Father took ſpecial Care of his Education, having ſent him to *Rome*: For altho', ſays he, 'He was 'not Rich, yet he would not follow the Example of thoſe of his 'Condition, to put his Son to an Uſurer to learn him to enrich him-'ſelf; but on the contrary he took Care to ſend him to *Rome*, that he 'might be brought up in the ſame Sciences, that the moſt conſiderable 'Senators and Knights uſed to have their Children taught in.

Docendum
Artes, quas doceat quivis
Eques atque Senator
Semet prognatos.

And never was there a Child that gave greater Teſtimonies, of Gratitude to Parents for good Education, than he did. Thus, ſays he, 'Were I to be born again, and that Nature would leave to my Choice 'what Parents I would be deſcended of, propoſing to me for this 'the Tables of the *Roman* Faſts of Heroes honoured with Triumphs 'of Dictators and Conſuls.

Atque alios legere ad faſtos, quoſcunque parentes.
Optaret ſibi quiſque.

'Yet I would chooſe no other Father but my own, preferring an 'honeſt Man, altho' a Freedman, or the Son of a Freedman, to all 'theſe vain Chimera's of Nobility that uſe to amuſe the People ſo 'much.

Nil me pœniteat ſanum Patris hujus.

And again he ſays, 'That although he could not brag of a Noble Pa-'rentage, yet he could of a good Education, by which he led an un-'blameable Life.

Non Patre præclaro, ſed vitâ & pectore puro.

After that he had finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies at *Rome*, we find that he engaged himſelf in the Army, and that *Brutus* beſtowed on him the Command of a Legion.

Quod mihi pareret Legio Romana *Tribuno.*

But we find that he had not that Courage which is ſo neceſſary for 'a Soldier. For he tells us, how he hardly eſcaped with his Life, in that 'Battle which was fought upon the Plains of *Theſſaly*.

Sed me per hoſtes Mercurius *celer*
Denſo paventem ſuſtulit aere.

'And that he was ſtruck with ſuch a Pannick Fear, that he forgot his 'Buckler, which was the greateſt Diſgrace a *Roman* Souldier could be 'guilty of.

Et celerem fugam
Senſi, relictâ non bene parmulâ.

'After this Battle, he ſays, That his Wings were ſo clipt, being deprived 'of his paternal Inheritance, and all that he had in the World, that he 'was forc'd out of meer Poverty to make Verſes.

Unde ſimul primum me dimiſere Philippi,
Deciſis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris & fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut verſus facerem.

And

And by his inimitable Skill in Poetry he became acquainted with *Auguſtus*, and with his Favourite *Mecænas*, by whoſe Liberality he was not only relieved from his Straits, but likewiſe furniſhed with as much as made him lead that harmleſs, quiet and agreeable Life, which he deſcribes ſo beautifully in his Works; and for which the Name of *Mecænas* ever ſince has been, and ever will be, grateful to the Ears of the Learned.

Euſebius in his Chronicle tells us, That this famous Poet died in the 34th Year of the Emperor *Auguſtus*, in the 57th Year of his Age, under the Conſulſhip of *C. Marcius Cenſorius*, and *Caius Aſinius Gallus*, in the 747 from the building of the City, and 7 Years before the Incarnation. Our Author, as I have ſaid, has written Commentaries upon all the obſcure Places of this Poet; whom every one, that has the leaſt Tincture of Learning, knows to have been one of the moſt famous among the *Romans*.

Our Author has likewiſe written a moſt learned Commentary upon the Preface to *Pliny*'s Natural Hiſtory. This *Caius Plinius Secundus* was born at *Verona*, and lived in the Firſt Century, under the Emperors *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, who both of them honoured him with their Eſteem, and imploy'd him in ſeveral Negociations. For he was a conſiderable Officer in the Army, was aggregate into the College of Augures, ſent Intendant into *Spain*. And yet, notwithſtanding of all theſe Imployments, he compoſed a great Number of Books, amongſt which the moſt Famous was that of his Natural Hiſtory, which is divided into XXXVI Books, and without Doubt, is one of the moſt valuable Works that we have of the Ancients, he having ſpared no Expences, Time, Labour or Pains in collecting and digeſting all that the Ancients had diſcovered before him, and that he had diſcovered himſelf concerning Nature: Yea, ſo eager was he in the Purſuit of this, that it coſt him his Life. For there happening a moſt violent Eruption of Mount *Veſuvius*, which not only deſtroy'd a great many Cities, and laid deſolate the whole Country about, but likewiſe, as it is reported, the Aſhes were carried into *Africa*, *Syria* and *Egypt*; *Pliny* hearing of this terrible Eruption, would needs go himſelf to that Mountain to examine what might be the Cauſe of it. Where, when he was upon his Enquiry, the Mountain happened to break forth; and he miſerably periſhed in the Flame, in the 79th Year from the Birth of our Saviour.

The next Author amongſt the Ancients, that *Turnbull* gives us, is *Ariſtotle*. This famous Philoſopher was born at *Stagira*, a little City in *Macedonia*, in the xcix *Olympiade*, about 384 Years before the Incarnation. His Father *Nicomachus*, Phyſician to *Amyntas*, King of *Macedon*, was deſcended of *Æſculapius*. He loſt both his Father and Mother in his Childhood. *Proxena*, a Friend of his Father took Care of his Education; but he, being a Youth of a riotous Temper, gave himſelf up intirely to his Pleaſures: And, having ſquander'd away the moſt of his Patrimony, he went to the Army. But, finding that Imployment no ways ſuitable to his Inclinations, he left the Army and went to *Delphi*, to conſult the Oracle about the Imployment or Trade of Life he ſhould betake himſelf to. The Oracle's Anſwer was, That he ſhould go to *Athens* and ſtudy Philoſophy there. At this time he was about the 18th Year of his Age. In Obedience to the Oracle he went to *Athens* and ſtudied Philoſophy, under *Plato*, with incredible Succeſs, for 15

Years. During which Time, as 'tis ſaid, he wrought ſo many Hours each Day for his Suſtenance, in an Apothecary's Shop; and miſpent ſo little of his Time, that, all the Night over, he had, in his Hand a Globe of Braſs, which, when he was overcome with Sleep, fell into a Baſon, and with the Noiſe awak'd him again. But, whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, That *Ariſtotle*, about this time, begun to differ from his Maſter in his Sentiments of Philoſophy, for which *Plato* treated him as an ungrate Rebel to him. After the Death of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle* retired from *Athens* to *Atarna*, a ſmall City in *Myſia*, towards the *Heleſpont*; where *Hermias*, his old Acquaintance and Friend, was then reigning. And this Prince had ſuch a Reſpect for him, that he gave him his Siſter, *Pitbias*, in Marriage. And *Ariſtotle* was ſo tranſported with Love for this Lady, that he offer'd Sacrifice to her as to a Goddeſs after her Death. Three Years after *Hermias* being taken Priſoner by *Memnon*, General of the King of *Perſia*'s Army, *Ariſtotle* retired to *Mitylene*, the Capital City of *Lesbos*, where he remained for ſome time. *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, being informed of the great Reputation that *Ariſtotle* was in for his Knowledge and Learning, ſent to invite him to teach his Son, *Alexander* the Great, who was then about the 14th Year of his Age. *Ariſtotle* willingly embrac'd this honourable Employment; and in the Eight Years that he was with that Prince, taught him *Eloquence*, *Phyſic*, *Morality*, *Politicks*, and a certain Sort of *Philoſophy*, which, if we may believe *Plutarch*, he taught to none other. And King *Philip* was ſo well pleas'd with his Son's Proficience under him, that he cauſed erect Statues in Honour of his Maſter, and rebuilt the City of *Stagira*, which had been ruined by the Wars But whilſt *Ariſtotle* was in this Heighth of Favour with his Prince and Pupil, he fell into Diſgrace by eſpouſing the Intereſt of his Relation and Friend *Caliſthenes*, whom *Alexander* cauſed to be expoſed to the Lions, for having heard, as he ſaid, ſome Propoſals of *Hermolaus* for taking away his Life. After this *Ariſtotle* retir'd to *Athens*, where he erected his new School; and the Magiſtrates received him very favourably, and gave him the *Lycæum* to teach in; upon which an incredible Multitude of Diſciples reſorted to him. And here it was that he compoſed all his Books, which, ſome ſay, amounted to 400 Volumes. And for his Sixty Books of Animals he received from his Pupil, *Alexander* the Great, Eight Hundred Talents, which make Four Hundred, Fourſcore Thouſand Crowns of our Money; to the Advancement of which Work he had greatly contributed himſelf, by ordering vaſt Numbers of Men for bringing of all Sorts of Animals that they could kill, either by Sea or Land, to *Ariſtotle*. At length this great Man was accuſed of Impiety againſt the Gods, by a Prieſt of *Ceres* call'd *Eurymidon*. And, altho' he wrote a long Apology for himſelf, yet minding how that the *Athenians* had treated *Socrates*, he retir'd to *Calcis*, a City in *Eubœa*, where he Died, but after what Manner is not certainly known. For ſome ſay, That he poyſoned himſelf, for Fear of being ſeized upon by his Enemies: Others ſay, That he drowned himſelf in *Euripus*, becauſe he could not comprehend the Cauſe of its Ebbing and Flowing; and that, as he threw himſelf into it, he ſaid, *Becauſe I cannot comprehend thee, thou ſhalt comprehend me.* And others again ſay, that he died a Natural Death; and that, as he was expiring he cry'd out, *O Being of Beings, have Mercy on me.* And laſtly, others have

have affirmed that he died of a Colic, without any Acknowledgment of a ſupreme Power. But, without inſiſting upon the Reaſons given for each of theſe Conjectures, 'tis generally agreed, that he Died in the 63d Year of his Age, and the 3d Year of cxiv Olympiad, about 322 Years before the Incarnation, and 2 Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great. The People of *Stagira* raiſed his Body, and erected Altars to his Memory. He had by *Pithias* one Daughter, who was married to a Nephew of *Demaratus* King of *Lacedemon*. And by another Marriage he had a Son call'd *Nicomachus*, whom he loved very tenderly; and to whom he addreſſed his Books of Morality. As for himſelf, we are told by the Ancients, That he liſped, had little Eyes, ſlender Legs, dreſſed ſplendidly, and delighted to wear Rings. As for the Works that he has written in Philoſophy, we have given a ſufficient Account of them, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of *Michael Scot*. And it is only neceſſary to obſerve here, That our Author has done, out of the *Greek* into *Latin*, his Book *Of thoſe Things that are known by the Ear*.

The next to *Ariſtotle* is his famous Diſciple *Theophraſtus*. This Philoſopher was born at *Ereſſa*, now call'd *Cidonia*, a City of *Lesbos*. His Father *Melante* put him firſt to the School of *Leucippus*, then to that of *Plato*; and afterwards he himſelf became a Follower of *Ariſtotle*, who admired him ſo much for his Eloquence, That he changed his real Name, which was *Tirtame*, into that of *Theophraſtus*, becauſe of his Divine Eloquence. And upon the Death of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, he ſucceeded him in his School, and wrote a great many learned and elaborate Works; and amongſt theſe our Author has tranſlated from the *Greek* into *Latin* with Annotations, his Book concerning *Savours*; his Book of *Stones*; his Book concerning *Fire*; and his Book concerning the *Winds*.

The next to *Theophraſtus* is *Plutarch*, of whom we have already given an Account. Our Author has Tranſlated of this Philoſopher's Works, out of *Greek* into *Latin*, his Book of *Fate*; his Book called the *Banquet of the Seven wiſe Men*; his Book concerning the *Firſt Principle of Cold*; his Book of the *Procreation of the Soul*, according to *Plato*'s Opinion, in his Book called *Timæus*, his Book *why Oracles ceaſe to give Anſwers*; with Annotations; and his Book of *Rivers and Mountains*, *and ſuch Things that are found in them*.

The next Author is *Philo* the *Jew*. This learned Philoſopher was born, at *Alexandria*, of *Jewiſh* Parents, and brought up in their Religion. Having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies, he applied himſelf to the reading of *Plato*'s Works; in which he became ſo great a Proficient, that he was commonly called the Second *Plato*.

The *Jews* of *Alexandria* ſent him to *Rome*, as their Ambaſſador, to the Emperor *Caligula*, about the 40th Year from the Birth of our Lord and Saviour. We have a Relation of this Embaſſy written by himſelf, under the Title of, *A Diſcourſe againſt* Flaccus; wherein he gives an Account of the harſh Treatment he met with from that Emperor. He was ſent again to *Rome*, under the Emperor *Claudius*: And at this Time, as it was ſaid, he became acquainted with St. *Peter*, and contracted a Friendſhip with him; and upon this Account 'tis thought that he ſpeaks ſo advantagiouſly of the Diſciples of St. *Mark* in *Alexandria*. And *Photius* ſays, but upon what Authority I know not, that he turned Chriſtian.

Our Author has tranſlated, from the *Greek* into *Latin*, *Philo*'s Three Books of the Life of *Moſes*.

The next to *Philo* is *Demetrius Pepagomenes*. This famous Man was Phyſician to the Emperor *Paleologus*, and lived about the Year 1261. He wrote, by the Command of the Emperor, *a Treatiſe concerning the Gout*; which our Author has tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin*.

The next Author to *Demetrius* is *Arrian*, Author of *a Deſcription of the Eaſtern Coaſts of* Afric *and* Aſia, which he addreſſes to the Emperor *Trajan*. He lived, about 100 Years after our Saviour, cotemporary with *Pliny*, who writes ſeveral Letters to him, and praiſes him greatly for his Learning and Eloquence. Our Author has tranſlated into *Latin* this Treatiſe.

The next to *Arrian* is *Oppian*, or *Oppianus*. This Poet and Grammarian was born at *Anazarabe*, a City in *Cilicia*, and Flouriſhed in the Second Century. He compoſed a Poem upon *Hunting*; and another upon *Fiſhing*, which he Dedicated to the Emperor *Antoninus Caracalla*, and not to *Antoninus* the Philoſopher, as *Euſebius* believes. Which the Emperor was ſo well pleaſed with, that he gave him a Piece of Gold for every Line; from whence they were call'd, *the Golden Verſes of* Oppian. Beſides theſe he compoſed ſeveral others that are loſt. He died in the 30th Year of his Age, in his own Country: And the Inhabitants of *Anazarabe* erected a Statue in their City, to teſtifie the Honour and Reſpect that they bore to his Memory; and they cauſed an Epitaph to be put upon his Tomb, bearing, *That God had taken him from the Earth, becauſe he excelled every Thing that was upon the Earth.* Our Author has given us the Tranſlation of *Oppian*'s Four Books, concerning *Hunting* in *Latin* Verſe, ſo literally, that every Word of the *Latin* anſwers to One in the *Greek*.

Laſtly, Our Author has Tranſlated *Cicero*'s Paradoxes out of *Latin* into *Greek*.

Having thus given a brief Account of all the ancient Authors and their Writings, that this famous Author has Tranſlated and Commented upon, I ſhall now give an Account of thoſe of his own Compoſition. The firſt of which are his Books of *Method*, *Heat and Wine*: His *Oration* upon *Tuſan*, Profeſſor-Royal at *Paris*, to whom he Succeeded: His *Preface* to *Thucydides*: His *Preface* to *Dyoniſius Alexandrinus*; His *Oration* when he was admitted a Profeſſor of Philoſophy: His *Preface* to *Plato*'s *Timæus*: His *Preface* to *Phædo*: His *Epiſtle to the King of France*: A *Greek Epiſtle*, prefix'd to the Works of *Æſchylus*: A *Greek Epiſtle* prefix'd to the Works of *Sophocles*: A *Greek Epiſtle* prefix'd to the Works of *Philo*: A *Greek Epiſtle* prefix'd to the Works of *Syneſius*: A *Greek Epiſtle* prefix'd to St. *Clement*'s Book, concerning the Acts of St. *Peter*: And a *Greek Epiſtle* to *Joachimus Camerarius*: His *Poems upon ſeveral Occaſions*: And laſtly, his admirable Works, call'd his *Adverſaria*, or *Collections*, divided into XXX Books, in a *Folio*, in which he corrects and explains ſo many difficult Paſſages, of all the ancient *Greeks* and *Latin* Authors, with ſuch Accuracy and profound Learning, that it will be as laſting a Work as any Thing in Literature can be.

His Death and Character.

At length this Famous Author, by his too great Application to his Studies, fell into a Decay; of which he died in the Year 1565, in the 53d Year of his Age, leaving behind him Four Children, and his Wife

big

big with a Fifth. The whole Republic of Letters was ſo ſtruck with Sorrow and Grief, at his Death, that, in a very few Days, there were no leſs than Six Hundred Epitaphs and Elegies publiſhed upon him by the Learneſt Men in *Europe*: So that it were an endleſs Labour to give Account of all the Encomiums that were made upon that Occaſion. I ſhall give a few of them, by which the Reader may judge of the reſt.

Thuan in his Hiſtory, gives our Author this Character. 'A*drian Turnbull*, 'a Native of *Andely*, upon the *Seine* of a noble Family, a Perſon full of all 'Virtues, and Learned in all the Sciences, was the greateſt Ornament of our 'Age. He was firſt Profeſſor Royal of the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages, and 'afterwards in Philoſophy. He left behind him a great many rare 'Monuments of his Erudition; and after he had printed his Book in-'tituled *Adverſaria*, (worthy, without doubt, of Immortality,) he died, 'as it were, ſuddenly, having only attained to the 53d Year of his Age, 'to the great Regret of all the Orders in the State. The ſame Day that 'he died, his Body, as he had order'd by his Teſtament, was carried '(without any Ceremony accompanied with a few Friends,) to the 'Cemetery of the Scholars, which he had made Choice of for his 'Burial-Place; where he ſaid, That *James Wood* or *Silvius*, a Great and 'Learned Phyſician, deſired to be buried ſome Years before. As all 'good and learned People had loved him during his Life; ſo they diſ-'puted after his Death, with an incredible Emulation, who ſhould extol 'him moſt. In effect, *John Durat*, *Denis Lambin* Profeſſor Royal, *Pe-'ter* de *Ronſard*, *German Vaillant* Lord of *Piedmont*, *John Safferat*, *Al-'fonce* de *Elbene*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Alby*; and Laſtly, *Ni-'colas Vergerio*, Son to *Angelo* de *Candia*, who made thoſe Noble *Greek* 'Characters that are ſo much admired, and beautiful to the Sight. On 'the other Hand, *John Mercier*, *Luke Fruter*, and a great many others, 'made Epitaphs in Verſe upon him. People, at that time, being ex-'tremely divided in their Opinions about Religion, each Party preten-'ded, That he died of their Religion: And thoſe who were of the old 'Religion, and thoſe who were of the new, believed, that they ſtreng-'thened their Party mightily, by ſaying that he died in their Perſwa-'ſion.

M. Teſſier (*g*) ſays, 'That the Mildneſs of his Countenance teſtified 'that of his Soul; his Actions were innocent; his Manners irreprehen-'ſible; and all theſe Virtues were accompanied with an Exemplary 'Modeſty. For which Reaſon *Henry Stephen* ſaid of him,

Hic placuit cunctis quod ſibi non placuit.

'There is nothing ſo polite, ſo pure, ſo elegant, ſo lively and ſo ele-'vated as his Poems. And we are told, That he had ſuch a Love for 'Learning, that he was conſtantly amongſt his Books; this being the 'Pleaſure of his Life, in which he had ſpent the moſt of his Time: In-'ſomuch, that upon the very Day of his Marriage, he ſtudied for ſeve-'ral Hours. *Scaliger*, (*b*) ſays, That he was the Greateſt and Learneſt 'Man of his Age. And although he looked upon his *Adverſaria*, as an *Embrio* brought to the World before its due Time, yet he ſaid, That he knew the Features of *Turnbull*'s Spirit in it. And he could not en-dure the Oſtentation of *Peter Victorius*, and ſome other *Italians*; yea, and

(*g*) Eloge des Hom. Scavans. (*b*) Prim. Scaligriana & Poſt. Scaliger.

'even of *Muretus*, who, says he, in their *various Readings*, often make a 'Chapter upon some trifling Conjecture. And, says he, 'They despise 'Turnbull, who has more valuable Things in One single Chapter of his, 'than they in a whole Book. *Lipsius* says, (*i*) 'That he was the greatest 'Man that then lived under the Heavens; and that as the Sun enlight-'ned all the Earth by his Rays, so did he enlighten all *France* by his 'Learning. But those who are desirous to know, what all the learned Men of his Age have said of him, will be abundantly stisfy'd by *M. Balliette*; and in the Edition of his Works in *Folio* at *Strasbourg*. So, I shall conclude with an Inscription and Epitaph, taken out of the many that were made upon him.

ADR.
TURNEBO.
VIRO OMN.
VIRT. OMN. Q.
LIT. GEN. INSTRV-
CTISS. ATQVE OR-
NATISS. PHILOSOPHIÆ
IN SCHOLA PARIS. PRO-
FESS. REGIO CLARISS. IO.
AVRATVS, DION. LAMB INVS
EIVS. COLL. P. RONSARDVS
GERM. VAL. PIMPVNTIVS,
IO. PASSERATIVS ALPH.
ELBENEVS, NIC. VERGE-
TIVS. HVNC E. GR. LAT.
GALL. CARM. TVMVL.
MÆR. EXCITARVNT
XIIII KAL. QVINCT.
ANNO. ACHR. N.
CIↃ. IↃ. LXV.
VIXIT ANN.
L. III.

Me genuit felix Normania, Gallia *fovit*,
Parisis *docui: Fama per astra volat.*
Ut vixi, ut morior, sectans vestigia patrum,
Hic jaceo: Tu dic, molliter ossa cubent.

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. ORationem *M. Tullii Ciceronis* pro *C. Rabirio*, perduellionis reo.
II. *M. Tullii Ciceronis.* Orationes tres, de lege Agraria, contra *Servilium Rullum*, Tribunum plebis.

III. Ani-

(*i*) Lib. 5. Epist. 17. Tom. 2. P. 2. (*k*) Jugemens des Scv:

III. Animadverſiones in *Rullianos Petri Rami* Commentarias, *Leodegar* a *Quercu* nomine editas.
IV. *M. Tullii Ciceronis* Academicarum Quæſtonum Librum primum.
V. *M. Tullii Ciceronis* libros tres de legibus, cum ſubjunctâ Apologiâ ad librum primum.
VI. Locum *Ciceronianum*, in quo tractantur joci ex lib. 2. de Oratore.
VII. Librum *Ciceronis* de Fato.
VIII. Diſputationem Lib. *Ciceron.* de Fato, adverſus quendam qui non ſolum *Logicus* eſſe, verum etiam *Dialecticus* haberi vult, ſubjunctam.
IX. Reſponſio ad *Audomari Talæi*; admonitionem, *Leodegar Quercu* nomine edita, *Anno* 1556.
X. Libros *M. Varronis* de Linguâ *Latinâ*.
XI. Librum primum Carm. *Horatii*; cui *Adriani Turnebi* Commentarius in locos obſcuriores *Horatij*; item *M. Antonii*, *Mureti* & *Aldi Manutij* in eundem *Horatium* Annotata ſunt addita.
XII. Præfationem *C. Plinii* Hiſtoriæ Naturalis.
XIII. *Ariſtotelis* Libellus de his quæ Auditu percipiuntur.
XIV. *Theophraſti* Libellus de Odoribus, cui additæ Annotationes ſunt.
XV. *Theophraſti* Libellus de Lapidibus.
XVI. *Theophraſti* Libellus de Igne, cui annotatiunculæ ſunt additæ.
XVII. *Theophraſti* Libellus de Ventis.
XVIII. *Plutarchi* Libellus de Fato.
XIX. *Plutarchi* Libellus, de Conviv. ſeptem Sapientum.
XX. *Plutarchi* Libellus, de primo Frigido.
XXI. *Plutarchi* Libellus de Procreatione Animi in *Timæo Platonis*.
XXII. *Plutarchi* Libellus, de Oraculorum Defectu & in eundem Librum Annotationes.
XXIII. *Plutarchi* Libellus, de Fluviorum & Montium Nominibus.
XXIV. *Philonis Judæi* de vitâ Moſis Lib. iii.
XXV. *Demetrii Pepagomeni* Libellus, De Podagra.
XXVI. *Arriani* Periplus ponti *Euxini*.
XXVII. *Oppian.* de venatione Lib. IV.
XXIII. *M. Tullii Ciceronis*, paradoxorum in *Græcam* Linguam, Lib. iv.
XXIX. Libellus de Methodo.
XXX. Libellus de Calore.
XXXI. Libellus de Vino.
XXXII Oratio habita, poſt *J. Tuſani* mortem, cum in ejus locum ſuffectus eſt.
XXXIII Præfatio in *Thucydidem*.
XXXIV Præfatio in *Dionyſium Alexandrinum*.
XXXV Oratio habita cum philoſophiam profiteri cœperit.
XXXIV Præfatio in *Timæum Platonis*.
XXXVII Præfatio in *Phædonem* ejuſdem.
XXXVIII Epiſtola *Latina* ad *Carolum Maximilianum Valeſium*, *Francorum* Regem Chriſtianiſſimum.
XXXIX Epiſtolæ *Græcæ*, vi.
XL. Poematum Sylva.
Omnia Adriani Turnebi *opera*, *hactenus enumerata*, *in unum collecta*, *et in tres Tomos diſtributa*, *curâ* Lazari Zetneri *Bibliopolæ* Argentorenſis, *prodierunt* Argentor. *in Fol.* 1600.
XLI. Adverſariorum Tom. III. *Baſileæ* 1531, in Fol.

THE LIFE of *JOHN LESLY*, Biſhop of *Roſs*.

OUR Hiſtorians (*a*) ſay, That the *Leſlys* are deſcended from one *Bartholomy Leſly*, an *Hungarian* Gentleman who accompanied Queen *Margaret* from *Hungary* to *England*, and from thence to *Scotland*, where he was married to One of the Queen's Maids of Honour, about the Year 1067, with whom he had a Son call'd *Malcolm*, after *Malcolm Canmoir*, Queen *Margaret*'s Husband. This *Malcolm*, they ſay, was made Governour of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; which he defended ſo valiantly, that, for his Service, the King firſt knighted him, and then made him Governour during his Life. But this was not all; for he deſired him to ride a Day's Journey, North from *Dunfermling*, and whereever he bated his Horſe he would give him a Mile round. The Firſt Place he halted at was at *Fechil*, now call'd *Leſlie* in *Fife*; the Second was at *Innerlepad* in *Angus*; the Third was at *Feskie* in the *Merns*; then at *Cuſhnie* in *Mar*; and Laſtly at *Leſlie* in *Garioch*, where his Horſe gave over. Upon his Return, the King asking him, Where he had left his Horſe? He anſwer'd, *at the Leſſeley, beſide the Mair*. The King noticing, how well that agreed with his Name, ſaid to him,

Lord Leſley *ſhalt thou be,*
And thy Heirs after thee.

His Parentage, Birth and Education.

From the Baron of *Balquhain*, One of the ancienteſt *Cadets* of this Noble Family, was our Author deſcended. His Father, *Gavin Leſly*, was an eminent Lawyer, who had wonderfully accompliſhed himſelf in his Travels through *England*, the *Low-Countries*, *France* and *Italy*. He was born in the Year 1526, and had his Education at the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*, (*b*) where he gave very early Specimens of an extraordinary Genius. And he himſelf tells us, that he was made Official of the Dioceſe of *Aberdeen*, when but a Youth; and ſhortly after Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law. But having made Theology his principal Study, he entered into Holy Orders, and was made Parſon of *Une*.

He is made Official of *Aberdeen* and Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law. He enters into holy Orders, and is made Parſon of *Une* He Diſputes with the Reformers.

About this Time the Doctrines of the Reformers begun to ſpread in this Kingdom. Upon which great Animoſities, and Debates, aroſe amongſt all Ranks of People; and a ſolemn Diſpute betwixt the Reformers and *Roman* Catholicks was agreed to: And accordingly they met at *Edinburgh*, in the Year 1560; and our Author was one of the principal Champions for the *Roman*-Catholic Party. But of theſe Controverſies we ſhall give a full Account, in the following Life, when I have Occaſion to treat of the Reformation.

The Troubles and Debates concerning Religion daily increaſing, and the Queen being abſent in *France*, both Parties thought it neceſſary to invite her home; hoping, That by her Authority and Preſence, all theſe Broils

(*a*) Laurus Leſlæana Græci 1692. Fol. Boeth. in vit. Mal. iii. &c. (*b*) Dempſt Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Scot. lib. xi. p. 443. Spotſ. Ch. Hiſt. l. 6. p. 442. Laurus Leſl. p. 132. &c.

Broils might be taken away. So Dr. *Leſly* was ſent to *France*, by the *Popiſh* Nobility and Clergy; and Lord *James Stuart*, her Majeſty's Baſtard Brother, by the Reformers. The Doctor, having made greater Diſpatch than Lord *James*, came ſeveral Days before him to *Vitrie* in *Champaign*, where Queen *Mary* then was lamenting the Death of her Husband the *French* King. Our Author having delivered to her his Letter of Credit ſubſcribed by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol*, *Crawford*, *Southerland* and *Caithneſs*, and by the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*, *Murray* and *Roſs*, he told her Majeſty of Lord *James*'s coming, and of his Deſigns againſt the *Catholic* Religion; and therefore adviſed her to detain him in *France*, by ſome Honourable Imployment, till ſuch Time as ſhe ſhould ſettle her Affairs at home. But her Majeſty, no ways diſtruſting the Reſt of the Nobility, who had ſent Lord *James*, ſhe deſired our Author to attend till ſuch Time as ſhe ſhould conſult with her Friends upon the Methods that were moſt proper for her to take. At firſt the *French* Court oppoſed her returning home; but finding that ſhe herſelf inclin'd much to it, they yielded, and order'd a Fleet to accompany her. The *Engliſh*, being advertiſed of this, ſent out a Fleet to intercept her. She embark'd at *Calis* upon the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1561, and arrived ſafely at *Leith*, (with our Author, who accompanied her) Six Days after, having happily eſcaped the *Engliſh* Fleet under the Covert of a Miſt.

He is ſent Ambaſſador to *France*.

He returns with the Queen.

Not long after her Arrival, ſhe made our Author One of the Senators of the *College* of *Juſtice*, and One of the Lords of her Privy-Council. In the Year 1564, the Abbacy of *Lundores* was beſtowed upon him. And upon the Death of *Henry Sinclar*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, he was preferred to that Biſhopric.

He is made a Senator of the *College* of *Juſtice*, and a Lord of the Privy-Council.

Notwithſtanding that the Troubles and Debates, about Religion, were daily increaſing; yet our worthy Prelate, tho' he was a very zealous Advocate for that Church in which he was brought up, did not in the leaſt divert his Thoughts from his Noble and Generous Deſigns of propogating of Learning. And having obſerved, That all the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, from their not being Collected into One Body, were becoming obſolete and unobſerved: He intreated her Majeſty to appoint ſuch as were well-ſeen in the Laws, to make a Collection of 'em for the Benefit of her Subjects. Whereupon the Queen iſſued out the following Order,

He is made Biſhop of *Roſs*.

He procures an Impreſſion of the Laws and Acts of Parliament.

'*Mary*, by the Grace of God, Queen of *Scots*. To all our Lieges 'and Subjects, to whoſe Knowledge theſe preſent Letters ſhall come, 'Greeting. Theſe are to let you to wit, That, moved of great Zeal of 'Juſtice to retain the whole Subjects of this our Realm and Dominions, in good Order and Obedience towards us, and mutual Society among themſelves, according to the good Laws, Conſtitutions, Ordinances and Acts made by Us and Our moſt Noble Progenitors, of good 'Memory; conſithering, that, from the not knowing and Ignorance of 'the ſame Laws, all Diſorder, Diſobedience, Tumults and Troubling 'of the Commonwealth proceeds. And becauſe, ſundry Laws, Conſtitutions and Ordinances, has been made by divers of our Predeceſſors, That certain learned wiſe and expert Men, who beſt know the 'Laws, ſhould be choſen to ſee and examine the Books of the Law, 'and ſet them forth to the Knowledge of our Subjects. *Therefore* we,

'for the Well and Inſtruction of our ſaid Lieges in the Laws of this 'our Realm, according to our Zeal of Juſtice and Intention oft-times 'had of before, with the Advice of the Lords of our Secret Council, to Make, 'Conſtitute and Ordain, by their preſents, our Right truſty Couzins and 'Councellours, *George*, Earl of *Huntly* Lord *Gordon* and *Badenoch*, our 'Chancellor; *Archbald* Earl of *Argyle*, Lord *Campbell* and *Lorn*; *James*, 'Earl of *Murray*, Lord *Abernethy*; *James*, Earl of *Bothwal*, Lord *Hallis*, '*Crighton* and *Lidſdel*; *John*, Earl of *Athol*, Lord *Balveny*; *William* Earl 'of *Marſchal*, Lord *Keith*; *John*, Earl of *Mar*, Lord *Arskin*; The Reve-'rend Fathers in God, *John*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, Commendator of our 'Abby of *Lundores*; *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway*, Commendator of 'Inchaffry; *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*; Sir *Richard Maitland* of *Lithington* 'Knight, Keeper of our Privy-Seal; Sir *James Balfour* of *Pittendrich*, 'Knight, Clerk of our Regiſter; Sir *John Ballenden*, of *Achenvol* Knight, 'Clerk of our Juſticiary; Mr. *William Baily*, Lord *Prouand*; Mr. *John Spence* 'of *Conde*, and *Robert Creighton* of *Eliok*, our Advocates: Mr. *David Chamers*, 'Chancellor of *Roſs*; and Mr. *Edward Henderſon*, Dr. in the Laws, our Com-'miſſaries in that Part. Giving, Granting, and Committing to them, or any Six 'of them conjunctly (as Perſons of whoſe Science and Experience, in the 'Laws of our Realm, We eſpecially do confide and is aſſured of their 'Induſtry and true Diligence in executing and perfecting of our Com-'mands and Charges) full Power and Authority, expreſs Command and 'Charge, in our Name and Behalf, to view, ſight and correct the Laws 'of this our Realm, made by us and our moſt noble Progenitors, by the 'Advice of the Three Eſtates of Parliament holden by them: Beginning 'at the Books of the Law call'd *Regiam Majeſtatem* and *Quoniam Atachia-'menta*, and ſo conſequently following the Progreſs of Time unto the 'Date of this our Commiſſion: So that no others but the ſaid Laws, 'ſighted, mended and corrected by our ſaid Truſty Councellors and 'Commiſſaries, or any Six of them conjunctly, ſhall, by our Privilege 'be imprinted, or have Place, Faith or Authority, *&c.*

And it is to the Care and Induſtry of theſe worthy Perſons, but eſpecially to our Biſhop, that we owe the Firſt Impreſſion of our Laws at *Edinburgh*, in the Year 1566, commonly call'd *The Black Acts of Parliament*, from their being Printed in the Black *Saxon* Character.

Not long after this, the Reformers having broken out in open Rebellion againſt their Sovereign, the Queen, whom at length they Impriſoned in *Lochleven*, ſhe having made her Eſcape into *England*; and the Queen of *England* having appointed Commiſſioners at *York* for examining the Caſe betwixt her and her Subjects, our Learned Prelate, was One of the Commiſſioners choſen by his Sovereign, the Queen, in the Year 1568, to defend her Cauſe againſt the Calumnies of her Rebellious Subjects; which he did with a great Deal of Vigour, but to no Purpoſe. For Queen *Elizabeth* not only eſpouſed the Quarrel of her Rebellious Subjects, but likewiſe moſt unjuſtly detain'd her Priſoner, notwithſtanding of her Promiſe to the Contrary: Which the injured Queen finding, ſhe ſent our worthy Prelate Ambaſſador from her, to her Siſter the Queen of *England*, to complain of the Injuſtice that was done her. But, that Queen giving no Ear to his Complaints, he endeavoured all that he could, by Secret Tranſactions, to procure her Eſcape. And, amongſt the reſt of his Projects for that End, he was carrying on a Marriage betwixt his Queen and the Duke

He is choſen One of Queens Comiſſioners at *York*.

He is ſent Ambaſſador to the Queen of *England*.

of

of *Norfolk*. This being diſcovered, the Duke was committed to the Tower of *London*; and being arraigned at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the 16th of *January*, 1572, and Convicted of Treaſon, he was condemned to die: But the Sentence was not put in Execution till the *June* after.

He is Queſtion'd before the Council of *England*.

Our Biſhop, being next called before them, he defended himſelf by the Privileges of an Ambaſſador; and ſaid, *That he had done Nothing but what his Place and Duty tied him unto, for procuring the Liberty of his Princeſs; and that he came into* England *with ſufficient Authority, which he had ſhewed, and was at that time accepted.* When it was reply'd, *That the Privileges of Ambaſſadors could not protect them, who did offend againſt the Majeſty of the Princeſs they were ſent unto; and that they were not to be reputed other than Enemies who practiſed Rebellion againſt the State.* He anſwered, *That he had neither raiſed nor practiſed Rebellion, but perceiving the Adverſaries of his Princeſs countenanced, and her out of all Hope of Liberty, he could not abandon his Sovereign in her Afflictions, but do his beſt to procure her Freedom: And that it would never be found, that the Privilges of Ambaſſadors were violated,* via juris, *by Courſe of Law, but only,* via facti, *by way of Fact, which ſeldom had a good Succeſs.*

At length, after ſeveral Debates betwixt them and him, *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubry*, and *Henry Jones*, were appointed to examine his Caſe, and to give in Anſwers to the following Queries. *Firſt*, Whether an Ambaſſador, who raiſeth Rebellion againſt that Prince to whom he is ſent an Ambaſſador, may enjoy the Privilege of an Ambaſſador, and is not liable to Puniſhment? *To this it was Anſwered*, Such an Ambaſſador hath forfeited the Privileges of an Ambaſſador, and is liable to Puniſhment. *Secondly*, Whether the Miniſter or Proctor of a Prince, who is depoſed by Publick Authority, and in whoſe Room another is inaugurated, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambaſſador? *To this it was Anſwered*, If ſuch a Prince, be lawfully depoſed, his Proctor cannot challenge the Privileges of an Ambaſſador, foraſmuch as none but abſolute Princes, and ſuch as have Right of Majeſty, can appoint Ambaſſadors. *Thirdly*, Whether a Prince who comes into another Prince's Country, and held in Cuſtody, may have his Proctor; and if he ſhall be held as an Ambaſſador? *To this it was Anſwer'd*, If ſuch a Prince have not loſt his Sovereignty, he may have his Proctor; but whether that Proctor may have his Ambaſſador or no, this dependeth upon the Authority of his Delegation. *Fourthly*, Whether, if a Prince give warning to ſuch a Proctor, and to his Prince who is under Cuſtody, that he ſhall not from henceforth be accounted as an Ambaſſador, that Proctor may by Law challenge the Privilege of an Ambaſſador? *To this it was Anſwered*, That a Prince may forbid an Ambaſſador to enter into his Kingdom, and may command him to depart the Kingdom (if he contain not himſelf within his due Limits) yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Privileges of an Ambaſſador.

The Queen of *England* and her Council, being ſatisfy'd with the Anſwers of theſe *Civilians*, they ſent our Learned Prelate Priſoner to the Iſle of *Ely*; and from thence brought and Impriſoned him in the Tower of *London*. In the Year 1573 he was ſet at Liberty, but baniſh'd *England*, and retired to the *Netherlands*; where he publiſhed a Treatiſe in *Latin*, *upon Afflictions and Tranquility of Mind*, for the Uſe of his incomparable Miſtreſs the Queen, whoſe Chriſtian Temper, and Knowledge in that

He is Impriſoned in the Tower of *London*; ſet at Liberty, but baniſh'd *England*.

He writes a Treatiſe of Afflictions, and another concerning his Tranſactions in *England*.

Language, and the moſt of the other Languages in *Europe*, render'd her the moſt accompliſh'd Lady of her Age; as I ſhall, God willing, ſhow, when I come to the Hiſtory of her Life: As likewiſe, I ſhall give a particular Account of what our Author did for her Liberation, when in *England*, from what he has wrote of it himſelf, and which is ſtill preſerved in *M. S.* in the Lawyer's Library at *Edinburgh*.

He ſollicites ſeveral Princes to Intereſt themſelves for the Queen.

The Two following Years he employ'd in ſolliciting the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; the Duke d' *Alva*, and all the *German* Princes, to intereſt themſelves for the Liberation of his Royal Miſtreſs: But, finding that they all acted but very ſlowly in that Affair, he poſted to *Rome* to ſee what Influence the Pope might have over them. In End, all his Endeavours being like to prove ineffectual, he reſolved to try what his Pen could do. And that he might give them a full and clear View of her Royal Deſcent, the Juſtneſs of her Cauſe, and the Intereſts that all the Princes of *Europe* had in ſupporting her Sovereignty, he publiſhed at *Rome*, in the Year 1578, the Hiſtory of our Nation, in *Latin*, in a moſt Polite and Maſculine Style. And in the Year 1580, he publiſhed, in the ſame Language, at *Rhemes*, Three Treatiſes in her Vindication. The Firſt of which was in Anſwer to thoſe who oppoſed her Title and Claim of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*. The Second was, to ſhow the great Advantages that would reſult to both Nations, by her ſucceeding to the Crown of *England*. And the Laſt was, in Anſwer to thoſe who oppoſed the Government of Women.

He writes the Hiſtory of *Scotland*. An Account of this Hiſtory.

Now, ſince I have given an Abridgment of our Hiſtory, in the Life of Biſhop *Elphingſton*, from the Firſt Riſe of the Monarchy, till his Time, I ſhall, from our Prelate's Hiſtory, and our other Hiſtorians, continue the ſaid Abridgment till Queen *Mary*'s Time, where he left off.

King *James* II. being kill'd, as we have ſaid, by the Splinter of a Canon, at *Roxburgh*, the Queen, with her Son, came to the Army, maintain'd the Siege, and gain'd that Place, as well as the Caſtle of *Wark*; both which in Revenge, ſhe levelled to the Ground. Her Son, a Child of Seven Years of Age, was Crown'd, in the Monaſtery of *Kelſo*. Such of the Three Eſtates of Parliament, as were preſent, having Sworn Allegiance to him, they returned to *Edinburgh*, where, in Parliament, the Care of the young King was intruſted to his Mother, and *Andrew Stuart*, Lord *Evandale*: The Lord *Kennedy*; the Earl of *Orkney*; the Lord *Boyd*, Chancellor; the Lord *Grahame*; the Biſhops of St. *Andrew*'s, *Glasgow* and *Dunkeld*, were declared Governours of the Realm.

The Diſſentions that aroſe amongſt the Regents, and the King's Minority, encouraged *Donald* of the *Iſles* to renew his Title and Claim to them. So, raiſing all his Men, he comes to *Inverneſs*, takes the Town, places a Gariſon in the Caſtle, and cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed King of the *Iſles*. Upon this his Army daily increaſed, and he marches ſtraight to the Caſtle of *Blair*, in *Athole*; where the Earl of *Athole*, the King's Uncle, then was with his Lady. The Earl finding that he was not in a Condition to reſiſt him, fled for Sanctuary to the Church of St. *Bride*, where both he and his Lady were taken, and the Church burnt. The Earl was ſent Priſoner to the Iſland of *Ila*, where he remained for ſome Time. But *MacDonald* finding that the Governours were raiſing a powerful Army againſt him, and that moſt of his Men had periſhed at Sea, by a moſt dreadful Tempeſt, became very Penitent; noways doubt-

doubting but that this Judgment had befallen him and his Men for their burning of the Church of St. *Bride*, which he promiſed to rebuild: And at the ſame time he cauſed the Earl of *Athole* and his Lady to be ſet at Liberty; but not long after this he was kill'd by a Harper, in the Caſtle of *Inverneſs*.

About this time the Duke of *York* laid Claim to the Crown of *England*. Upon which a War enſued between the Two Nations. The Duke of *York*'s Claim to the Crown was as follows. King *Edward* III. had Seven Sons; *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, *William* of *Hatfield*; *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*; *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*; *Edmund*, Duke of *York*; *Thomas*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, and *William* of *Windſor*. *Edward* the Eldeſt dyed, during his Father's Life, and left One Son, King *Richard* the Second, who died without Iſſue; as alſo did King *Edward*'s Second Son, *William*. *Lionel*, the Third Son, had only One Daughter, named *Philippa*; who, being married to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, had by him *Roger*, Earl of *March*, who afterwards had Two Sons and Two Daughters; of whom Three died without Iſſue. *Anne*, the ſole Heireſs of the Houſe, married to *Richard* Earl *Cambridge*, the Son of *Edmund* Duke of *York*, the Fifth Son of King *Edward* III. Which Earl of *Cambridge* begot *Richard* Duke of *York*, the preſent Claimant. On the other ſide, *John* of *Gaunt*, the Fourth Son of King *Edward* III, and younger Brother to *Lionel*, had a Son named *Henry*; who, immediately after King *Richard*'s Reſignation, unrighteouſly entered upon the Throne, becauſe *Edmund* Earl of *March*, Son to *Philippa*, the Daughter and Heireſs of the aforeſaid *Lionel*, Elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, was then alive. And the ſaid *Henry*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, and his Succeſſors, had hitherto held the Crown of *England* unjuſtly, becauſe the ſaid *Richard Plantaginet*, the preſent Duke of *York*, was the lawful Heir, as being the Son of *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, and *Anne* beforemention'd. This was the Subſtance of the Duke of *York*'s Title and Claim, againſt King *Henry* VI, who was then in Poſſeſſion of the ſame; and as to the Matter of Genealogy, was undoubtedly true.

At length, after a long Debating of the Matter, and deliberate Conſultation among the Peers, Prelates and Commons, upon the Vigil of *All-Saints*, 1460, it was thus concluded and determin'd: 'That, Foraſmuch 'as *Henry* had been acknowledg'd King, for the Space of Thirty Eight 'Years and more, he ſhould enjoy that Name and Title, and the Poſſeſ-'ſion of the Kingdom during his Natural Life; and that if he either 'dy'd or reſigned, or forfeited the ſame, by breaking or violating any 'part of this Contract, then the ſaid Crown and Dignity ſhould imme-'diately be devolved upon the Duke of *York*, and the lawful Heirs of 'his Body, excluding all thoſe of King *Henry*. (c) This ſolemn Agreement, being put into divers Articles, was ingroſſed, ſigned, ſealed, and ſworn to, by the King and Duke; as likewiſe enacted in this Parliament. For Joy of which, the King, accompanied with the Duke of *York*, on *All-Saints* Day, rode in ſolemn Proceſſion to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, with the Crown upon his Head; and, upon the *Saturday* following, the Duke of *York* was, by Sound of Trumpet, ſolemnly Proclaimed Heir-Apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Realm. But the Queen would by no means allow of this Determination, which was ſo

(c) Vid. *Echard*'s Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. 1. p. 514. &c.

prejudicial to her and her Poſterity. Therefore, when the King ſent for her, by the Duke of *York*'s Inſtigation, to come to *London*, ſhe being then in the North refuſed to come: Alledging, That her Husband, the King, was detained Priſoner and forced to do what he had done.

The Duke of *York*, miſſing his expected Prey, left the King at *London* with the Duke of *Northfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick*. And, taking with him his young Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Five Thouſand Men, he went in Purſuit of the Queen. On the other hand, the Queen wrote to the Queen of *Scotland*, and Biſhop *Kennedy*, who had now got the whole Government in his Hands, repreſenting the Juſtneſs of her Cauſe, in regard, 'That King *Richard* II. 'reſign'd up his Crown and Authority at large; and that no other mak-'ing Claim, but *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, he was 'admitted to the Throne by the Conſent of the Three Eſtates of the 'Land. That *Richard*, Earl of *Cambridge*, was attainted of High-Trea-'ſon, and executed; and his Iſſue render'd incapable of any Inheritance. 'That, *Richard*, his Son, now challenging the Crown of *England*, being 'reſtored and advanced by the meer Clemency and Goodneſs of King '*Henry* VI. had voluntarily acknowledged him for his Lawful Sovereign, 'and ſolemnly ſwore to the ſame: And, that the ſame *Richard*, after 'that, had been juſtly attainted for Treaſon, and adjudged incapable of 'inheriting. Likewiſe, by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, the Succeſſion 'had been eſtabliſhed in the Right of the Line of *Lancaſter*: The Suc-'ceſſion of the Three Kings, *Henry* IV. V. and VI. the Politic 'Government of the Firſt, the noble Victories of the Second, and the 'Pious Life of the Third, had render'd them all very acceptable to 'their Subjects. Beſides, That her Husband was deſcended from the 'Line Male; and the Duke of *York*, but from the Female, which Line 'had never been in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown.

For theſe and ſeveral other weighty Reaſons, the Queen and Government aſſiſted her with ſome Forces; which, having joyned the *Engliſh*, made up in all an Army of Eighteen Thouſand Men, led by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Nevil*, *Clifford* and *Roſs*, and in effect all the Nobility of the North of *England*. The Two Armies coming in View of one another; and the Queen, being informed that a more numerous Army was coming up to the Duke's Aſſiſtance, ſhe very wiſely reſolved to fight them before they were further ſtrengthned. In order to this, ſhe cauſed Part of her Army to preſent themſelves before *Sandal*-Caſtle, to provoke the Duke to Battle, who, fired with this Bravado, reſolved to meet them, tho' the Earl of *Salisbury* and Sir *David Hall* earneſtly urged him to ſtay till his valiant Son, the Earl of *March*, came up with his numerous Forces. The Queen, finding that ſhe was like to ſucceed in her Deſign, poſted the Earl of *Wiltſhire* upon one Side of the Hill, and the Lord *Clifford* on the other, to ly in Ambuſh, and to get between him and the Caſtle, whilſt the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* drew up in the open Field. This Deſign had its deſired Effect; for the Duke, iſſuing out of the Caſtle with his ſmall Army down the Hill, ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded: And, tho' he ſhowed great Valour and Bravery, within half an Hour his whole Forces were defeated, and himſelf ſlain. There lay dead about him, the Lord *Harrington*, Sir *Thomas Nevil* Son to the Earl of *Salisbury*,

Sir

Sir *David Hall*, with ſeveral Knights, and others, to the Number of Two Thouſand and Eight Hundred Men. In this Action the Duke's Chaplain, and Tutor to his Son the Earl of *Rutland*, a lovely Boy, about Twelve Years of Age, ſeeing all loſt, endeavour'd, as far as was in his Power, to ſave his Pupil. But the Lord *Clifford* obſerving his rich Habit; followed, and with a Dagger in his Hand, demanded who he was? The Boy, being ſtruck dumb with Fear, upon his Knees, with Hands and Eyes begged for Pardon. The Chaplain, who, by naming him, thought to have ſaved him, told who he was, and, *If that he would have his Life, he would ſpend it in his Service.* But *Clifford* ſwore dreadfully, *That as his Father had ſlain his, ſo would he ſerve him and his Progeny*, and then ſtruck his Dagger to his Heart. An Action ſo cruel in it ſelf, that the ſole relating of it is ſufficient to render his Name odious to all good Men. But this was not all, for, caſting himſelf upon the dead Body of the Duke, he cut off the Head; and Crowning it in Deriſion, with a Crown of Paper, he preſented it to the Queen, *who poorly and ungenerouſly*, ſays *Echard*, *made herſelf merry with that Gaſtly and Bloody Spectacle.* This was the fatal End, ſays the ſame Hiſtorian, of the famous *Richard*; who, contrary to all Oaths, and other Obligations, had cauſed infinite Miſchiefs to the *Engliſh* Nation. The Earl of *Salisbury*, here taken Priſoner, was, with other Priſoners, beheaded at *Pontfract*; and their Heads, together with the Duke's, ſet up upon the Gates of *York*.

The Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the deceaſed Duke of *York*, hearing of this Tragical Adventure, with a Mind full of Grief and Revenge, and an Army of Twenty Three Thouſand Men, reſolved to march againſt the Queen: But, being informed that *Jaſper Tudor*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Half-Brother to King *Henry*, and *James Butler*, Earl of *Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, had with them a powerful Army of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, to intercept his March, reſolved firſt to try his Fortune with them. So, turning back from *Shrewsbury*, at a Place call'd *Mortimer*'s Croſs, near *Ludlow*, he engaged them upon *Candlemaſs-Day*; and obtain'd a compleat Victory, killing Three Thouſand and Eight Hundred of them upon the Place. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltſhire* ſaved themſelves by Flight; but *Owen Tudor*, Father to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and Husband to *Henry* V's. Queen, with ſeveral other Priſoners of Note, were beheaded at *Hereford*, as a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his Father the Duke of *York*.

On the other Side, the Queen, being incouraged by her Victory, after ſhe had ſettled her Affairs in the North, marched ſtreight towards *London* with a numerous Army, conſiſting of *Engliſh*, *Scots* and *Iriſh*. When they came near to St. *Albans*, ſhe was advertiſed that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick*, with the King her Husband in Perſon, were prepared to give them Battle. Whereupon they prepar'd to march through the Town; but, not being ſuffer'd to paſs, they furiouſly attack'd their Enemies in a Field call'd *Bernard-Heath*, where ſhe obtain'd another compleat Victory. The Lords, about the King's Perſon, perceiving the Danger they were in, withdrew themſelves; only the Lord *Bonville*, and Sir *Thomas Kyriel*, a *Kentiſh* Knight, are ſaid to have ſtaid at his Deſire, but to their Ruin. For the Queen hearing how the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorp* at *Highgate*, without having any Re-

gard to the Royal Promiſe of her Husband, which he had paſt or him, in Revenge cauſed both their Heads to be cut off. So that there were ſlain in this Battle about Twenty Three Thouſand Men, but none of any Note or Name, but only Sir *John Gray*, who the ſame Day was Knighted, with Twelve others. This Battle was the Sixth, fought in theſe Unhappy Civil Wars; and the Second at St. *Alban*'s, it being upon *Shrove-Tueſday*, the 7th of *February*, 1461.

After this Action was over, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Victor, that he would gladly come to them, if he could with Safety and Convenience. Upon which, the Earl of *Northumberland* appointed ſeveral Lords, to attend him to the Lord *Clifford*'s Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met him with extraordinary Joy. But it was obſerved now, as if it were in the Deſtiny of King *Henry*, That, tho' he was the moſt pious Prince in his Age, yet no Enterprize of War did ever proſper where he was preſent; for immediately the Queen's Succeſs begun to decline. She ſent to the Mayor of *London* for Proviſions, which when he was going to give, the Mob ſtopt the Carts at the City Gates, crying out, *That the City had no Occaſion to relieve them that came with a Deſign to pillage it.* And as ſhe was preparing to make her Entry with the King into the City, and the Mayor and Aldermen to appeaſe them in Behalf of the People, the fatal News was brought of the Earl of *March*'s Victory, and that he was marching towards the City with a numerous Army; which ſo encouraged the Mob, that they turned more inſolent than ever; and the Queen on the other Hand was ſo diſcouraged, that ſhe marched back with her Army, to her Friends, to the North of *England*. In the mean Time, the Earl of *March* comes ſtreight to *London*, where he is received with great Acclamations of Joy, crown'd and proclaim'd King, under the Name of *Edward* the Fourth, upon the 4th Day of *March*; and now hearing, how King *Henry* had got togerher a numerous Army in the North, upon the 12th Day of *March*, he, with a compleat Army ſet out from *London*, accompanied with his Two Brothers, and many other Noblemen: Then, marching towards *Pontfract* in *Yorkſhire*, he there appointed the Lord *Fitzwater* to keep the Paſſage of *Ferribridge*, which the Lord *Clifford* ſo ſuddenly attack'd, that he not only defeated the Party, but alſo ſlew the Lord *Fitzwater*: The Valiant Lord *Fauconbridge*, fearing that this Beginning ſhould prove dangerous, ſoon got over the River of *Caſtleford*, Three Miles from *Ferribridge*, deſigning to ſurround the Victors. Which *Clifford* perceiving, ſought to avoid; and, whether out of Haſte or Heat, he put off his Gorget, when ſuddenly an Arrow, without a Head, pierced thro' his Throat, ſtuck in his Neck, and put a Period to his Life. *A Death too honourable for him*, ſays *Echard*, *ſince the innocent Blood of the Earl of* Rutland *required one foreſeen, painful and cruel.* But his Son eſcaped, and being ſaved by a poor Shepherd, lived a Beggar during Three Reigns, till he was reſtored by King *Henry* VII.

The next Morning, being *Palm-Sunday*, both Armies came in Sight of each other; the Field was between *Caxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this Battle took its Name. About Nine in the Morning the Armies engaged. King *Henry* had Sixty Thouſand Men, and King *Edward* Fourty. For Ten Hours together, the Victory hung in Suſpence; but at length, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, the

the Lords *Beaumont*, *Dacres*, *Gray*, *Scales* and *Wells*, with many others of greateſt Reputation, for their Rank and Courage upon King *Henry*'s Side, being kill'd, the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter* ſeeing all Things deſperate, poſted to *York*, to carry the fatal News to the unfortunate King *Henry*, (whoſe Virtues ſtill had a Patience greater than his Ruin) and King *Edward* obtained a compleat Victory, but not without great Bloodſhed. For in no Battle could there be greater Bravery ſhown, than was on both Sides; and in this and the preceeding Day, were ſlain no leſs than Thirty Six Thouſand and Seven Hundred Perſons.

After this King *Edward* rode to *York*, where he was received with the utmoſt Solemnity. And firſt, he cauſed the Heads of his Father, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and other of his Friends, to be taken from the Gates, and to be buried with their Bodies: And then he cauſed the Earl of *Devonſhire* and Three others to be beheaded, and to have their Heads put on the ſame Places. In the mean Time, the unfortunate King *Henry* haſtned, with his Wife and Son, to the Town of *Berwick*; and, leaving the Duke of *Somerſet* in that Place, they went ſtreight to *Edinburgh*, where he was kindly received, and Royally entertained, in the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*, by the young King, his Mother and Biſhop *Kennedy*: The *Engliſh* Hiſtorians acknowledge, that he had a Penſion ſettled upon him. For theſe Civilities, King *Henry* gave up to the young King the Town of *Berwick*, which the *Engliſh* had violently poſſeſs'd ſince the Reign of King *Edward* I. And, that their Friendſhip might be the more laſting, they agreed that King *Henry*'s Son, *Edward*, ſhould be married to our King's Siſter, Princeſs *Margaret*. All Things being thus agreed, the *Engliſh* Queen *Margaret*, with her young Son Prince *Edward*, went over to *France*, to implore the Aid of her Father *Reny*, King of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Jeruſalem*, Duke of *Anjou*; a Prince who had larger Titles than Dominions; but all that ſhe could procure, was Five Hundred Soldiers; and from her Couſin, *Lewis* XI. of *France*, free Acceſs for as many *Engliſh* as were of her Side, and Baniſhment for thoſe who were of the contrary Party; Matters of no great Conſequence. With theſe ſhe came to the Coaſt of *Scotland*; and from thence, with a Shew of a great Enterprize, ſhe ſailed for *England*; and touching upon the Bay of *Tinmouth*, ſhe was repulſed by the Inhabitants, and forced to put back to Sea; where ſuch a ſudden Tempeſt overtook them, that had not the Queen, in a ſmall Veſſel, got into *Berwick*, ſhe had loſt her Life, or fallen into the Enemy's Hands. Her *French* Forces were driven into *Holy Iſland*, where many were ſlain, and Four Hundred put to their Ranſom. This Enterprize, though it diſcouraged many that were about her, yet it had no Influence upon the Mind of the Queen, whoſe chief Hopes were founded upon the *Scots* Valour. So, leaving her Son *Edward* in *Berwick* for Safety, ſhe, with the King her Husband, and a *Scots* Army, furiouſly entered into *Northumberland*, took the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, and ſo paſſed into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, their Forces daily increaſing, by the Confluence of ſuch *Engliſh* as favoured King *Henry*: Among theſe, the Duke of *Somerſet* and Sir *Ralph Piercy*, with others, joyned him. King *Edward* hearing of theſe Commotions in the North, made Preparations both by Sea and Land; and with his Two Brothers, and many Noblemen, marched to the City of *York*; from thence he ſent the new Viſcount of *Montague*,

ther to the Earl of *Warwick*, with a conſiderable Army to a Place call'd *Higley-Moor*. He was ſuddenly attack'd by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, and Sir *Ralph Piercy*: But *Montague* bravely ſtood his Ground, and at length ſlew *Piercy* who would not be driven from the Field; and, with his laſt Breath, cryed out, *I have ſaved the Bird in my Boſom*, meaning the Oath of Fidelity which he had taken to his King. After this, King *Henry*'s Men gave Way, and *Montague* purſu'd them to the King's Camp; which he attack'd with ſuch Vigour and Reſolution, that he obtained a compleat Victory, with the Loſs of Two Thouſand Men. King *Henry* fled into *Scotland*; but the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lords *Roos*, *Mollins*, and *Hungerford*, with Sir *Ralph Gray*, were executed in cold Blood. *Thus*, ſays *Echard*, *was the white Roſe, in every Place, dy'd red with the Blood of the Nobility; and the red Roſe turned pale, with Horror, to view the Calamities occaſioned by this Diſſenſion.*

Amongſt the Garriſons placed in *Northumberland*, by the Queen, there was a Garriſon of the *French* in the Caſtle of *Anwick*, under the Command of one *Peter Bruce*, or *Bryce*, as others call him, Lord of *Varoune*, and Seneſchal of *Normandy*: Him the Earl of *Warwick* beſieged; and, after a long and valiant Defence, the Earl of *Angus*, then Warden of the Marches, raiſed an Army of Twenty Three Thouſand Men for his Relief, out of which Number he made Choice of Five Thouſand Horſemen remarkable for their Valour. Theſe, about the midſt of the Day, coming near to the Caſtle of *Anwick*, and, by their Colours and Arms, being known a far by Captain *Bruce*, he ſallieth forth with what remained of the Garriſon to meet them. The ſtrongeſt of the *Scots* Horſemen received them, and convoy'd them ſafely into the main Body of their Army, the *Engliſh* General not oppoſing them in the leaſt, being rather fond of being quit of them.

Not long after this, King *Henry*, hurried on by his own Fate, paſt into *England* in diſguis'd Apparel, where he was betray'd by ſome of his own Servants, as he ſat at Dinner in *Waddington*-Hall: From whence he was carried to *London* in a diſgraceful Manner, with his Legs bound underneath the Horſe's Belly. Here, with Dr. *Manning* Dean of *Windſor*, he was arreſted by the Earl of *Warwick*, his gilt Spurs taken off, and he committed cloſe Priſoner to the Tower of *London*. King *Edward*, having thus ſecured his Competitor, ſent immediately Ambaſſadors to *Scotland* to treat of a Truce, for ſome Years, between the Two Nations. Whereupon the Earl of *Argyle*, the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Abbot of *Holy-rood-houſe*, Sir *Alexander Boyd*, and Sir *William Cranſton*, being choſen Commiſſioners, came to *York*; and the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners there attending them, a Truce was concluded for Fifteen Years, and ſolemnly by both Kings after confirmed.

Not long after this, *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, Daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Guelders*, and Mother to King *James*, dyed at *Edinburgh*; of whoſe Behaviour at her Death, we have given an Account, in the Firſt Volume of this Work, in the Life of Biſhop *Kennedy*. She was buried in great Pomp and Solemnity in the College of the *Trinity*, which ſhe her ſelf had founded in the Year 1466. Upon the Death of the Queen, the young King was committed by the Governours, to Sir *Alexander Boyd*, to be brought up in all manly Exerciſes, and for which, this Gentleman was very famous. And the King was ſo well pleaſed with him, that

that he had the whole Truſt of his Affairs; and his *Brother*, the Lord *Boyd*, the Government of the State. But the young King, by this Time, being impatient of being ſubject to the Laws of Minority, makes his Complaint to the *Boyds*; who immediately comply'd with his Majeſty's Deſire, and reſolved to free him from the Tutory of the Governours. In Order to effectuate this, the Lord *Hails*, the Lord *Sommervil*, Sir *Andrew Ker* of *Ceſford*, and Sir *Alexander Boyd*, who were then with the King at *Linlithgow*, agree upon a Match of Hunting, and to make the King Umpire of the Game. The Gentlemen, who were upon the Plot, fail'd not to attend early the next Morning. The King being a Mile from the Town, and holding on his Way towards *Edinburgh*; the Lord *Kennedy*, whoſe Quarter then was to attend, and who had ſuſpected this Hunting to be a Game of State, laid his Hands upon the Reins of the King's Bridle, and deſired him to return again to *Linlithgow*. Upon this, Sir *Alexander Boyd*, after ſome harſh Language, ſtruck the Governour over the Head with his Hunting-Staff, and carried the King alongſt with him to *Edinburgh*; where, at a frequent Meeting of the States, the *Boyds* and their Faction carried, That the King ſhould aſſume the Government in his own Perſon. And, in a Parliament, called not long after, this Action of the *Boyds* was not only approven of, but likewiſe, the Declaration of the King and Parliament in their Favours, regiſtrated among the Acts of Parliament; and the Lord *Boyd* made ſole Governour of the Realm, during the King's Non-age, and till he fully compleated One and Twenty Years.

Robert, Lord *Boyd*, having thus attained to be ſole Governour of the Realm by Act of Parliament, and having got into his Cuſtody the young King and his Two Siſters, he marries his eldeſt Son *Thomas*, a Youth of excellent Endowments both of Mind and Body, to the King's eldeſt Siſter, Princeſs *Margaret*; who, as we have ſaid, had been formerly promiſed in Marriage to *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*; thinking hereby ſo to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt all his Enemies, that it ſhould not be in their Power to ruin him or his Family. But that, which he thought would prove his greateſt Support, tended moſt to his Ruin; for the reſt of the Nobility were ſo incenſed againſt him, for doing it without asking the Conſent of the Eſtates, and in Regard ſhe might have been given to a neighbouring Prince, whoſe Aſſiſtance, in caſe of a War betwixt the Two Nations, might have been of great Uſe, that they did all they could, to repreſent him to the King, as an ambitious, aſpiring Man, and ſuffered their Vaſſals to commit all Manner of Inſolencies and Riots, that his Government might thereby appear to be unſupportable. In the mean Time the King, having attained to a competent Age, was adviſed, for the Preſervation of his Family, to marry.

At this Time, *Andrew Stewart*, Lord *Evandale*, with the Biſhops of *Glaſgow* and *Orkney*, were ſent Ambaſſadors to *Chriſtiern*, King of *Denmark*, to accommodate ſome Difference betwixt the Two Kings, concerning the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Schetland*, which they did to both their Satisfactions. One of the Articles of Agreement being, That King *James* ſhould marry *Margaret*, only Daughter to the King of *Denmark*; a Lady thought worthy of his Bed, in Reſpect of her Birth, Royal Deſcent and admirable Beauty. *Torſſeus*, the preſent Hiſtoriographer to

the King of *Denmark*, (*d*) in the Hiſtory of the *Orcades*, has inſerted their Contract of Marriage: Whereby, if it is genuine, appears, that, beſides the above mentioned Perſons, there was ſent Mr. *Martin Wan* Great Eleemoſinar and Confeſſor to the King of *Scotland*, *Gilbert de Rerich*, Arch-Deacon of *Glaſgow*, *David Creichton* of *Cranſton*, and *John Schaw* of *Haly*; and that the Iſles of *Orkney* were only impignorated to the Kings of *Scotland*, for a Part of her Dowry; the King of *Denmark* having obliged himſelf to pay to the King of *Scotland* Sixty Millions of *Florins* Ten of which were paid upon Sight to the *Scots* Ambaſſador, and the Iſles of *Orkney* to remain in the Poſſeſſion of the *Scots* Kings, ay, and till the other Fifty were paid. Upon which he pleads, that theſe Iſles ought to belong ſtill to the King of *Denmark*, the full Sum, for which they were impignorated, having been paid. The ſame *Torffeus* gives us the Agreement, made betwixt *Magnus* King of *Norway* (*e*) and our King *Alexander* III.; by which, the King of *Norway* gives to *Alexander*, all the Eaſtern and Weſtern Iſles with the Iſle of *Man*: Reſerving only to himſelf the Iſlands of the *Orcades* and *Schetland*; to which are appended, upon the King of *Scotland*'s Part, the Seals of *Gamelinus*, Biſhop of St. *Andrews*; *John*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*; *Alexander Cumin*, Earl of *Buchan*; *Patrick*, Earl of *Dumbar*; *William*, Earl of *Mar*; *Adam*, Earl of *Carick*; and *Robert de Meyners*, Baron. The Conditions of theſe Agreements we have already mentioned, in the Life of King *Alexander* III. and the ſame was renewed, betwixt *Robert* I. King of *Scotland*, and *Haquin*, King of *Norway*; and then betwixt *James* I. King of *Scotland*, and *Ericus*, King of *Norway*. But to return to our Hiſtory.

All Things being agreed betwixt the Two Kings, my Lord *Boyd*'s Son, who had been created Earl of *Arran*, upon his marrying the King's Siſter, was thought to be the fitteſt Perſon, that could be ſent to *Denmark*, to bring home the Princeſs *Margaret*. So in the Beginning of the Harveſt, 1468, accompanied with a great Train of young Noblemen and Gentlemen, all of them his Friends, he ſet Sail for *Denmark*; where he was very nobly received and entertained. During his Abſence, the *Kennedies* and other Enemies of the *Boyds*, had ſuch Influence with the King, that they prevail'd with him to call a Parliament to ſit at *Edinburgh* in *November*; to which *Robert* Lord *Boyd* and his Brother Sir *Alexander* were ſummoned, to anſwer to what was laid to their Charge. Upon the Day appointed, the Lord *Boyd* appeared; but accompanied with ſuch a Multitude of his Attendants and Followers, all in Arms, that the King was pleaſed to let the Affair drop, not having a ſufficient Force to oppoſe them. But he was ſo incens'd with their Inſolence and Behaviour, that he now reſolv'd to ruin them without Mercy, and in order to this he firſt raiſed ſufficient Forces to oppoſe them. The Lord *Boyd*, being advertis'd of this Deſign, fled into *England*, but his Brother Sir *Alexander*, being then ſick, and truſting more to his own Integrity, and Innocence, than he ought to have done, conſidering the Malice of his Enemies, was brought before the Parliament; where he and his Brother were accuſed, *for having, upon the Tenth of* July, 1446, *laid Hands upon the King's Perſon; and, againſt his Purpoſe, brought him off the High-way, and that by their private Power*

(*d*) *Orcad.* ſeu Rer. *Orcad.* Hiſt. Page 191. (*e*) Pag. 198

Power and Conſent, contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Order of the State, and the other Regent's Advice, brought the King to Edinburgh. When Sir *Alexander* cited the Act of Parliament made, approving of this Act as good Service done to the *King*, they had no Regard to it. Then they laid to their Charge all the Topical Faults of Favourites: Such as, *That they had enriched themſelves out of the King's Treaſure, monopolized Things belonging to the Crown, diminiſhed the Revenues thereof, and removed worthy Men from the Council, placing ſuch in their Room, as had Dependence upon them.* For theſe Crimes, *Thomas*, Earl of *Arran*, tho' employed in a publick Charge by the Kingdom, abſent and unheard, was declared Rebel with his Father, and his Moveables eſcheated to the King. Sir *Alexander* had his Head cut off; the News of which being brought to his Brother, then at *Anwick*, he died of Grief.

No ſooner had the Spring rendred the *Baltick* Seas navigable, but the Earl of *Arran* ſet Sail with the Princeſs *Margaret*, and arrived ſafely in the *Forth*. His Lady having got Notice of this, diſguiſed her ſelf, and went aboard of the Ship he was in, and informed him of the great Danger he ſhould run if he ſhould land. Whereupon, he immediately hoiſted Sails, and returned to *Denmark*, leaving the reſt of the Fleet with the young *Princeſs*, and taking his Lady along with him, who would needs be Partaker of all his Misfortunes, as well as ſhe had been of his Proſperities. In the mean Time, the Lady *Margaret*, on the 10*th* Day of *July*, 1469, made her Entry into *Edinburgh*, and was married to the King, in the Sixteenth Year of her Age, in the Abby-Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*; and in the Month of *November* following, by a Convention of the Three Eſtates, was crowned Queen.

The Earl of *Arran*, from *Denmark*, went into *Germany* with his Lady, and from thence to the Court of *France*; where he obtained Letters, from King *Lewis* to King *James*, earneſtly intreating, That he would reſtore him to his former Favour and Poſſeſſions. But King *James* would by no Means pardon him. Whereupon, he went to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, to ſerve in the Wars under him, which he was then making againſt his rebellious Subjects, and was very graciouſly received and entertained as his Ally. During which Time, his Lady, who ſtaid at *Antwerp*, bore him Two Children, *James* and *Gracile*. King *James*, vexed at his Siſter's adhering to her Husband, wrote Letters full of Promiſes to her, if ſhe would return to *Scotland*, and Threatnings if ſhe did not. But they did not, in the leaſt, alter her inviolable Love and Affection to her Husband. Yet, at length, by the Perſwaſion of her Friends and his, ſhe was prevailed upon to come over to *Scotland*; hoping, by her Tears and Prayers, to gain the King to her Side. But theſe Hopes proved all in vain; for, inſtead of having Acceſs to her Brother, ſhe was ſent to *Kilmarnock*, the chief Houſe of the *Boyds*, where ſhe was kept under Reſtraint; and her Husband was ſummoned, within Threeſcore of Days, to adhere to his Wife, under Pain of Divorce. The unfortunate Earl, for Fear of his Head, not appearing, his Marriage was declared null; his Wife divorced from him and forced to marry *James*, Lord *Hamilton*; to whom alſo the Earldom of *Arran* was given in Dowry. And by this Means, the *Hamiltons* claim to be next Heirs to the Crown, failing the Royal Race of the *Stewarts*. But *John Ballenden*, Arch-Dean of *Murray*, in his Tranſ-

lation of *Hector Boeis*'s Hiſtory, ſays, (*f*) *The firſt Daughter of* James II. *was married to the Lord* Boyd, *of whom was gotten a Son, which was ſlain by the Lord of* Mongomery; *and a Daughter* Gregane, *which was married after on the Earl of* Caſſelis; *and, after the Death of the Lord* Boyd, *this Daughter of* James II. *was married on the Lord* Hamilton; *and, by that Way, the Houſe of* Hamilton *is decorit in the King's Blood.*

Queen *Margaret*, the Third Year after her Marriage, in the Month of *March*, was brought to Bed of a Son, who was Chriſtened *James*. *Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, to congratulate the happy Delivery of his only Daughter, renounced all Right, Title, or Claim, which he, or his Succeſſors might have to the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Schetland*.

After this the King call'd a new Parliament, wherein all thoſe, who had not a Hundred Pounds yearly Rent, were Diſcharged from wearing of Silks; except Noblemen, Knights, Heraulds and Muſicians. To the Barons likewiſe, and the Magiſtrates of all the Sea-Coaſt Towns, was recommended the building of Ships, and the making of Nets and all other Things that might tend to the Improvement of Trade. The Game of the Foot-Ball was diſcharged; and that of the Bow injoyned, in Place of it, as being more uſeful in the Wars. *John*, Lord of the *Iſles*, was attainted for his own and his Father's Miſdemeanours; and immediately an Army was raiſed, and a Fleet equipt, for ſubduing of him. The Earl of *Crawfurd* was made Admiral of the Fleet; and the Earl of *Athol*, the King's Uncle, Lieutenant General of the Army by Land. *John*, Lord of the *Iſles*, being informed of all theſe Preparations which were making againſt him, very wiſely ſubmitted himſelf to the King's Clemency: And, in a Convention of the States, held at *Edinburgh*, 1476, he reſigned all the Right that he had to the Earldom of *Roſs*; and ſeveral of his Lands were beſtowed upon the Earl of *Athol* and *Alexander Makenzie*, Baron of *Kintail*, for having been very Inſtrumental in perſuading him to ſubmit to the King's Clemency. The Lands of *Knapdale* and *Kintyre* were annex'd to the Crown. After which he return'd to the *Iſles*.

During theſe Tranſactions, ſays my Author, there appeared a large Comet, betwixt the *Pleiades* and the *Pole*, with his Tail pointing towards the *South*. It's Firſt Appearance was on the 17th of *January*, 1473, and laſted till the 8th of *February*. From this, the Aſtrologers, to which Science the King was extremely addicted, prognoſticated great Calamities to the Country.

The next Year Biſhop *Kennedy*'s Ship, of which we have ſpoke in his Life in the Firſt Volume of this Work, ſuffer'd Shipwrack. And moſt of all thoſe who were on Board of her periſh'd; ſave the Abbot of *Icolmkill* and a few others with him, who were ſaved in the Pinnace but taken by one *Robert Carr* an *Engliſhman*. And, although there was then no War betwixt the Two Nations, yet the Abbot was forced to pay Eighty Pounds *Sterling* for his Ranſom.

The Abbot of *Dumferling* dying about this Time, the Monks made Choice of *Alexander Thomſon*; but the King, aſſuming that Power to himſelf, made Choice of *Henry Creichton*, Abbot of *Paſly*; and gave the Abbacy of *Paſly* to *Robert Schaw*, Prieſt of the Pariſh of *Minto*. About this Time likewiſe, the Pope made the See of St. *Andrew*'s an

(*f*) Book 12. Chap. 5.

an Arch-biſhoprick; and *Patrick Grahame*, the Arch-biſhop, was ſorely perſecuted by the Courtiers and his Succeſſor, *Schevez*; as I have given an Account in the Life of that Prelate.

Edward, King of *England*, at this Time gave a Signal Overthrow to *Margaret*, King *Henry*'s Queen, taking both her ſelf and Son Priſoners. The young Prince fell into the Hands of Sir *Edward Croſts*, who intended to have concealed him: But King *Edward* having promiſed a Penſion, of a Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to any who ſhould bring him alive or dead, and Life to the Prince if he was not already dead, *Croſts*, believing that he would not falſify his Promiſe, preſented him to him. King *Edward*, fixing his Eyes upon him, and admiring the Sweetneſs of his Youth and Diſpoſition, demanded of him, *How he durſt come with flying Colours into his Kingdom, and raiſe his People againſt him?* To which he bravely anſwered, *That he came to recover his Father's Kingdom, his Proper and Natural Inheritance, deſcended to him by ſeveral Generations.* Upon this King *Edward* gave him a Blow upon the Mouth with his Gantlet; and the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloceſter*, the Marquis of *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Haſtings* ſeiſed ſuddenly upon him; and, with their Poinards, moſt barbarouſly Murdered him, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations. His Blood was afterwards revenged upon every one of them in particular. His Body was buried, without any Solemnity, among other poor and mean Perſons, in the Church of the Monaſtery of the Black-*Fryars* in *Teucksbury*. But this did not ſatisfy the barbarous and inhumane Duke of *Gloceſter*; for, not long after, going to the Tower of *London*, under the Pretence of a Viſit, to King *Henry* his Father, he ſtab'd him with his own Hand. 'A Prince, ſays *Echard*, who, as to his Perſon, was 'comely and well proportion'd, and had Vertues ſufficient to make a 'Saint, no King ever ſhewing more Piety and Devotion than he did. 'He had one Immunity, peculiar to himſelf, that no Man could ever 'be revenged on him, becauſe he never offered any Man an Injury. He 'was ſo Chaſt and Modeſt, that, when in a public Mask, ſome Ladies 'preſented themſelves before him with their Breaſts uncovered, he immediately roſe up and exclaimed againſt their Behaviour. So Merciful, that, when he ſaw the Quarters of a Traytor over *Cripplegate*, he cauſed them to be taken down: Declaring, *He would have no* Chriſtian *ſo cruelly treated for his ſake.* So free from Swearing, that he never uſed an Aſſeveration but *Forſooth* and *Verily*. So Patient, that to one, who ſtruck him when he was taken Priſoner, he only ſaid, *You wrong your ſelf more than me to ſtrike the Lord's Anointed.* So Devout, that, on the chief Holy Days, he uſed to wear Sackcloth next his Skin. And ſo Innocent in general, that his Confeſſor declar'd, *That for Ten Years Space he never found any Thing that he had ſaid or done for which he might juſtly enjoin him Penance.* And herein conſiſted his Happineſs, That he was the only Prince, perhaps in the World, that never diſtinguiſhed betwixt Adverſity and Proſperity; being ſo intent upon his Devotion, as to think nothing Adverſity that did not interrupt that: But this brought him under the ſole Power of others, and made him fitter for a Prieſt than a King. He was murdered in the Fiftieth Year of his Age; after he had been proclaimed in the Cradle, crown'd in his Infancy, and again, at more Age, in the City of *Paris*, and Twice

impriſoned and deprived of his Crown. His Body was, with Guards and ſome Show of Funeral Rites, brought into S. *Paul*'s Church; where, with the Face uncovered, it was expoſed to the Curioſity of every Eye; and here it bled again afreſh, and became a melancholy Spectacle to moſt of the Beholders. From thence it was carried to the Black-*Friars* Church, where, being laid bare-fac'd, it bled as before; to the great Amazement of the Spectators, who look'd upon it as a miraculous Way of demanding Juſtice from Heaven, when it was not to be had upon Earth. At length it was put into a Boat, without Prieſt, Clerk, Torch or Taper, Singing or Saying, and was ferry'd into the Abby of *Chertſey* in *Surrey*; and there, without any Pomp, interr'd. A memorable Example of the Inconſtancy and Vanity of this World.

King *Edward* having cut off his principal Enemies, ſent Ambaſſadors to King *James*, at the very ſame Time that he was ſending his to *England*, that the former Peace betwixt the Two Nations might be renew'd. And, that it might be the more firm and laſting, the *Scots* Ambaſſadors propoſed a Marriage betwixt Lady *Cecily*, King *Edward*'s Second Daughter, and the King's eldeſt Son *James*, Prince of *Scotland*, Duke of *Rothſay* and Earl of *Carrick*. To this Propoſal King *Edward*, and his Council, willingly agreed. And that King *James* might not doubt of the Reality of his Intentions, he furniſhed him with certain Sums of Money before hand, as a Part of her Dowry; upon this Condition, That if the ſaid Marriage, by any Accident unthought on, ſhould hereafter not go forward and be conſummate, or if King *Edward* ſhould give Notice, to the King of *Scotland* and his Council, that he was determined to have the ſaid Marriage diſſolved and broken off; that then the Provoſt and Merchants of *Edinburgh* ſhould be bound for the Repayment of the ſaid Sums of Money back again. At this time, the King's Favourites had ſo incenſed the Old Nobility and his Two Brothers, the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Mar*, that they reſolved to have them removed and others put in their Places. They, getting Notice of this, were afraid to diſcloſe themſelves to the King, ſince his Two Brothers were ſo deeply concerned in the Plot. But, knowing that he was Naturally much given to the believing of Aſtrological Predictions and Prophecies, they cauſed an old Woman meet him one Morning, as he was going to the Hunting, who told him, 'To beware of his neareſt Kinſmen; for from 'them his Ruin was likely to come. Thoſe who were upon the Plot immediately buzzed in his Ears, That certainly ſhe meant his Two Brothers; who, of late, had turned very Factious. And, to confirm all, there was a Profeſſor of Phyſic, whom the King had brought from *Germany* and preferred to a Church Benefice, for his great Skill in Aſtrology; him, with *William Schevez* the Arch-Biſhop of *S. Andrew*'s, they employ'd to amuſe him with Aſtrological Predictions. And accordingly they told him that they found by the Stars, That, in *Scotland*, a Lion was to be devoured by his Whelps. All Things being ready for a Rupture betwixt the King and his Nobility, the Earl of *Mar* was ſtirred up to begin the Tragedy; which he did by upbraiding the King to his Face, for advancing of mean Men to the higheſt Stations and neglecting his Ancient Nobility. Upon this the King commits him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Craig-Millar*. Which ſo incenſed him, being Naturally a Youth of a hot and violent Temper, and affected his Mind, that he turned

turned Diſtracted. The King, being informed of his Misfortune, cauſed convoy him under Night to the *Canongate*; and ſent his own Phyſicians to wait upon him. They opened ſeveral Veins in his Head and Arms, and he, finding they had retired for ſome time, tore off the Bandages and bled to Death.

The Duke of *Albany* having caus'd it to be induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, That the King had ordered his Phyſicians to bleed his Brother, the Earl of *Mar*, to Death; the Murmurings of all Ranks of People increas'd more than ever. And the King, being informed that the Duke had frequent Meetings with them, cauſed him likewiſe to be apprehended and impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and a Day was appointed for his being try'd for High Treaſon. But, ere that Time came, the Duke, by killing of his Keeper, made his Eſcape and fled in a Ship, lying ready for him, to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, of which he was Governour; and having encouraged the Garriſon to make a vigorous Defence, incaſe they ſhould lay Siege to it, promiſing to relieve them with Forces from *France*, he ſet Sail for that Kingdom; where he was very kindly received by King *Lewis* XI. But he could not prevail with him to aſſiſt him with any Forces againſt his Brother. The King, being informed of the Duke's Eſcape to the Caſtle of *Dunbar*, orders the Lord *Evandale*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, to beſiege it. Which he did, and took it without great Loſs, there being only Three Knights of the King's Party kill'd, with one Cannon Ball, *viz.* the Laird of *Luſs*, *William Schaw* of *Sauchie*, and the Laird of *Craigy-Wallace*. *John Ramſay* likewiſe, a Gentleman of great Valour, was killed by ſome Stones thrown from the Caſtle. But the Beſieged, finding that they could not make any tolerable Defence, made their Eſcape in Boats in the Night time and fled into *England*.

About this Time, *John Ireland*, a Doctor of the *Sorbon* and Profeſſor of Theology at *Paris*, was ſent by King *Lewis* to *Scotland*, to diſſwade King *James* from the intended Marriage betwixt his Son and the Lady *Cecily*. And ſo far did he prevail with him, that he ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Edward*, deſiring him not to aſſiſt the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, his own Siſter, againſt King *Lewis*; otherwiſe he would be obliged to break the Peace agreed on between them. About this Time the Duke of *Albany* came from *France* to *England*, and finding, that his Brother had highly incenſed King *Edward*, he fomented the Diviſion, and told him what Perſonal Weakneſs his Brother King *James* was guilty of, what Factions and Diviſions were amongſt the Nobility, and how eaſy it would be for him, by the Intereſt that he had amongſt them, to bring him to what Terms he pleas'd, if he would but aſſiſt him with a competent Army. King *Edward*, who could never digeſt King *James*'s aſſiſting of the good, tho' misfortunate, King *Henry* VI. his greateſt Enemy, and being perſwaded, that the Duke would be always to him a ſure and a faithful Friend, he determined with all Diligence and Speed to enter *Scotland* with a Numerous Army. The Duke of *Albany* having acquainted his Friends with King *Edward*'s Reſolution; *Thomas Spence*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, a Man who loved his Country, and knew all the different Factions among them, foreſeeing the Calamities that would enſue upon this Breach of the Peace, took it ſo to Heart, that he died of Grief at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *April* 1480, and was buried

in the *Trinity-College* there. After this open Hoſtilities broke out, betwixt the Two Nations. The *Engliſh* ſent a Fleet of Ships, to the Firth of *Forth*, which carried away Eight of the principal Ships then lying in the Firth; and landing at *Blackneſs*, they burnt that Village and a Merchant Ship which had put in there, and ſo returned to *England*. Several Incurſions were made upon the Borders by both Nations, and the King was inform'd, that the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Albany*, with *James* late Earl of *Douglaſs*, and *Alexander Jerdan* and *Patrick Halyburton*, Men who were proſcrib'd and had a Price ſet upon their Heads, were at *Anwick* with a powerful Army and marched ſtreight towards *Kelſo*. Upon this the King immediately iſſued out a Proclamation, commanding all betwixt Sixty and Sixteen to meet him at *Edinburgh*, well Armed, to oppoſe their old Enemies the *Engliſh*, who were come the length of the Borders.

The King, having got together a powerful Army from all Parts of the Kingdom, marched ſtraight towards the Borders. Amongſt thoſe who join'd him there was none that brought ſo many Forces alongſt as the Lord of the *Iſles*, notwithſtanding the great Diſobligations he lay under. Our learn'd and reverend Author ſays, That he would have marched ſtraight into *England*, had it not been that he was met by the Pope's Legate, who diſcharged him to proſecute the War any further, upon pain of Excommunication, becauſe a Peace was to be concluded amongſt all Chriſtian Princes, that they might join their united Forces againſt the *Turks* and Heathens; and that he ſubmitted to the Commands of the Holy See, and put a Stop to the Progreſs of his Army. But, whatever Truth be in this, it's certain that, whilſt he ſtay'd at *Lauder* with his Army, *Archbald* Earl of *Angus*, *George* Earl of *Huntly*, *John* Earl of *Lenox*, *Andrew* Lord *Gray*, *Robert* Lord *Liſle*, with many other Barons and Gentlemen, aſſembled at Midnight in the Church of *Lauder*; and, having concerted Affairs amongſt themſelves, they went ſtraight to the King's Tent, where, after they had firſt upbraided him with the Miſmanagement of the Affairs of the Nation, by Murdering the Earl of *Mar*, Baniſhing the Duke of *Albany*, diſtruſting his ancient Nobility, and truſting only mean Paraſites, (whom he had raiſed from the Dunghill) they ſeis'd upon the Perſons of *William Roger*, whom for his Skill in Muſick he Knighted, *James Hamill*, and *Robert Cochran*, whom from a Surveyer of his Works he had made One of his Privy Council and Intrometter with, or Uplifter of, the Rents of the Earldom of *Mar*, and not Earl of *Mar*, as ſome have written. Theſe Perſons being accuſed of adviſing the King to put his Brother the Earl of *Mar* to Death, to baniſh his Brother the Duke of *Albany*, to entertain Concubines, and to have coin'd Copper Money, by which a Dearth was brought amongſt the Commons, they were all condemned to be hanged; and being dragged out to the great Satisfaction of the enraged Multitude, they were brought to the Bridge of *Lauder*, with Gold Chains about their Necks, which the King had given them as Marks of his Favour, and there hang'd. After which they march'd back to *Edinburgh*, and impriſoned the King in the Caſtle, under the Government of the Earl of *Athole* and ſome other Noblemen.

In the mean time the Duke of *Albany*, ſeeing all Things proſper ſo well with the Rebels of his Faction, urged King *Edward* to ſecond them with

with all imaginable Speed and Haſte. And accordingly a mighty Fleet, and a great Army, is ſent down to *Scotland*, as if they had been to conquer the Country which was betray'd to their Hand. They ſet forward in *May* 1482, and made ſuch ſpeedy Marches that they came to *Anwick* in *Northumberland* about the Beginning of *July*, where they firſt Encamped themſelves, and Mariſchalled their Hoſt in the following manner. The Van was led by the Earl of *Northumberland*, under whoſe Standard were the Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *John Diſhfield* and divers other Knights, Eſquires and common Souldiers, to the Number of Six Thouſand and Seven Hundred Men In the Middleward was the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the King's Brother and Lieutenant-General of the Army; and, under his Banner, the Duke of *Albany*, the Lord *Lovell*, the Lord *Grayſtock*, Sir *Edward Woodville* and others, to the Number of Five Thouſand and Eight Hundred Men. The Lord *Nevil* was appointed to follow, accompanied with Three Thouſand Men. The Lord *Stanley* led the Wing, on the Right Hand of the Duke's Battel, with Four Thouſand Men of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*. The Left Wing was commanded by the Lord *Fitz Hugh*, Sir *William Parr* and Sir *James Harington*, with about Two Thouſand Men. And, beſides all theſe, there were a Thouſand Men appointed to attend the Ordnance. This Army, conſiſted of Two and Twenty Thouſand and Five Hundred Men. The Duke of *Albany*, who had been Governour of *Berwick*, and knew that he was beloved by the Garriſon, perſwaded the Duke of *Gloceſter* to lay Siege to the Town; which was accordingly done, and they ſurrendered at Diſcretion without much Loſs to either Side. But the brave Lord *Hailes*, who was Governour of the Caſtle, could by no means be prevail'd upon to betray his Truſt to his King and Country; but made a moſt noble Reſiſtance. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, finding that, notwithſtanding of his numerous Army, he was not likely to ſucceed againſt this invincible Hero, march'd directly to *Edinburgh*; leaving only behind him 4000 Men to continue the Siege of the Caſtle, under the Command of the Lord *Stanley*, Sir *John Elrington* Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, and Sir *William Parr*. And here the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians tell us (*g*), that the Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſo incenſed for his being thus affronted by the Lord *Hailes*, that, in his March to *Edinburgh*, he burnt, deſtroyed and won above Thirty Towns, with their Baſtiles; the Names whereof I ſhall here ſet down, to ſhow how little Credit ſhould be given to them when they write of *Scots* Affairs, private Gentlemen's Houſes and mean open Villages being reckon'd in their Liſt as great Towns and Cities. The Names are as follow. *Edrington*, *Paxton*, *Fiſhwick*, *Brandike*, *Hooton*, *Heton-Hall*, *Mordington* and the Baſtile, *Plomeborn* and the Town, *Bhroweſhed* and the Steeple, *Broomhill* and the Baſtile, *Edram*, *Eſtrusbett*, *Blakater* and the Bank won, *Kallow* and *Kamorgan*, *Whitſonlaws*, *Brynlevein* and *Riſelawe*, *Elbank*, *Hocas*, *Betroſide*, *Eniſlaw* and the Baſtile won, *Hilton* and *Whitſom*, Mykil *Swinton* and the Baſtile, Little *Swinton* and the Baſtile, *Sompron* and *Harden*, *Croſſirge* and *Whitſide*, *Edingham*, *Whitmere*, *Newtoun*, *Yeatham*, *Brymſed* and the Baſtile, *Lowhouſes* and the Baſtile, *Cherry-Trees* and *Hoype*, *Cliſton*, *Coto* and *Hawmon*, *Marbotel* and the Baſtile, *Lynton* with the Baſtile, Part of *Cawarden* burnt, *Chedworth*, *Craylam* and the Baſtile,

(*g*) Vid. Hiſt. Ang. Scot. pag. 232, Hall, &c.

Nesket and *Nesket*, Old *Roxborough*, *Ednam* and the Baſtile won, *Ednam* Iſle, *Benlaw*, *Ouſnam*, and Long *Puolo* delivered, *Croke*, *Aſhews*, *Midprops* and the Baſtile, *Coſſemayns* and the Baſtile won, *Wedon* and the Baſtile. The Duke of *Gloceſter*, with his Victorious Army, at length arrives at *Reſtalrig* and enters the Town of *Edinburgh*; himſelf with his Retinue, in a Triumphal Manner, being uſhered by the Duke of *Albany*, at whoſe Deſire he ſaved the Town from being plunder'd and burnt, only taking ſuch Preſents, as the Merchants and wealthier Part of the Inhabitants were adviſed to make to him. The King, finding himſelf thus betrayed and forſaken by his Subjects, retired to the Caſtle. And the Duke of *Gloceſter* cauſed *Garter*, King at Arms, make open Proclamation at the Croſs; whereby he warn'd and admoniſh'd the King to keep, obſerve and perform all ſuch Promiſes, Covenants, Compacts and Agreements as he had made and ſealed with the King of *England*; and alſo, before the Firſt Day of *Auguſt* next enſuing, to make ſufficient and anſwerable Recompence for the great Spoil and Dammages that he and his People had committed within the Marches and Territories of *England*; and further, without Delay, to reſtore the High and Mighty Prince, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, to his Eſtate and all his Offices, otherwiſe that he would deſtroy his People and Country with Fire and Sword. King *James* returned no Anſwer; but the Rebel-Lords, beginning to conſider how they might obviate the Danger that they had brought themſelves and their Country in, of being entirely ſubjected by this Numerous Army, met at *Haddington*, and ſent, to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, *John* Lord *Darnley*, and *Andrew* elect Biſhop of *Murray*, requiring a Suſpenſion of Arms, and that a firm and laſting Peace ſhould be concluded for the Time to come. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* would hear of no ſuch Thing, unleſs they repaid the Money, which was advanced by the King his Brother upon the Account of the Marriage, the Duke of *Albany* were reſtored, and the Caſtle of *Berwick* delivered up to him. As for the Firſt of theſe, the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* bound themſelves to repay that Money againſt ſuch a Day; and *Walter Bartrham*, their Provoſt, delivered the ſaid Bond, ſeal'd with the common Town-Seal of *Edinburgh*, upon the 4th Day of *Auguſt* 1482, in Preſence of the High and Mighty Princes *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, *James* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Colin* Earl of *Argyle*, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, *Alexander Inglis*, and a great many others. As to the Second Demand; the Duke of *Albany* was not only pardoned, but had given unto him the Caſtle of *Dumbar* and the Earldoms of *Mar* and *March*; and, by the Conſent of the Nobility, he was proclaimed Lieutenant of the Kingdom. And Laſtly, The Caſtle of *Berwick* was delivered up to him, tho' much againſt the brave Governour's Will, upon the 24th Day of *Auguſt*. The Duke of *Gloceſter* having thus obtained all that he demanded, the Peace was proclaimed and he returned to *London*, where he was received by his Brother with great Joy. And, to ſhow how much he approved of his Conduct, he went in Proceſſion from S. *Stephen*'s Chapel to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, accompany'd with the Queen, his Siſter and a mighty Train of the Nobility. Where, in the Preſence of the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *James Liddel*, Ambaſſadors Extraordinary for *Scotland*, the Peace was ratified. And at their Return King *Edward* ſent with them *Garter*, principal King at Arms, and

and *Northumberland* another Herauld, to intimate to the King and Nobility, that he gave over the Marriage contracted betwixt the Prince of *Rothſay* and the Lady *Cecilia* his Daughter, and to require of the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* the Money that they had bound themſelves to pay him, which they immediately did. It was thought, that the Motive that induced King *Edward* to break this Match, was the Diviſions and Factions he foreſaw were like to ariſe betwixt King *James* and his Rebellious Subjects. But whatever Truth be in this, 'tis certain that King *Edward*, about the ſame very Time, was himſelf treated after the ſame Manner as he had done to King *James*. For *Lewis*, the *French* King, in one of the Articles of Peace concluded betwixt him and King *Edward* in the Fourteenth Year of King *Edward*'s Reign, had agreed and conſented to the Marriage of his eldeſt Son, the *Dauphin*, to *Elizabeth*, King *Edward*'s eldeſt Daughter. Notwithſtanding of which, as we have ſaid, as he had deluded the *Scots* King, ſo the *French* King deluded him by marrying his Son to Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick*. With which he was ſo diſpleaſed, that, as ſome Hiſtorians ſay, it was the Cauſe of his Death. But, however diſpleaſing the Breach of this Match was to King *Edward*, yet it afterwards proved a great Happineſs to *England*: For the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was married to King *Henry* VII. the only Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and by this means the Two Roſes, or Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, were united; whoſe Difference had cauſed ſo many bloody Battels, in which the beſt of the Royal and Noble Blood of *England* was ſpilt, beſide that an infinite Number of the Commons had fallen.

During all this Time Proclamations and other publick Writs were iſſued forth in the King's Name, tho' he was truly and really a Priſoner. For he was not permitted to come abroad; none was permitted to ſpeak unto him but in Preſence of ſome of thoſe Lords who were his Keepers; his Chamber-Doors were ſhut before the ſetting of the Sun, and not opened till long after its Riſing.

The Duke of *Albany*, finding that theſe Lords had not that Reſpect for him which he thought they owed to his Birth and Character; and being Daily importuned by the Tears and Prayers of the Queen, a moſt beautiful and vertuous Lady, begun to compaſſionate his Brother's State and reſolv'd to ſet him at Liberty. So, leaving the Lords who were then at *Stirling*, he comes Poſt to *Edinburgh*; and being join'd by the Magiſtrates and Citizens, who during all the Time of the King's Troubles, never could be induced to aſſiſt the Rebels, they laid Siege to the Caſtle, obliged the Earl of *Athole*, the Governour, to ſurrender it; and then conducted the King, with great Pomp and Solemnity, to his Palace at *Holy-rood-houſe*. For which Piece of good Service, the Provoſt and Bailies of *Edinburgh* were made Sheriffs within all the Bounds of their own Territories; and ſeveral ample and large Privileges were granted to the Citizens: As appears from their Patent, or *Golden Charter* as they call it, Dated at *Edinburgh*, 1482. The Lords at *Stirling*, *viz.* *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Evandale*, Chancelor, *Colin* Earl of *Argyle*, and *William Schevez*, Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, and ſeveral others, fled and abſconded themſelves, till ſuch time as they were reconciled to the King by the Mediation of the Duke of *Albany* and Earl of *Angus*.

All Things being thus ſettled betwixt the King and his Factious Nobility, *Charles* VIII. King of *France* ſent over to *Scotland Bernard Stewart* Lord *d' Aubigny* and Mariſchal of *France*, and *Peter Mallart* Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law, to renew the Ancient League betwixt *France* and *Scotland*. And accordingly the ſame was done at *Edinburgh*, in Preſence of the whole Nobility, and the Seals of the Two Kings appended to it, upon the 22d Day of *March*, 1483.

After which the King ſent over, with the *French* Ambaſſadors, Auxiliary Troops to aſſiſt King *Charles* in his intended War againſt *Naples*. Theſe Forces behaved themſelves with ſuch Valour, that King *Charles* acknowledged if it had not been for their Bravery at the Battel of *Fornovo*, fought in 1494, he had not conquered *Naples*, nor afterwards forced *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, the Duke of *Urbin* and *John Sforce*, Lord of *Peſaro*, to diſband their Army and ſeek a Refuge for their Perſons in the Town of *Faenze*. And further, to teſtify his good Will and Affection towards them, he made *Bernard Stuart*, Lord *d' Aubigny* and Mariſchal of *France*, Governour of *Naples*, and his Lieutenant in *Calabria*; *John Stuart*, as *Houſton* calls him *(b)*, or *Robert Stuart*, as our Learned Prelate names him, was made Count *d'Evreux*, Lord *de Concreſſaut* and Mariſchal of *France*. *Nicolaus Scot* and ſeveral others had Lands beſtowed upon them; and of them are deſcended ſeveral Noble Families amongſt the *Italians*, whom our Learn'd Prelate mentions. But to return to our Hiſtory.

Whilſt King *James* was puniſhing thoſe who had committed hainous Miſdemeanours, during his Impriſonment, his Favourites begun to repreſent to him the great Loſs the Nation ſuſtain'd by his Brother's delivering up to the *Engliſh* the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick*: And that he had ſtill ſome bad Deſign in his Head, as plainly appeared from the cloſe Friendſhip that was betwixt him and the Lord *Creighton*; who, under thePretence of Hunting with him, went frequently into the Borders, where he met with *James* Earl of *Douglaſs* and ſeveral other *Engliſh* Lords, who were endeavouring to raiſe an Inſurrection amongſt his Subjects. The Duke of *Albany*, being informed of this, and finding that his Brother begun to be ſuſpicious of him, fled immediately to *Dumbar*; and having ſecured the Garriſon to his Intereſt, he went ſtreight to the Court of *England*. Upon which, both he and the Lord *Creighton* were ſummoned to appear and anſwer to ſeveral Points of High Treaſon laid to their Charge. But none of them appearing, they were both forfaulted and declared Rebels. In the mean time, *Edward*, King of *England*, dying, *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester*, having murdered his Two Nephews, got himſelf proclaimed King. The Duke of *Albany* having made his Application to him, he ordered a Garriſon to be ſent to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, which the Duke delivered up to him; and that Five Hundred Men ſhould be raiſed upon the Borders, to make an Incurſion into *Scotland*, under the Command of the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Douglaſs*, a Man well known and renown'd upon the Weſt Borders. Theſe, being joined with a great Number of Out-laws, upon the 22d Day of *July*, came to *Lochmaban*, where was then kept a great Fair, in which all Sorts of Merchant-Goods were expoſed to Sale; and on theſe they ſeis'd. But, as they were returning with their Prey, the Laird

b) Hiſt. l' Eſcoſſe Francoiſe.

Johnſton, who was Warden of theſe Borders, and the Laird of *Cockpool*, having rais'd as many Men as they could, went immediately in Purſuit of them: And having met them, they fought it moſt deſperately for a long Time; but at length, a freſh Recruit of Men coming up to the Laird of *Johnſton*'s Aſſiſtance, the *Engliſh* were put to the Rout. The Duke of *Albany* ſaved himſelf by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe: But the old Earl of *Douglaſs*, being infirm, and having heavy Armour, was taken Priſoner by *Robert Kirkpatrick*: For which Piece of good Service he got the Lands of *Kirkmichael*. The Earl being brought Priſoner to *Edinburgh*, when he was ſent for to Court, 'tis ſaid that, inſtead of looking the King in the Face, he turn'd his Back to him; being aſham'd to look on a Prince whom he had ſo much injured. On the other Hand the King, compaſſionating his Condition, confined him only to the Abbacy of *Lundores*. The Duke of *Albany*, upon his Return to the Court of *England*, found their Affections quite alienated from him, upon the Account of his Misfortune. Whereupon he embarked, in a ſmall Veſſel belonging to one *John Liddel*, and retired ſecretly to *France*.

After this Action at *Lochmaben*, ſeveral Incurſions were made by the *Scots* upon the *Engliſh* Borders, and by the *Engliſh* on the *Scots* Borders. At length a Peace was concluded betwixt the Two Nations upon the 29th of *September* 1484, of which we have given an Account in the Beginning of Biſhop *Elphinſton*'s Life. The Conſervators, appointed for the ſure obſerving of this Peace, were: For the *Scots*, *David* Earl of *Crawford* and Lord *Lindſay*; *George* Earl of *Huntly*, Lord *Gordon* and *Badzenoch*; *John* Lord *Darnly*, *John* Lord *Kennedy*, *Robert* Lord *Lile*, *Patrick* Lord *Hailes*, *Lawrence* Lord *Olyphant*, *William* Lord *Borthwick*, Sir *John Roſs* of *Halkhead*, Sir *Gilbert Johnſton* of *Elphinſton*, Sir *John Lundy*, Sir *James Ogilvy* of *Airly*, Sir *Robert Hamilton* of *Fingalton*, Sir *William Baillie* of *Lamington*, Sir *John Kennedy* of *Blanquhon*, Sir *John Weems*, Sir *William Rochewen*, *Edward Stochton* of *Kirkpaty* Eſq; *John Dundas* Eſq; *John Roſs* of *Mountgreenan* Eſquire. For the *Engliſh*, were *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, *Ralph* Lord *Grayſtock*, *Richard* Lord *Fitzhough*, *John* Lord *Scroop*, *Thomas* Lord *Scroop* of *Maſham*, Sir *Chriſtopher Moresby*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Sir *John Conyers*, Sir *Edmond Haſtings*, Sir *William Evers*, Sir *John Hudelſton*, *William Clopton* Eſq; *William Muſgrave* Eſq; *Richard Salkeld* Eſquire. It was further agreed, That, upon the Eighteenth Day of *November*, the Peace ſhould be publiſhed on the Weſt Marches, and all Diſorders there redreſſed by the following Perſons. For the *Scots* were appointed, the Lord *Kennedy*, the Lord *Mountgomery*, the Lord *Lile*, *John Maxwel* Stewart of *Annandale*, *Robert Creichton* of *Sanquhar*, or any Three of them. For the *Engliſh*, the Lord *Dacre*, the Lord *Fitzhough*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Sir *Chriſtopher Moresby*, *Richard Salkeld*, or any Three of them: As likewiſe, That the Earl of *Huntly*, the Earl of *Angus*, the Earl of *Argyle* Chancellor of *Scotland*, the Lord *Annandale*, the Lord *Seton*, the Lord *Olyphant* and the Lord of *Stobhall*, for the King of *Scotland*; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Grayſtock*, the Lord *Scroop* of *Maſham*, Sir *William Gaſcoigne* and Sir *Robert Conſtable*, for the King of *England*, ſhould meet at *Roydenburn*, for the Eaſt Marches, the Firſt Day of *December*, and at *Haldenſtank* for the Middle Marches the Fourth Day of the ſame Month.

After all Things had been thus agreed and ſettled betwixt the Two Nations, King *James* required of King *Richard*, That the Caſtle of *Dumbar* ſhould be delivered up to him. But King *Richard* put him off, during all his Reign, with complementing Letters and ſoft Excuſes: And he being overthrown and kill'd in Battle, King *James* laid Siege to, and took it in the Year 1486. During theſe Tranſactions, *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, was kill'd at a Tournament with a Splinter of the Spear of *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, in the Year 1483. And not long after died Queen *Margaret*, a Lady endowed with many rare and excellent Accompliſhments. She was buried with great Pomp and Solemnity in the Abbay of *Cambuskeneth*, upon the 29th of *February* 1486.

Henry Earl of *Richmond*, after the Death of King *Richard*, being own'd and proclaimed King of *England*, ſent *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Exceter*, and Sir *Richard Edgcomb* Ambaſſadors to King *James*; with whom they concluded a Peace, to be inviolably kept betwixt the Two Nations, for Seven Years. After this the King betook himſelf wholly to a Devout and Religious Life; and put the Laws ſeverely in Execution againſt all Malefactors and ſeditious Perſons. Upon which many of the Commons begun to murmur and complain of the Severity of his Government: And, on the other Hand, a great many of the Nobility, being diſſatisfied with his Proceedings, at length broke out into open Rebellion. The Nobility who Headed the Rebels were, the Earls of *Angus*, *Argyle* and *Lenox*, the Lords *Hailes*, *Hume*, *Drummond*, *Gray* and ſeveral others. The King being extraordinarily ſurpriſed at their Inſurrection, reſolved to go to the Northern Countries of his Kingdom, in order to raiſe all the Highland Clans, who had always given undeniable Proofs of their Fidelity and Loyalty to his Family. So embarking in a Ship of Sir *Andrew Wood*, a famous Sea-Captain and moſt loyal Subject, he landed in *Fife*. Sir *Andrew* having caus'd a Report to be ſpread, that he was going to the *Netherlands*, the Lords of the Aſſociation, for ſo theſe Rebels were then call'd, took Occaſion from it to perſwade the People, that the King was fled to *Flanders*; and they ſeis'd upon his Baggage, and rifled all his Trunks, making uſe of what Money they found in them, to ſupport their Party. The King, in his Journey, held Juſtice-Courts where ever he came, and was received with great Acclamations of Joy. On the other Hand, the Rebels did nothing but ravage and plunder the whole Countries to the South of the *Forth*. And that they might give ſome tolerable Pretence for what they were doing, they ſeiſed upon the young Prince, the King's Son, whom they conſtrain'd to Head them; and gave out, that the King deſigning to treat his Son as he had done his Two Uncles, the Duke of *Albany* and the Earl of *Mar*, they thought themſelves oblig'd to take Arms in Defence of the Young Prince. And, that they might ſtrengthen their Party the more, they ſent to the old Earl of *Douglaſs*, who lived like a Monk in the Abbay of *Lundores*, and offered to reſtore him to all his former Lands, Poſſeſſions and Dignities, if he would but come and join them. But he, having got a full View of the Vanity of the World, the Folly of Ambition, and Madneſs of Rebellion, wrote to them, *That he had now renounced the World and all its Vanities, and earneſtly intreated them, to reflect upon the lamentable Conſequence that would enſue, upon their Rebellion againſt their Native Prince, of which he and his Family were a ſad Inſtance.* And that he might further teſtify his Sorrow and Grief

Grief for having offended his Sovereign, and being an Enemy to his Native Country, he ſent Letters to all his Friends, *Earneſtly exhorting them to raiſe all their Followers to aſſiſt their injured King, otherways that God would never proſper them or their Families.*

The King being no Ways diſcouraged, truſting, under God, to the Valour and Loyalty of his North-Country Forces, which he had brought alongſt with him in a Fleet under the Conduct of Sir *Andrew Wood*, who landed them ſafely at *Blackneſs*, was met by the Earls of *Montroſe*, *Glencairn* and *Crawford*, the Lords *Maxwel*, *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and their Followers, whom he had advertiſed of his Coming. The Rebels having advanced with their Army, when they were going to decide the Difference by Battel, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Athole*, a Suſpenſion of Arms was agreed upon. And the Earl became Surety for the King's performing of his Part to the Lord *Hailes*, who ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*. And this was One of the greateſt Failures of this Prince's Life, to capitulate with his Rebellious Subjects when he had a ſupernumerary Army, and, incaſe he had been foil'd, a Fleet to protect him. But the Ways of Providence are not to be fathomed by the Wiſdom of Men. For this Religious and Compaſſionate Prince, who thought by this Act of Clemency to have ſtifled the Rebellion in its Bud, did ſo weaken his own Power and encourage the Rebels, that they became more inſolent than ever they had been. And no ſooner had he disbanded his Army and retired to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, but they came in great Numbers to the City, and would not permit the young Prince to ſee the King his Father. And, when he ſent to them to know what they deſigned to do, they returned him this inſulting Anſwer; 'That they would have him reſign the Crown to 'his Son, for him they were only reſolved to obey. The King, who now begun to perceive his Error, tho' too late, ſent immediately Letters to the Kings of *England*, *France* and the Pope, intreating them to interpoſe their Authority with his Rebellious Subjects. But all was in vain; for Nothing would ſatisfy them but the King's reſigning of his Crown to the Prince his Son. The King, being advis'd by theſe about him to quit the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* and go to that of *Stirling*, where he would more conveniently meet with the Forces coming from the North, the Earls of *Montroſe*, *Glencairn*, the Lords *Maxwel* and *Ruthven* accompanied him to *Blackneſs*; his Forces daily increaſing, he marched towards *Stirling*, where he appointed all his Loyal Subjects to meet him. And here he was reſolved to ſtay with his Army, till he was joined by his Northern Forces, *viz.* the *Mackenzies*, *Ogilvies*, *Grants*, *Frazers Meldrums*, many of the *Gordons*, *Keiths* and others, who were all on their March. But the Governour refuſing to ſurrender the Caſtle to him, and News being brought to him, that the Rebels with their Army were come the length of *Falkirk*, truſting too much to the Goodneſs of his Cauſe and the Valour of the Forces he had with him, he reſolved to give them Battel. So both Armies rencountred at *Sawchy*-Burn. The Earl of *Monteith*, the Lords *Erskin*, *Graham*, *Ruthven* and *Maxwel*, commanded the Vanguard of the King's Army. The Earl of *Glencairn* commanded the Left-Wing, which conſiſted of Weſtland and Highland Men. The Lords *Boyd* and *Lindſay* the Right-Wing: And the Earl of *Crawford* the Main Body; amongſt whom was the King, Armed

from Head to Foot, upon a great Courſer, eaſy to be known from the reſt.

The Rebels ranged their Army in Three Squadrons. The Firſt, conſiſting of Eaſt *Lothian* and *Merſs* Men, were commanded by the Lords *Hume* and *Hailes*. The Second, conſiſting of *Lidſdale*, *Annandale*, *Ewſdale*, *Teviotdale*, *Tweeddale*, and *Galloway* Men, was commanded by the Lord *Gray*. The Third, or main Body of the Army, conſiſting of Weſt *Lothian* Men, by the Prince; tho' in Reality by the reſt of the Lords who were all here about him. And this our Hiſtorians are generally agreed about; yet *Lindſay* of *Pitſcotty*, in his MS. Continuation of *Hector Boeis*'s Hiſtory, tells us that the King's Army was ranged thus. The Vanguard, ſays he, was commanded by the Earls of *Huntly* and *Athole*, conſiſting of Ten Thouſand Highlandmen with Bows. The Rear by the Lord *Erskin*, the Lord *Graham* and the Lord *Monteith*, conſiſting of Ten Thouſand of the Weſtland and *Stirling*-Shire Men. And the King himſelf commanded the Main Body, conſiſting of all the Burrows and Commons that had reſorted to him. The Right Wing of the Army by *David* Earl of *Crawford* and Lord *David Lindſay* of the *Byres*, conſiſting of Two Thouſand Horſemen and Six Thouſand Foot out of *Fife* and *Angus*. The Left Wing by the Lord *Ruthven*, conſiſting of Five Thouſand Men out of *Strathern* and *Stormont*. If this be true, this Prince is not to be blamed ſo much, for not waiting for his Northern Forces. For here is an Army of Thirty Three Thouſand Men, and his Enemies were not half the Number. But whatever Truth be in this, it is certain, that, after a moſt obſtinate Fight, the King's Army was put to the Rout. The King, endeavouring to make his Eſcape to *Stirling*, put the Spurs to his Horſe, and as he was coming towards the Mill of *Bannockburn*, the Miller's Wife, carrying in Water in a Pitcher, ſet down her Pitcher and run into the Mill, afraid of being rod over. The Horſe, jumping aſide at the Sight of the Veſſel, threw him to the Ground; and being in Armour, he was ſo bruiſed that he fainted away. The Miller and his Wife thinking he was dead, carry'd him into the Mill, and covered him with a Cloath, not knowing what he was: But the King, having recovered his Senſes, call'd to the poor Woman, 'To bring him a Prieſt, that he might make his laſt Confeſ-'ſion, and receive the bleſs'd Sacrament. The Woman having had the Curioſity to ask, Who he was? He anſwered, *Once this Morning I was your King*. Upon this the poor Woman run out haſtily, calling for a Prieſt to confeſs the King. One of the Rebels, who was upon the Purſuit, hearing this, lighted from his Horſe, and knowing him, kneel'd and asked, If he would have one to confeſs him? The King told him, 'That in all Probability he was a dying, and that there was 'nothing he deſired more. But this Ruffian, inſtead of doing him that Piece of Service, pull'd out a Dagger and ſtab'd him Three or Four Times towards the Heart. Some ſay, that this execrable Wretch was my Lord *Gray*'s Groom; and others that it was Sir *Andrew Borthwick* a real Prieſt. But it is not to be imagined that any Clergy-Man, unleſs he had been wrong in the Head, would have been guilty of ſuch a Villany; and as little, that any Gentleman would have done it, as ſome Hiſtorians have maliciouſly affirm'd. This Battel was fought, in the Year 1488, the Eleventh Day of *June*, being the Feſtival of S. *Barnabas*, in

in the Twenty Ninth Year of the King's Reign, and the Thirty Fifth of his Age.

The Prince, his Son, was no ſooner inform'd of the Murder of his Father, but all in Tears he came to the Place, cauſed take up the Royal Corps and carried it to his Palace at *Stirling*: And from thence he was tranſported to the Abbacy of *Cambuskenneth*, where he was interred, with great Splendor and Pomp, near to the Queen, his Wife. He left behind him Three Children; *James* who ſucceeded him, *Alexander* Duke of *Roſs* and Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, and *John* Earl of *Mar*.

This Prince, as to his Bodily Perfections, was well proportioned, of a vigorous and healthful Conſtitution, and of a very Majeſtick Preſence, and a Stature ſomewhat taller than ordinary. His Hair was black, his Viſage was ſomewhat long, but of a very Maſculine Beauty, having in it a Mixture of Majeſty and Severity. As to the Perfections of his Mind, he was very Religious and Devout, which made him affect a ſolitary Life, and neglect the Exerciſe of Kingly Power. And this produced all thoſe Inſurrections and Rebellions his Subjects were guilty of. His Love to his Domeſtick Servants was ſo great, that it brought upon him the Hatred of his Nobility; who thought that it only belong'd to them to be the Partners of his Royal Bounty. He was naturally mild and compaſſionate, but a rigorous Puniſher of thoſe who tranſgreſs'd the Laws: Which made his Enemies accuſe him of Oppreſſion, Avarice, and Tyranny. He took great Pleaſure in Architecture and Gardening; ſo that many ſtately Churches and Chapels were built in his Time. He was too much addicted to the believing of Prophecies and Aſtrological Predictions; which made him always Timorous, Jealous, and Suſpicious of thoſe about him, and this was one of the greateſt Failures of his Life. He was a great Encourager of Learning and Learned Men; for, beſides thoſe we have already mention'd, the following Perſons were patronized and encouraged in their Studies by him. *John Ireland*, a Doctor of the *Sorbon* at *Paris* (*i*), who entered Student of Theology in the College of *Navarre*, in the Year 1446, and received his Degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1475; as we are inform'd by the Learned M. du *Launy*, in his *Hiſtory of the Univerſity of* Paris, who takes him to be an *Iriſh* Man from his Sirname, which is a very common one in this Country. *Lewis*, King of *France*, had ſo great an Opinion of this learned *Sorboniſt*, that he employed him as his Ambaſſador to King *James*, as we have already obſerved: *An Honour, ſays M. du* Launy, *which I believe was never conferred upon any* French *Man living in* Scotland. Neither did he diſappoint the *French* King's Expectations, of his having acquit himſelf in his Embaſſy, with a conſummated Prudence, to the Satisfaction of both the Monarchs. After he had perform'd his Embaſſy, he return'd to *Scotland*, and was made Arch-Deacon of S. *Andrew*'s, in which Station he died. *Dempſter* (*k*) ſays, That he wrote Four Books upon the Maſter of the Sentences. A Book of Sermons. *The Method of reconciling King* James *to his Brother the Duke of* Albany; and a Book of Letters. Which laſt was printed at *Paris*. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *in Magiſtrum Sententiarum, Lib.* IV. *Conciones ſacras. Reconciliationis Modum ad* Jacobum *III. Regem, ſuper diſſidio cum Duce* Albaniæ. *Epiſtolas vide Excuſas* Lutetiæ.

(*i*) Acad. Pariſ. illuſt. pag. 948. (*k*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 9. p. 397.

In the above cited Hiſtory of the Univerſity of *Paris*, I find one *Gilbert Scot* to have been admitted Student of Theology, in the College of *Navarre*, at the ſame Time with Doctor *Ireland*; but neither M. du *Launey* nor *Dempſter* mention him as an Author. *Michael Dirlton*, a *Franciſcan*, who was the Firſt Provoſt of *Dirlton*, wrote, ſays *Dempſter*, to Sir *Walter Haliburton* the Founder, Lectures upon the Pſalms, and a Book of Logicks, highly commended by *Mackulloch* the Continuator of *Fordon*. *Scripſit* (*l*), ſays he, *ad* Walterum Haliburton *Fundatorem, Militem, Lecturas in Pſalmos, Logicalia; Egregium opus, ait Scotichronici Continuator* Mackulloch. *Duncan Fern*, a Doctor of the *Sorbon*, and, for a long Time, Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres* and Philoſophy at *Paris*, wrote a Supplication to King *James*, for ſome Money to repair the Fabrick of the *Scots* College of *Griſy*; to which he himſelf contributed very liberally out of his own private Stock. He wrote likewiſe upon all the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*, and many other Books, which were in MS. in the Library of S. *Victor* at *Paris*; as it appears from the Catalogue of the Books of that Library. *Scripſit* ſays *Dempſter* (*m*), *ad Regem, pro Academia in Epiſtolas* D. Pauli *omnes*; *Libri multi MSS. in Bibliotheca S.* Victoris *ibidem ut in indice.* *Elias Forbes*, deſcended from the Noble and Ancient Family of the *Forbeſſes*, after that he had ſtudied for a long time in *Germany*, *France* and *Italy*, received the Degree of Doctor in the Univerſity of *Piſa*. And returning home, when Biſhop *Turnbull* was erecting the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*, was made Firſt Profeſſor of Philoſophy in that Univerſity, where he taught for Ten Years; and then, retiring himſelf from the World, he entered into the Order of S. *Francis*, in which he died; leaving behind him Philoſophical Dictates, Academical Orations, and a Commentary upon *Ariſtotle*. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter* (*n*), *Lecturas Philoſophicas*; *Orationes Accademicas*; *Super* Ariſtotelem. *James Hacket*, Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres* at *Newark* upon *Trent*, wrote a Vindication and Defence of the Antiquities of our Nation, againſt *Thomas Nevil* an *Engliſh* Man: *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter* (*o*), *pro patria, contra* Thomam Nevilium. *Thomas Lauder*, Preceptor or Maſter of *Lowtry*, was, for his extraordinary Parts, made Preceptor to *James* II; who advanc'd him to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkeld*, in the 60th Year of his Age (*p*), upon the Death of *Henry Douglaſs*, Son to the Earl of *Douglaſs*, who ſucceeded Biſhop *Ralſton*, and not Biſhop *Lauder* as *Spotſwood* has it: For, by a Charter which I have ſeen, it appears, that *Douglaſs* ſucceeded to *Ralſton* and ſat Two Years. Biſhop *Lauder*, upon his Advancement to the Epiſcopal Dignity, by his Exemplary Life and frequent Preachings, is ſaid to have made a ſingular Reformation upon the Lives and Manners of his rude *Caledonians*. He built the Steeple of the Cathedral; he enriched the Veſtry with many coſtly Ornaments embroider'd with Gold and Silver; he augmented the Number of the Chanons; adorn'd the Church in a moſt magnificent Manner; founded a Number of Chaplanries and Prebends in *Edinburgh* and *Dunkeld*; purchaſſed Two Houſes, One in *Edinburgh* and another in *Perth*, for accommodating his Succeſſors whenever they ſhould happen to be in any of theſe Cities. He obtained of the King, an Erection of the Biſhops Lands on the North Side of *Forth* into a Barony,

(*l*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 226. (*m*) Ibid. 289. (*n*) Dempſt. ubi ſup. lib. 6. p. 290. (*o*) Id. lib. 8. p. 369. (*p*) Ibid. lib. 11. p. 441. Spotſ. Ch. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 100, &c.

Barony, call'd the Barony of *Dunkeld*: As likewiſe the Lands in the South into another, call'd the Barony of *Aberlady*. He built a Bridge over the River of *Tay* nigh to his own Palace; and did many other Noble Acts of Charity. But that for which he is principally mentioned here is, for having wrote the Life of the Reverend Father in God, *John Scot*, one of his Predeceſſors in this See of *Dunkeld*; A Volume of Sermons; *Poſtiles*, or brief Notes upon the Evangeliſts; And the Canons of his own Church. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter* (*q*), *Vitam* Joannis *Epiſcopi*; *Concionum ſacrarum Opus*; *Poſtilles in Evangelia*; *Canones Eccleſiæ ſuæ*. He died in the Year 1481, upon the 4th Day of *November*, in the 86 Year of his Age, and was buried in the Cathedral Church there under a Monument, upon which the following Lines were engraven.

Grex ſine mœſtitia, jam Chriſto funde precata,
Pro Paſtore Thoma Lauder *aureola.*
Quem Pneuma adducat pius atque Columba
Ad Cœli ſummum & Virgo Maria *thronum.*
Vixerat hac ſede Præſul fulgendo decore;
Annis terdenis actibus innumeris.
M ſemel L, & ter ac una C quater annis.

And laſtly, *Nicholas Otterburn*, a Chanon of *Glaſgow*, who was One of thoſe ſent over in the Embaſſy to *Charles* VII. of *France*, to agree the Marriage betwixt King *James* II. and *Mary*, Daughter to *Arnold* Duke of *Guelders*; as we have obſerved in the Life of Biſhop *Kennedy*, in the Firſt Volume of this Work. *Dempſter* ſays, that this Learned Chanon was a good Poet, and wrote, beſides the Account of his Embaſſy, an *Epithalamium* upon the King's Marriage, which was printed at *Paris* that ſame Year, *viz.* 1448. *Scripſit*, ſays he (*r*), *Acta ſuæ Legationis*; *Epithalamium* Jacobi *II. publicatum*, *Typis* Aldinis Lutetiæ 1448, in 4*to*.

King *James* III. as we have ſaid, being overthrown in Battel and moſt barbarouſly Murdered, the Lords of the Inſurrection called a Parliament to be held at *Edinburgh*; but few of the Three Eſtates met with them, except themſelves and the Commiſſioners of Burrows. This Parliament, in the Month of *June* 1488, proclaimed the young Prince King, and he was Crowned in his Palace at *Holy-rood-Houſe*, having ſcarce attained to the Sixteenth Year of his Age. On the other Hand, thoſe who had adhered to the King his Father declared, That altho' they acknowledged the young Prince to be their only Lawful and undoubted Sovereign, yet they would not lay down their Arms, till ſuch time as theſe Rebels, who had conſpired againſt his Father, were remov'd from his Perſon. So the Prince was acknowledged as their lawful Sovereign by the Name of King *James* IV. by both Parties; yet he was in a Manner diſown'd by them both. For the Lords of the Inſurrection told him, That unleſs he would be governed by them, they would Dethrone him and put his Brother in his Place. And his Father's Friends refuſed to obey him, in laying down their Arms, unleſs the Lords of the Inſurrection were puniſhed for their Rebellion. Sir *Andrew Wood* maintain'd reſolutely the Quarrel of his dead Maſter by Sea; and, being joined by Five Men of War, ſent by King *Henry* VII.

(*q*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 11. p. 442. (*r*) Dempſt. lib. 14. p. 514.

to aſſiſt his faithful Friend and Confederate King *James* III. they put a Stop to all Commerce, and plundered the Sea-Coaſt-Towns. In the North, *Alexander*, Lord *Forbes*, with the reſt of the Clans who were on their Way to join the King, march'd to the City of *Aberdeen*, with the Murdered King's Shirt diſplay'd upon the Point of a Launce and all beſmeared with his Blood, to excite the People to join them. In the other Parts of the Kingdom, the Earl of *Lenox*, the Earl *Mariſchal*, the Lords *Gordon* and *Lile*, and divers others with their Followers, aſſembled for the ſame End.

The Lords of the Inſurrection, being afraid of the bad Conſequences that might enſue upon their coming to a pitch'd Battel, reſolved to try what they could do by Policy and fair Means. Their Firſt Attempt was upon Sir *Andrew Wood*. The King's Father had given him a Leaſe of the Barony of *Largo* for his good Services, and they adviſed the King to diſpone it Heritably to him and his Heirs; and to require him, upon his Allegiance, to join with his other Naval Forces. This had the deſired Effect: For Sir *Andrew* immediately ſubmitted to the King's Order. Then as to the Land Forces, *John*, Lord *Drummond* and Stewart of *Strathern*, was order'd, with the main Body of their Army, to march againſt the Earl of *Lenox*, who was advancing with Two Thouſand Men to join thoſe in the North. *Lenox*, having come the Length of *Stirling*, and finding that the Lords had inveſted it, he marches with his Army to *Tilly-Moſs* not far from *Touch*. There was in *Lenox*'s Army one *Alexander Mackealp*, who in the Night time advertiſed my Lord *Drummond* of the Situation of their Army, and how eaſily they might be attacked and put to the Rout. Upon this they were immediately ſurpriſed and put into ſuch Diſorder, that my Lord *Drummond* obtain'd a compleat Victory. After this, the King immediately wrote Letters to the Earl of *Lenox*, the Lord *Forbes*, the Lord *Lile*, the Lord *Gordon*, the Earl of *Crawford*, the Earl of *Mariſchal*, and others who were in Arms, That they ſhould be all graciouſly received into his Royal Favour, and protected in their Honours and Eſtates, if they would return to their Duty: And to teſtify how much he himſelf abhorred the Murder of his Father, he girded himſelf with a Chain of Iron; to which, every Third Year of his Life thereafter, he added ſome Rings and Weights. Theſe Noblemen, taking to their ſerious Conſideration the King's Clemency, the bad Effects of a Civil War, and the Reaſon they had to believe that the King would not only heartily pardon them, but likewiſe befriend them, they immediately laid down their Arms. About the ſame Time, Sir *Andrew Wood* obtained a Victory at Sea, over *Stephen Bull*, the *Engliſh* Admiral, and brought ſeveral of their Ships Prizes to *Dundee*. The Lords of the Inſurrection having appeas'd all Things thus and having the King ſtill in their Hands, begun to conſider, that the King's making ſuch an open Declaration of his Grief for the Rebellion they had engaged him in and the Murder of his Father, and that theſe Noble Families, who had join'd with his Father, might come to influence the King to puniſh them for their Rebellion, they call'd a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, in the Month of *February* 1489. In which the Firſt Thing moved was, That all thoſe who had fallen in the Field of *Stirling*, had juſtly ſuffered for their aſſiſting of the King's Father; and that thoſe who were

were alive ſhould be called before them, and oblig'd to acknowledge their Fault, for riſing up in Arms againſt his preſent Majeſty in Defence of his Father. The Firſt that was brought before them was *David* Lord *Lindſay* of *Byres*, a Nobleman of undaunted Courage and approved Loyalty; who, after his Indictment againſt him was read, made the following Speech.

'Ye are all Lurdanes, my Lords; I ſay you are all falſe Traitors to 'your Prince: And this I dare prove with my Body, on any One of 'you which hold you beſt, from the King's Grace down. For ye, falſe 'Lurdanes and Traitors, have caus'd the King, by your falſe Sedition 'and Conſpiracy, to come againſt his Father in plain Battel, where 'that Noble Prince was cruelly murdered amongſt your Hands; tho' 'ye brought the King in Preſence for your Behoof, to make him the 'Buckler of your Enterprize. Therefore, falſe Lurdanes, if the King 'puniſh you not haſtily for that Murder, ye will murder himſelf when 'ye ſee Time, as ye did his Father. Therefore, Sir, (ſays he to the 'King who was preſent) beware of them, and give them no Credance; 'for they that were falſe to your Father can never be true to your ſelf. 'Sir, I aſſure your Grace, if your Father were living, I would take 'his Part and ſtand in no Awe of falſe Lurdanes: And likewiſe, if you 'had a Son that would be counſelled to come in Battel againſt you, 'by evil Counſel of falſe Lurdanes like thir, I would take your Part 'againſt them, and fight againſt them in your juſt Quarrel, even with 'Three againſt Six of them. And thir falſe Traitors which cauſe you 'to believe Ill in my Hands, I ſhall be truer at length to your Grace, 'nor they ſhall.

This rude and unpoliſh'd Speech, tho' full of Truth and Loyalty, ſo ſurpris'd the King and Parliament, that for ſome Time they were ſilent. But at length the Chancellor told his Majeſty, That my Lord *Lindſay* was a Perſon of great Integrity and Honeſty, but ſomewhat unpoliſh'd, and therefore hoped that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to pardon his rude Vindication of himſelf; and then exhorted that Noble Lord to throw himſelf on the King's Mercy. Then Mr. *Patrick Lindſay*, his Brother, made another Apology for him; but the King ordered him immediately to Priſon, not that he was any ways diſpleaſed with his Speech, but to ſatisfy the Lords of the Inſurrection. Then they proceeded and made the following Act (*ſ*). 'In this preſent Parliament 'our Soverane Lord beand preſent, togidder with his Three Eſtatis of 'the Realm, was proponit the Debait and Cauſe of the Field of *Stirevelling*; in the quhilk umquhile *James*, King of *Scotland*, quhom God aſſoilzie, Father to our Soverane Lord, happinit to be ſlane; and 'the Cauſe and Occaſion thereof commonit, opinit and arguit amang 'the Lords of the Three Eſtatis. *John* Lord *Glammis*, preſentit, and 'ſchew certane Articlis ſubſcrivit with the ſaid umquhile King *James*'s 'Hand, the Tenour of the quhilk follows, &c. The quhilks beand 'read and ſchawn, and the ſaidis Articlis was divers tymes grantit to, 'and broken be perverſt Counſal of divers Perſounis being with him 'for the time; Quhilkis counſallit and aſſiſtit to him in the inbringing 'of *Ingliſmen* and to the perpetual Subjectioun of the Realm, and 'under Diſſait and Colour, maid and refuſit; and that our Soverane

(*ſ*) Parl. James IV. Chap. 14. amongſt the Black Acts.

'Lord that now is ever conſentit for the Gude of the Realm, and the 'common Profit thereof. The quhilk Matter beand ſchawin, examinat, 'commonit and underſtanding be the Three Eſtatis, and the hail Body 'of the Parliament, thay ryplie aviſit, declarit and concludit, and in 'thair Lawties and Allegiance ilkane for himſelf declarit and concludit, 'That the Slaughter comittit and done in the Field of *Striveling*, quhair 'our Soverane Lordis Father happinit to be ſlane, and uthers divers 'his Barronis and Liegis, was all outerly in their Default and colourit 'Diſſait, done be him and his perverſt Counſal divers Times before 'the ſaid Field. And, That our Soverane Lord that now is, and the 'trew Lordis and Barronis that was with him in the ſamin Field, war 'innocent, free, and quyte of the ſaid Slaughter done in the ſaid Field, 'and all Perſuit of the Occaſion and Cauſe of the ſamin; and that Pairt 'of the Three Eſtatis forcſaidis, Prelatis, Biſhoppis, Great Barronis, 'Burgeſſis, gaif their ſeillis hiereupon, togidder with our Soverane 'Lordis Greit Seil, to be ſhawn and producit to our Haly Father the 'Pape, the Kingis of *France*, *Hiſpanzie*, *Denmark*, and uthers Realms as 'ſall be ſeen expedient for the tyme.

The Rebel Lords having thus ſecured themſelves againſt all After-Blows by an Act of Parliament of their own making; all thoſe whom the late King had conferred Honours upon were deprived of them, and amongſt the reſt the Earl of *Crawford* was diveſted of the Title of being Duke of *Montroſe*, and my Lord *Balmain* of the Title of Earl of *Bothwel*. Then they ſent Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, Pope, Kings of *France*, *Denmark* and *England*, to renew and confirm all the Ancient Leagues betwixt them and the Kings of *Scotland*, and to apologize for their Procedure againſt the late King.

About this Time, *Andrew Forman*, Secretary to Pope *Alexander* VI. came from *Rome*, with Conſolotary Letters from the Pope to the King, and one directed to the Nobility, adviſing them, for the future to be more dutiful and obedient to their Prince. About this Time likewiſe, the Lord *Evandale* died, and the Earl of *Angus* was made Chancellor in his Place. And the Lord *Hume* obtain'd the Place of Great Chamberlain of *Scotland*. And now, all Things being quieted and ſettled, the King diverted himſelf with all Sorts of Manly Exerciſes. In the mean Time, *Charles* VIII. King of *France*, being deſirous to reannex the Dutchy of *French-Britaign* to the Crown of *France*, either by Arms or the Marriage of the apparent Heir, he ſent over ſeveral brave Gentlemen from his Court, under the Pretext of ſeeing the Diverſions of the *Scots* Court, but really to engage King *James* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Engliſh*, incaſe the King of *England* ſhould oppoſe his Deſigns. Altho' the King all this time ſeemed to mind nothing but his Diverſions, yet he noways neglected the great and important Affairs of the Nation, for he caus'd moſt carefully educate his Two Brethren, *Alexander* Duke of *Rothſay* and *John* Earl of *Mar*. He likewiſe caus'd a Law to be made, That all Barons ſhould educate their eldeſt Sons in the Knowledge of the Laws, which during his whole Life he ſaw exactly put in Execution. He ſent the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Earl of *Bothwel*, and Sir *James Ogilvy* of *Airly*, his Ambaſſadors abroad to ſeveral Princes, to renew the Ancient Leagues betwixt them. And the laſt of theſe, who was ſent to *Denmark*, upon his Return was Nobilitate. He ſtrength-

ſtrengthned the Power of the Navy by cauſing ſeveral new Ships to be built; and likewiſe many good Laws were made for the Encouragement of Trade.

Whilſt the Nation was thus bleſs'd with Peace and Plenty, under the Government of a wiſe and brave Prince, a War broke out betwixt the Two Nations, which was occaſioned thus. *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, Siſter to *Edward* IV. of *England*, had an irreconcilable Hatred againſt King *Henry* VII. and the whole Houſe of *Lancaſter*, inſomuch that ſhe ſtuck at nothing, providing it might tend to their Ruin. There lived in *Oxford* a ſubtile and aſpiring Prieſt, call'd *Richard Simon*, of mean Birth but tolerable Education. This Man took upon him to educate a young Lad named *Lambert Symnel*, the Son of a Baker, who had ſo ſweet and ingenious a Countenance, and ſuch an Air of Greatneſs about him, that none ever ſaw him who did not take him for a Perſon of Quality. The Rumor then being ſpread abroad that the Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Edward* IV. was ſtill alive, and that King *Henry* was reſolved to put to Death the young Earl of *Warwick*, who was then Priſoner in the Tower; upon theſe Reports he reſolved firſt to have cauſed *Lambert* perſonate the Duke of *York*: But he ſoon chang'd his Opinion and judged it more advantagious to have him perſonate the Priſoner the Earl of *Warwick*, who had a Claim to the Crown, as being Son to the Duke of *Clarence*. So that if his Endeavours ſhould ſucceed and *Lambert* gain the Crown, he himſelf ſhould be rewarded with the Chief Mitre of *England*, and with the Government of the King and Kingdom. But conſidering that his Pupil was to repreſent a Perſon not known to many and unknown to himſelf, he judged the Deſign impracticable, without the Aſſiſtance of ſome converſant in the Court, who might be informed, by thoſe that had ſerved the Earl, of his particular Converſation and the Story of his Life. And knowing that the Queen Dowager was diſguſted at King *Henry* for treating her Daughter, the Queen, harſhly and unkindly, he inſinuate himſelf into her Favour, and engaged her to inſtruct him how to perſonate the Earl. Not that ſhe was willing to make *Lambert* King, but to uſe him as an Inſtrument to depoſe her Son in Law, and to ſubſtitute the Infant Prince *Arthur*, the Queen's only Child, in his Place: And if that fail'd, then *Warwick*, or *Lincoln*, might ſucceed, who were both of the Houſe of *York*. All Things ſucceeding as the Prieſt could have wiſh'd it, to act the Comedy with Applauſe, he did not think fit *England* ſhould be the Scene, a proportionable Diſtance being required in Things of this Nature. So he ſends him over to *Ireland*; where, after he had declared what he was, and how he had made his Eſcape out of the Tower of *London*, he was own'd and acknowledged by the whole *Iriſh* and Proclaimed King by the Name of *Edward* VI. And the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, being acquainted with the whole Affair, not only own'd him, but promiſed to aſſiſt him with Men and Money. King *Henry*, being informed of this Inſurrection in *Ireland*, call'd his Council. It was agreed, That a general Pardon ſhould be publiſhed to all thoſe who would return to their Allegiance; That *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, ſhould be taken out of the Tower and ſhown to the People; and, That the Queen Dowager ſhould be confined to a Nunnery and all her Goods confiſcated, becauſe ſhe had promiſed the Princeſs

Elizabeth to the preſent King when he was in *Britaign*, and, contrary to Articles of Agreement, had delivered her and the reſt of her Siſters up to King *Richard*; he thinking it fitter to puniſh her upon the Pretext of a ſmall known Crime, than for One more hainous not fit to be known. But none of thoſe Expedients ſignified any Thing as to the quelling of the Inſurrection in *Ireland*; for the *Iriſh* remain'd firm to their ſuppoſed Earl of *Warwick*, and alledged that he whom the King had expos'd to the People was a Counterfit.

About this Time the Earl of *Lincoln* fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt, the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, who ſent him over to *Ireland* with the Lord *Lovel* and a Regiment of Two Thouſand ſelect *Fleemings*, commanded by a valiant Captain *Martin Swart* of the ſame Nation, to aſſiſt *Lambert*. The *Iriſh*, being mightily encouraged with the Dutcheſs her countenancing them and ſending Two ſuch Noble Perſons as *Lincoln* and *Lovel* to head them, they immediately Crown'd *Lambert* King; for hitherto he had been only proclaim'd. Then having call'd a Council of War, it was reſolved to loſe no Time, but immediately to fight King *Henry*. So having embarked their Forces, which were very Numerous, but better furniſhed with Hopes than Weapons, they Landed at *Fowdry* in *Lancaſhire* with *Lambert* clad in Royal Apparel. Sir *Thomas Broughton* join'd them with ſome few Men at their Landing, but no other of Note came to them. At length having march'd to *Newark*, at a ſmall Village call'd *Stroke*, they met with King *Henry* and his Army, and a bloody Battel enſued which laſted for Three Hours. In which dy'd Four Thouſand of *Lambert*'s Men, together with *Lincoln*, *Kildare*, *Lovel*, *Broughton* and Colonel *Swart*: And, on the King's Side, the One Half of his Van-guard was cut off, but not One of Quality. Amongſt the Priſoners, *Lambert*, the Mock King, and his Tutor the Prieſt were taken. The King condemn'd *Lambert* to ſerve in his Kitchen, where he was put to the vileſt Employments; his Scepter and Crown were turn'd to Spits and Fire-Forks; and thus he continued in the Office of a Scullion, till, by unknown Means, he was preferred to be One of the King's Falconers, in which Station he died. And his Tutor, being a Prieſt, was committed to cloſe Priſon, and heard of no more.

The implacable Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, finding her ſelf thus baulked in the counterfiting of an Earl of *Warwick*, reſolved to try what a Counterfit Duke of *York* would do. The Perſon ſhe pitch'd upon was a Youth of mean Extract whoſe Father was a *Jew*, turn'd *Chriſtian*, call'd *John Osbeck*, dwelling at *Tournay*. This Man coming with his Wife to *London*, ſhe bore him this Son; and King *Edward* did the Child the Honour to be his God-Father, which made ſome ſuſpect that he had ſome ſecret Intereſt in him; neither is this improbable, for beſides ſeveral others with whom he had Baſtards, he conſtantly kept Three Concubines, who, according to his own Words, all of them excell'd in different Qualifications. *One of them being the Merrieſt, another the Wiſeſt, and the Third the Holieſt Harlot in the Kingdom, as One whom no Man could get out of the Church, unleſs it were to his Bed.* However it was this Boy had a great Reſemblance of him, and when he came to Years, was one of the moſt perſonable and beautiful Men of his Age. At his Chriſtening he was Nam'd *Peter*; which, according to the Cuſtom of the *Dutch* Tongue, was converted to *Perkin*; and thoſe who did not firſt know him,

him, gave him the Sirname of *Warbeck* inſtead of *Osbeck*. So that, that Name, which aroſe firſt from Ignorance, was afterwards by Cuſtom continued to him. His Father, returning to *Flanders* afterwards, ſent him to *Antwerp*, and from thence to other Parts of the World; ſo that at length his Travels and Converſation with divers Nations, did not only make him skilful in many Languages, but alſo adapted him to all Men's Humours and Cuſtoms. This Youth being accidentally preſented to the Dutcheſs, ſhe found in him all the Qualifications ſhe could deſire. So, having inſtructed him fully in every Thing that he ſhould do, or ſay, ſhe ſent him into *Portugal*, under the Conduct of an *Engliſh* Lady, where he continued almoſt a Year. From thence he was ordered to paſs into *Ireland*, where, a little after his Arrival, he owned himſelf to be the Duke of *York*, and told them how he had made his Eſcape out of the Tower, and had travelled ever ſince; but he thought it was now high Time to make himſelf known to his Subjects. King *Henry* was at this Time making Preparations for a War againſt *France*; and the *French* King, hearing of this new Upſtart Duke of *York*, thought that it might make for his Advantage to have him with him. Accordingly he ſent one *Stephen Frion*, a Secretary who had revolted from King *Henry*, and another, as his Ambaſſadors to him, inviting him to come to *France*, and offered to aſſiſt him in the regaining of *England*. Having acquainted his chief Friends, in *Ireland*, of this Invitation, and by that gained new Credit and Reputation, he went to *France*, where he was received with all Honour due to the Duke of *York*: The King call'd him by that Title, and accordingly furniſhed him with Money, Horſe and Servants, and with a Guard of Soldiers under the Command of the Lord *Congreſhal*, Sir *George Nevil* and Sir *John Taylor*, with above an Hundred other *Engliſh* Men, who waited continually upon him; and the Court, to follow the Prince's Example, ſhew'd him the like Reſpect. But his Glory was not long laſting here; for, a Peace being concluded betwixt the Two Kings, King *Henry* demanded him to be delivered up to his Hands. But the *French* King, eſteeming that as an unworthy Action, only oblig'd him to depart out of his Kingdom. Upon which he retired to *Flanders*, where the Dutcheſs and he acted their Parts with the utmoſt Exactneſs; for he ſeemed as if he had never been in that Country; and ſhe, as if ſhe had never ſeen him before. He pretended to fly thither as to her Sanctuary, under the Protection of an Aunt, who ought to profeſs her ſelf his Mother. She feign'd great Fears of being deceived from the Example of *Lambert*; but at length, after a great many Meetings and Conferences, ſhe broke out into Admiration and Thankſgiving to the Divine Providence that had commiſerated innocent Blood, and vouchſafed ſo miraculouſly to preſerve him. Then with extraordinary Paſſion ſhe call'd him, *Nephew, the Bud of the White Roſe, the Hope of the Houſe of* York, *and the Reſtorer of the Honour of* England; and aſſign'd him a Guard of Thirty Halberdeers: So that now, all *Flanders* looked upon him as the real Duke of *York*, and many Perſons of conſiderable Quality in *England* begun to befriend him. But King *Henry*, having diſcovered who they were, put the moſt of them to Death; proved by Witneſſes the Murder of the Duke of *York*; publiſhed the true Hiſtory of his Parentage, and all that we have told about him: He recall'd the *Engliſh* Merchants out of *Flanders*, baniſhed the *Fleemiſh* out of

Elizabeth to the preſent King when he was in *Britaign*, and, contrary to Articles of Agreement, had delivered her and the reſt of her Siſters up to King *Richard*; he thinking it fitter to puniſh her upon the Pretext of a ſmall known Crime, than for One more hainous not fit to be known. But none of thoſe Expedients ſignified any Thing as to the quelling of the Inſurrection in *Ireland*; for the *Iriſh* remain'd firm to their ſuppoſed Earl of *Warwick*, and alledged that he whom the King had expos'd to the People was a Counterfit.

About this Time the Earl of *Lincoln* fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt, the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, who ſent him over to *Ireland* with the Lord *Lovel* and a Regiment of Two Thouſand ſelect *Fleemings*, commanded by a valiant Captain *Martin Swart* of the ſame Nation, to aſſiſt *Lambert*. The *Iriſh*, being mightily encouraged with the Dutcheſs her countenancing them and ſending Two ſuch Noble Perſons as *Lincoln* and *Lovel* to head them, they immediately Crown'd *Lambert* King; for hitherto he had been only proclaim'd. Then having call'd a Council of War, it was reſolved to loſe no Time, but immediately to fight King *Henry*. So having embarked their Forces, which were very Numerous, but better furniſhed with Hopes than Weapons, they Landed at *Fowdry* in *Lancaſhire* with *Lambert* clad in Royal Apparel. Sir *Thomas Broughton* join'd them with ſome few Men at their Landing, but no other of Note came to them. At length having march'd to *Newark*, at a ſmall Village call'd *Stroke*, they met with King *Henry* and his Army, and a bloody Battel enſued which laſted for Three Hours. In which dy'd Four Thouſand of *Lambert*'s Men, together with *Lincoln*, *Kildare*, *Lovel*, *Broughton* and Colonel *Swart*: And, on the King's Side, the One Half of his Van-guard was cut off, but not One of Quality. Amongſt the Priſoners, *Lambert*, the Mock King, and his Tutor the Prieſt were taken. The King condemn'd *Lambert* to ſerve in his Kitchen, where he was put to the vileſt Employments; his Scepter and Crown were turn'd to Spits and Fire-Forks; and thus he continued in the Office of a Scullion, till, by unknown Means, he was preferred to be One of the King's Falconers, in which Station he died. And his Tutor, being a Prieſt, was committed to cloſe Priſon, and heard of no more.

The implacable Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, finding her ſelf thus baulked in the counterfiting of an Earl of *Warwick*, reſolved to try what a Counterfit Duke of *York* would do. The Perſon ſhe pitch'd upon was a Youth of mean Extract whoſe Father was a *Jew*, turn'd *Chriſtian*, call'd *John Osbeck*, dwelling at *Tournay*. This Man coming with his Wife to *London*, ſhe bore him this Son; and King *Edward* did the Child the Honour to be his God-Father, which made ſome ſuſpect that he had ſome ſecret Intereſt in him; neither is this improbable, for beſides ſeveral others with whom he had Baſtards, he conſtantly kept Three Concubines, who, according to his own Words, all of them excell'd in different Qualifications. *One of them being the Merrieſt, another the Wiſeſt, and the Third the Holieſt Harlot in the Kingdom, as One whom no Man could get out of the Church, unleſs it were to his Bed.* However it was this Boy had a great Reſemblance of him, and when he came to Years, was one of the moſt perſonable and beautiful Men of his Age. At his Chriſtening he was Nam'd *Peter*; which, according to the Cuſtom of the *Dutch* Tongue, was converted to *Perkin*; and thoſe who did not firſt know him,

him, gave him the Sirname of *Warbeck* inſtead of *Osbeck*. So that, that Name, which aroſe firſt from Ignorance, was afterwards by Cuſtom continued to him. His Father, returning to *Flanders* afterwards, ſent him to *Antwerp*, and from thence to other Parts of the World; ſo that at length his Travels and Converſation with divers Nations, did not only make him skilful in many Languages, but alſo adapted him to all Men's Humours and Cuſtoms. This Youth being accidentally preſented to the Dutcheſs, ſhe found in him all the Qualifications ſhe could deſire. So, having inſtructed him fully in every Thing that he ſhould do, or ſay, ſhe ſent him into *Portugal*, under the Conduct of an *Engliſh* Lady, where he continued almoſt a Year. From thence he was ordered to paſs into *Ireland*, where, a little after his Arrival, he owned himſelf to be the Duke of *York*, and told them how he had made his Eſcape out of the Tower, and had travelled ever ſince; but he thought it was now high Time to make himſelf known to his Subjects. King *Henry* was at this Time making Preparations for a War againſt *France*; and the *French* King, hearing of this new Upſtart Duke of *York*, thought that it might make for his Advantage to have him with him. Accordingly he ſent one *Stephen Frion*, a Secretary who had revolted from King *Henry*, and another, as his Ambaſſadors to him, inviting him to come to *France*, and offered to aſſiſt him in the regaining of *England*. Having acquainted his chief Friends, in *Ireland*, of this Invitation, and by that gained new Credit and Reputation, he went to *France*, where he was received with all Honour due to the Duke of *York*: The King call'd him by that Title, and accordingly furniſhed him with Money, Horſe and Servants, and with a Guard of Soldiers under the Command of the Lord *Congreſhal*, Sir *George Nevil* and Sir *John Taylor*, with above an Hundred other *Engliſh* Men, who waited continually upon him; and the Court, to follow the Prince's Example, ſhew'd him the like Reſpect. But his Glory was not long laſting here; for, a Peace being concluded betwixt the Two Kings, King *Henry* demanded him to be delivered up to his Hands. But the *French* King, eſteeming that as an unworthy Action, only oblig'd him to depart out of his Kingdom. Upon which he retired to *Flanders*, where the Dutcheſs and he acted their Parts with the utmoſt Exactneſs; for he ſeemed as if he had never been in that Country; and ſhe, as if ſhe had never ſeen him before. He pretended to fly thither as to her Sanctuary, under the Protection of an Aunt, who ought to profeſs her ſelf his Mother. She feign'd great Fears of being deceived from the Example of *Lambert*; but at length, after a great many Meetings and Conferences, ſhe broke out into Admiration and Thankſgiving to the Divine Providence that had commiſerated innocent Blood, and vouchſafed ſo miraculouſly to preſerve him. Then with extraordinary Paſſion ſhe call'd him, *Nephew, the Bud of the White Roſe, the Hope of the Houſe of* York, *and the Reſtorer of the Honour of* England; and aſſign'd him a Guard of Thirty Halberdeers: So that now, all *Flanders* looked upon him as the real Duke of *York*, and many Perſons of conſiderable Quality in *England* begun to befriend him. But King *Henry*, having diſcovered who they were, put the moſt of them to Death; proved by Witneſſes the Murder of the Duke of *York*; publiſhed the true Hiſtory of his Parentage, and all that we have told about him: He recall'd the *Engliſh* Merchants out of *Flanders*, baniſhed the *Fleemiſh* out of

England, and removed the Staple of Wool and Cloth from *Antwerp* to *Calais*. *Perkin* having got together ſome Ships and Men, reſolved to make a Deſcent upon *England*; and before he would land himſelf, he ſent ſome of his Men on Shore to ſee how they would be receiv'd by the Inhabitants. But all the Satisfaction he had by this, was the Melancholly Sight of ſeeing ſome of them cut to Pieces, and a Hundred and Fifty of them hung up upon Gibbets alongſt the Sea-Coaſts of *Kent*, *Norfolk* and *Suſſex*, where he had landed them. Upon his Return to *Flanders*, the Dutcheſs and *Maximilian*, being incenſed at King *Henry* for taking the Commerce of *England* from their States, and the *French* King for his having lately entered into a League againſt him as to his Affairs in *Italy*, they all of them wrote Letters recommending him to King *James*, and promiſing to join with him in ſupporting his Claim to the Crown of *England*, againſt *Henry Tudor*, the preſent Uſurper of the *Engliſh* Throne. Upon this *Perkin* comes immediately to *Scotland*, where he had an Audience of the King before moſt of the Nobility, and told the whole Adventures of his Life, as Duke of *York*, with ſuch an Air of Truth, and in ſo Graceful and Majeſtick a Manner, that moſt of them were convinced of the Truth of his Story; and the King himſelf not only gave him a gracious Anſwer, but likewiſe appointed him an Attendance and Entertainment, anſwerable to his pretended Quality. And the more to ſtrengthen his Party, both in *England* and *Scotland*, he gave him in Marriage, his near Kinſwoman Lady *Catharine Gordon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntly*, a young Virgin of admirable Beauty and Virtue.

Immediately after the Conſummation of this Marriage, King *James*, with a conſiderable Army, entered *Northumberland*, not doubting but that he would be join'd by ſeverals of *Perkin*'s Friends and Followers, and he himſelf publiſhed and diſperſed a formal Declaration; wherein he ſet forth at large his Pretenſions to the Crown of *England*, gave an univerſal Pardon to all his miſled Subjects, promiſed Noble Rewards to ſuch as ſhould adhere to him, a Thouſand Pounds in Money and an Hundred Merks a Year, of Land-Inheritance, to any Man who ſhould bring *Henry Tudor*, the Uſurper, to him either dead or alive; laid open all the Miſmanagements of *Henry*'s Reign to render his Government odious, and declared, That the King of *Scotland*'s aſſiſting of him was not done out of any Pact or Promiſe, prejudicial to *England*, but meerly out of Generoſity and Juſtice; and, whenever he had put him in a Condition to defend himſelf by his *Engliſh* Subjects, he would return to *Scotland* only with the Honour of having reſtored an injured Prince. But King *James*, finding that none of the *Engliſh* were like to join him, laid waſte the whole Country and return'd with a rich Booty to *Scotland*. During this Expedition, 'tis ſaid that *Perkin* acted his Part ſo well, that, when the *Scots* were plundering the Country, he came to the King, and, in a humble Manner intreated him, *To ſpare his afflicted People; for that no Crown was ſo dear to him as to purchaſe it with the Blood and Ruin of his People.* The King, who begun now, tho' too late, to ſuſpect that he was an Impoſtor, anſwered him with ſome Warmth, *He was ridiculouſly careful of an Intereſt another Man poſſeſt, and which perhaps was none of his.*

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At this Time the Merchants were much diſcontented at the Breach of Commerce between *England* and *Flanders*; and the Arch-Duke, being now ſenſible that *Perkin* was an Impoſtor, he and King *Henry* entered into a Treaty, and the *Engliſh* Merchants again repaired to their Manſion at *Antwerp*.

King *Henry*, having ſettled his Affairs thus with the Arch-Duke, call'd a Parliament, wherein he repreſented the Neceſſity of carrying on a War againſt *Scotland*, which they willingly complied with, and granted him a Subſidy of an Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds, beſides Two Fifteens for that effect. But, when this Subſidy begun to be levied in *Cornwal*, the Inhabitants exclaimed againſt it as an unjuſt Exaction; and being headed by *Thomas Flammock* an Attorney, or Lawier, and *Michael Joſeph* a Black-Smith, Two of *Perkin*'s Friends, each of whom had their particular Ends, tho' both projected to be Stateſmen upon *Perkin*'s Reſtoration; yet the Black-Smith had this further View, That if he died in the Attempt, it would add a Luſtre to his Name, and he would always be reckoned a brave Fellow in Hiſtory: I ſay, the Mob being headed by theſe Two Fellows, they were joined by the Lord *Audeley* and ſeveral other diſcontented People. So that King *Henry* was obliged to ſtay himſelf to ſuppreſs this Rebellion, and ſent the Earl of *Surrey* to the Borders to attend the Motion of the *Scots*. King *James* being informed of the March of the *Corniſh* Men towards *London*, he entered the Frontiers of *England* with a Powerful Army, and laid Siege in Perſon to the Caſtle of *Norham*, belonging to *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*. But, hearing that the Earl of *Surrey* was advancing with an Army of Twenty Thouſand Men to raiſe the Siege, he laid the whole Country waſte as far as the City of *Durham*, and returned Home. The Earl, finding no Enemy, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Ayton*; which he ſoon took, being a Place of no Strength; and ſo, without any Oppoſition, returned to *York*-Shire. So that both Armies, ſays *Echard*, produced no other Matter of Note, but the Preſervation of one Caſtle, and the taking of another, not anſwerable to the Power of the Forces, the Heat of the Conteſt, or the Greatneſs of the Expectation.

About the ſame Time arrived *Pedro D' Aiala*, a celebrated Man, ſent Ambaſſador from *Ferdinand* and *Iſobel* King and Queen of *Spain*. The outward Pretence of his Embaſſy was to accommodate the Differences between the Two Kings of *Scotland* and *England*; but the true Cauſe was to Negotiate a Marriage betwixt *Catharine*, their Second Daughter, and the young Prince *Arthur*, King *Henry*'s Son. King *Henry* readily embraced the outward Offer of a Peace with *Scotland*. So, agreeing to whatſoever *D' Aiala* ſhould propoſe, with the Preſervation of his Honour, he allowed him to go into *Scotland*; where he prevail'd with King *James* and his Council to commune about a Peace. Whereupon *D' Aiala* wrote to King *Henry* to ſend ſome diſcreet Man, who, together with himſelf, might end the Buſineſs with the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*. Which Commiſſion was given to *Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow* was appointed on the other Hand. Theſe, having met at *Jedburgh*, could not at firſt agree by reaſon of the many Difficulties that aroſe. Whereupon an Interview, in Perſon, was propoſed to be betwixt the Two Kings at *Newcaſtle*. Which King *James* being

acquainted of, he ſent them Notice, that he was not to go a begging of a Peace but to treat about it. Then the Biſhop of *Durham* demanded, that *Perkin* ſhould be delivered up to his Maſter: But the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* ſhow'd him how that it was an unreaſonable Demand, ſince King *James* had own'd him as Duke of *York*, made War in his Name, and marry'd him to a near Kinſwoman of his own; ſo that to deliver him up, could not but injure his Reputation. At length, after ſeveral Meetings upon the mutual Dammages that the Two Nations had ſuſtained during the Time of the Breach of the Peace, a Truce was agreed to, and the Treaty deferred to another Seaſon, upon Condition that *Perkin* ſhould be diſmiſſed from *Scotland*. This being determined, King *James* call'd *Perkin* to him and told him, That, according to his Promiſe, he had done what lay in his Power to ſerve him. Then, after as civil a Manner as the Subject could bear, he let him know, that the preſent State of Affairs requir'd him to retire from his Kingdom. *Perkin*, attributing all his ill Succeſs to bad Fortune, aſſured the King that he would never be unmindful of his Favours, and ſo embarked himſelf with his Wife, and ſuch as would not leave him, in Three Ships which the King gave him, and ſail'd to *Ireland*; for he had no Hopes in *Flanders*, by reaſon of the new Alliance between King *Henry* and the Arch-Duke.

The *Corniſh* Men, underſtanding that he was arrived in *Ireland*, petition'd him to come over to them. This Favour was no ſooner ask'd than granted. So he landed there with Four little Barks, in the Month of *September* 1497, and a Hundred and Fourty Men, and was immediately joined by Three Thouſand of the *Corniſh* Men at the Town of *Bodmin*, where he iſſued out a Declaration under the Name of *Richard* IV. King of *England*, making large Promiſes for the Eaſe of the preſent Tyrannical Government. He had Three chief Counſellors to attend him, a broken Mercer, a Taylor and a Scrivener: They adviſed him, in the Firſt Place, to make himſelf Maſter of ſome great and rich Town; ſo *Exceter* was condeſcended upon, and a cloſe Siege laid to it. King *Henry*, being advertiſed of it, made Sport thereof, and ſaid to thoſe about him, *That the King of Rake-Hells was landed in the Weſt, and he now hoped to have the Honour to ſee him*; for he was extremely pleaſed to think, that he now had a fair Proſpect of determining the Controverſy betwixt them, and it was a Perpetual and Noble Wiſh of his, *That he might look his Dangers in the Face, and meet them in open Field.* *Perkin*, being informed that King *Henry* was marching againſt him with a powerful Army, raiſed the Siege; and notwithſtanding that his Army was increaſed to Seven Thouſand Men, who promiſed to ſtand by him to the utmoſt Drop of their Blood, he fled in the Night with Threeſcore and Ten Horſe to *Bewley*, a Sanctuary, ſhewing his wonted Compaſſion, *Not to be preſent when his Subjects Blood ſhould be ſpilt.* The King, hearing of his Flight, ſent Five Hundred Horſe after him, fearing he ſhould make his Eſcape by Sea; but finding that he had taken Sanctuary, they uſed no other Violence but to keep a ſufficient Guard, till they ſhould receive new Commands. His Army ſurrendered themſelves to the King's Mercy; who pardon'd them all, except a few of their Heads who were put to Death. The King firſt ſent to S. *Michael*'s Mount, where the Lady *Catharine Gordon* was left by her Husband *Perkin*, whom

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in all Fortunes ſhe intirely loved, adding the Vertues of a Wife to thoſe of her Sex; and he ſent with the greater Diligence as fearing ſhe might be with Child, by which the Buſineſs would not have ended in *Perkin*'s Perſon. This Lady being brought before the King, he received her not only with Compaſſion but with Affection, and ſent her to his Queen, who received her with the like Tenderneſs, and aſſigned her an honourable Penſion, which ſhe enjoyed during her Life; and the Name of the *White Roſe*, which was given to her Husband's falſe Title, was continued in common Speech to her real Beauty. As for *Perkin*, he threw himſelf upon the King's Mercy, and was brought to Court but not to the King's Preſence, tho' oftentimes out of Curioſity he would ſee him out of the Gallery Window. When he came to *London* he was led, on Horſeback, thro' all the City to the Tower, and from thence brought back to *Weſtminſter*, ſuffering by the Way all Kind of Indignities: And, for his greater Ignominy, they led another bound near to him, who was Farrier to the King's Stables, and then a chief Counſellor to *Perkin*, who being taken in the Habit of an Hermite, was brought to *London* and hanged; after he had accompanied his new Maſter in this Proceſſion. *Perkin*, upon Examination, declared his whole Genealogy, his Father, Mother, Grand-Fathers, Uncles, Couſins, their Employments, his Travels and Voyages, together with a great many other ſuperfluous Things; all which he ſigned with his own Hand, and then was committed Priſoner to the Tower. But, having not long after deceived his Keepers, he made his Eſcape to the Sea-Coaſt; yet, a ſtrict Search being made for him, he was forced to throw himſelf into the Priory of *Bethlem*, which had the Privilege of a Sanctuary. The Prior, being a Man of Eſteem and Note, went to King *Henry* and beg'd his Life, leaving him otherwiſe to the King's Diſcretion. Many adviſed the King to put him to Death; but the King only ſaid, *Take out the Knave and ſet him in the Stocks*. So he was brought out, and Two Days after, upon a Scaffold erected in the Palace-Court at *Weſtminſter*, he was fettered and ſet in the Stocks for the whole Day; and the following Day the like was done at the Croſs in *Cheapſide*, and in both Places he publickly read his Confeſſion, that the World might be fully convinced that he was an Impoſtor; and then was again committed to the Tower, where, having made another Attempt for his Eſcape, he was condemned to Death and hanged at *Tyburn*.

During all this Time, the Truce was inviolably obſerved betwixt the Two Kingdoms; but at length it was like to have been broken upon a trifling Accident, which hapned thus: The Caſtle of *Norham* is parted from the Borders of *Scotland* by the River *Tweed*; ſo that the Neighbourhood giving Occaſion to Converſation and Friendſhip between ſome young Men of *England* and *Scotland*, the latter uſed often to paſs the River and come to drink and divert themſelves with thoſe of *Norham*. The Souldiers of the Garriſon, growing jealous of this Cuſtom, did not think their coming proceeded from Friendſhip, but out of a Deſire to know the Strength of the Garriſon; whereupon falling firſt to Words and then to Blows, the *Engliſh* being much ſupernumerary to them, ſeveral of the *Scots* were kill'd and wounded. King *James* taking this to be an open Violation of the Truce, ſent *Marchmount*

Herauld to complain of it, and to declare War if he got not Reparation. King *Henry*, who was loath to be in War with *Scotland*, told the Herauld, *That he was ſorry for this Accident, which was wholly unknown to him; That he would enquire after the Aggreſſors, and inflict on them ſuch Puniſhment, as there ſhould be no Occaſion to break the Truce.* But nothing being done in this, King *James* begun to reſent it more than ever: And certainly a War had enſued betwixt the Two Nations, had it not been for the Biſhop of *Durham*, who, in many ſubmiſſive Letters to King *James*, acknowledged, That his Men were in the Wrong, (for *Norham* belonged to him) and that he was willing to give him what Satisfaction he pleas'd. Which ſo mollify'd the King's Paſſion, that he deſired he might meet with him at *Melroſs*, where the King then was, not only to ſpeak to him about that, but likewiſe about other Affairs of great Import to both Kingdoms. The Biſhop, having acquainted King *Henry* of this, obtained Leave to go into *Scotland*; and having met with the King at *Melroſs*, he returned ſuch ſoft and modeſt Anſwers to him, as ſoon brought him to a Reconciliation.

After this the King more privately converſed with him, and propoſed a Marriage betwixt himſelf and Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry*'s eldeſt Daughter, by which Means the Kingdoms would come to be upon a more laſting Fund of Friendſhip and Amity than ever. The Biſhop very modeſtly anſwered, *That he thought himſelf rather Happy than Worthy to be an Inſtrument in ſuch a Matter; but would do his beſt Endeavours.* So returning to *England*, he acquainted King *Henry* of all that paſt betwixt them. The Propoſal of the Marriage was very acceptable to him; and the Matter being long debated in Council, the Match was determin'd, providing a Peace might preceed it. All which was effected, a Peace being concluded during the Lives of the Two Kings and for One Year after. In this Peace there was an Article contain'd, *That no* Engliſh *Man ſhould enter into* Scotland, *nor no* Scots *Man into* England, *without Letters Commendatory from the King of either Nation.*

During this Treaty of the Marriage, it was propoſed by One of the *Engliſh* Council, as a conſiderable Objection againſt it, *That, ſuppoſing the King's Two Sons ſhould die without Iſſue, then the Kingdom of* England *would devolve on the King of* Scotland; *which might prejudice the Monarchy of* England. To which the King of *England* anſwered, *That, if ſuch a Caſe ſhould happen,* Scotland *would be but an Acceſſion to* England, *and not* England *to* Scotland; *becauſe the Greater would certainly draw the Leſs: Which was a ſafer Union for* England *than that of* France.

Robert Blackater, Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, and *Adam Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwel*, being ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry* with a Noble Train of the Nobility to demand the Princeſs *Margaret* in Marriage, according to the Agreement betwixt the Two Kings, the Marriage was immediately performed by Proxy, and publiſh'd in *January* 1503. *Te Deum* being ſolemnly ſung in S. *Paul*'s Church; and ſuch Rejoycings were made over the whole City, that it ſeemed to prognoſticate the happy Effects, which it afterwards produced in the Union of the Two Kingdoms. After this King *Henry* convoyed his Daughter the Length of *Colliweſton* in *Northampton*-Shire, where the Counteſs of *Richmond*, his Mother, then lay. And after certain Days, ſpent in Feaſting, he took his Leave of his Daughter, and bleſs'd her, giving her

her his Fatherly Advice, and recommending her to the Care of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*. She went accompanied with a great Train of Noblemen and Ladies, and was met at S. *Lambert*'s Church, in *Lamermoor*, by King *James* and the Principal of his Nobility. From thence ſhe was convoyed to *Dalkeith*, and the next Day to *Edinburgh*; and the Day after they were married at the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*. At which Solemnity, ſays an *Engliſh* Hiſtorian (*t*), *The Noblemen and Ladies of* Scotland *were nothing behind, but far above the* Engliſh, *both in coſtly Apparel and rich Jewels, maſſy Chains, Abulziaments ſet with Gold-Smith's Work garniſhed with Pearl and precious Stones, and in Gallant and well Trapp'd Horſes*. The *Engliſh* Noblemen and Ladies were entertained with Balls, Maſques, Tiltings, Turnaments and other Manly Recreations. Challenges were given out in the Name of the *Savage Knight*, who was the King himſelf, and Rewards promiſed to the Victors. The Fame of this Marriage had drawn many Foreign Gentlemen to the Court, and amongſt others Monſieur *Darcy*, who went under the Name of the *Sieur de la Beauté*. He and the Lord *Hamilton* Tilting with Grinding Spears, ſome of the *Savage Knight*'s Company, who were all of them robuſt *Highlanders*, obliged them both to retire, and entertain'd the Spectators with a real Fight, with Broad-Swords and Targets, to the Muſic of their Bag-pipes, ſeverals of them being Wounded; which did not a little ſurpriſe the *French* and *Engliſh*, *to ſee Men*, ſays *Hawthornden*, *ſo ambitious of Wounds and prodigal of Blood, in Sport*. The Days of Solemnity being over, and all Things moſt ſplendidly performed, every One was permitted to return to their ſeveral Homes, and bountifully Rewarded.

During the Treaty of this Marriage, Pope *Julius* II. ſent King *James* a Sword and a Diadem wrought with Flowers of Gold. A particular Deſcription of the Sword is in the Appendix, Numb. I. But that which ſurpriſed the Vulgar moſt, was the Birth of a Monſter, of a ſtrange Shape, near *Glaſgow*; which *Hawthornden* thus deſcribes. 'The 'Body, under the Waſt or Middle, varied nothing from the common 'Shape and Proportion of the Bodies of other Men: The Members 'above, both for Uſe and Comelineſs, being Two; their Faces looking 'one Way; ſitting, they ſeem'd Two Men to ſuch who ſaw not their 'Parts beneath; and ſtanding, it could not be diſcerned to which of 'the Two Bulks above, the Thighs and Legs did appertain. They 'had differing Paſſions and divers Wills, often chiding one another for 'their Diſorder in their Behaviour and Actions; after much Deliberation, embracing that unto which they both conſented. By the 'King's Direction they were carefully brought up, and inſtructed in 'Muſic and Foreign Languages. This Monſter lived Twenty and 'Eight Years; and died when *John* Duke of *Albany* governed the 'Realm.

The immediate Effect of this Marriage is thus deſcribed by our Author. 'There was a perfect Peace and ſincere Amity, ſays he, be'tween the Two Realms of *Scotland* and *England*, for a long Time after. 'And truly, during the Life of King *Henry*, no Cauſe of Breach was 'given by either of the Princes, but they continued in great Love and 'Friendſhip and mutual Society, contracting of Marriages, continual

(*t*) Hiſt. Angl. Scot.

'Interchange of Merchandice between the Subjects of both Kindoms, 'as if they had all been under the Obedience of one Prince; whereby 'Juſtice, Policy and Riches did flouriſh and abound throughout the 'whole Iſle of *Albion*. And this was the Match that gave the Lawful 'Succeſſion of *England* to the Kings of *Scotland*.

In the Year 1507, *James* Prince of *Scotland* and Lord of the *Iſles*, was born at *Holy-rood-houſe*, the 21ſt of *January*. The Queen being brought near to the Agonies of Death in her Labour, the King went in Pilgrimage on Foot, to S. *Ninians* in *Galloway*, to pray for her Recovery; which God was pleaſed to grant. But the Child died, and the next Year ſhe brought forth another Son named *Arthur*; but he died alſo, and his Father-in-law, King *Henry*, not long after. Theſe Deaths, and the Remorſe that King *James* had for fighting againſt his Father, made him to reſolve to Viſit the Holy Sepulchre, a Piece of Devotion much practiſed at that Time. And in order to this, *Robert Blackater* Abbot of *Dumfermling*, was ſent before him to prepare his Way: But he dying in the Journey, and the Queen, at *Linlithgow*, being brought to Bed of another Son, who was Chriſtened *James*, and ſucceeded to him in his Throne, he altered his Reſoluion. About this Time, *Bernard Stuart*, the Famous Warrior formerly mentioned, *Alexander Stuart* the King's Natural Son, and *Andrew Forman*, Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges* and Biſhop of *Murray*, arrived in *Scotland*. The Reaſon given out for their coming was, That the *French* King having no Male Children, craved the Advice and Counſel of the King of *Scotland*, concerning the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter. But their great Deſign was, to engage King *James* to join with the *French* King againſt King *Henry* VIII. an open War having broke out betwixt thoſe Two Kingdoms. And they managed this Affair ſo well, that they gain'd the King intirely to their Side. The King, having equip'd a good Fleet for carrying him to *Syria*, and having, as we have ſaid, altered his Deſign; to give a Proof of his Affection to his Ancient Allie the *French* King, he ordered ſo many of his Ships to go over, under the Command of the Earl of *Arran*, as a Complement from him to the *French* Queen. But the Earl, either by Tempeſt or Deſign, landed upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, and plundered *Knock-Fergus*, and then returned with his Fleet to *Air*. King *James*, being extremely incenſed againſt *Arran* for his Conduct, gives a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Angus* and Sir *Andrew Wood*, to command the Fleet and go ſtreight for *France*. The Earl of *Arran*, hearing of the King's Diſpleaſure and Deſign, immediately hois'd Sail and reſolved to prevent them; but by a Tempeſt at Sea, his Fleet was ſo ſhatter'd, that, when they came to *Breſt*, their whole Sails and Cordage were ſo ſpoil'd, that they were oblig'd to take them from them; and the Bulks lay there till they conſum'd and rotted. During theſe Tranſactions, King *James*, who had been complemented with the Title of *Protector of the Faith*, by Pope *Julius* II. to ſhow his Zeal for the Apoſtolick Sea and the Catholick Religion, ſeverely puniſh'd all thoſe who were in the leaſt ſuſpected of favouring the Reformation. And ſo fervent was he in his Devotions, that, intending to perform them at the Shrine of S. *Duthack* in *Roſs*, our Author ſays, in one Day he Poſted from *Stirling* to *Elgin*, being an Hundred and Thirty Miles; and at Night ſlept in his Cloaths on the Ground, in the Houſe of one *Thomas Leſly*, notwithſtanding that

that a ſumptuous and eaſy Bed was prepared for him. The next Day he was at Maſs in S. *Duthack*'s Church, in *Roſs*, which was about Fourty Miles from *Elgin*. The King, upon his Return, having ſent Ambaſſadors to *France*, was diverted by a very ſtrange Adventure. There was an *Italian* whom he was mightily pleaſed with, upon the Account of his being a Man of a very facetious Converſation and projecting Humor. This Man, whom he had made Abbot of *Tungland*, perſwaded him, and a great many of the Nobility, that he knew the Secret of the Philoſopher's Stone, and of turning all Mettals into Gold, if he had but a Sum of Money to carry on the Experiment. Upon this the King, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality, gave him conſiderable Encouragement; but, finding he was like to perform nothing, he knew not how to ſupport his Credit but by another extravagant Project, which was this. He came to the Court, and told the King that he had found out the Art of Flying; and, to convince him and the whole Nation of it, he appointed a Day upon which he was to take his Flight from the Top of the Caſtle of *Stirling*, and promiſed to be at the Court of *France* before the Arrival of the Ambaſſadors. The King was prevail'd upon to let him try the Experiment; ſo, upon the Day appointed, a great Confluence of People, from all Parts of the Kingdom, met at *Stirling*; he, having fix'd a Pair of Wings upon his Two Arms, with a great deal of Aſſurance, takes his Flight from the higheſt Part of the Caſtle, but dropt down at the Foot of the Rock and broke his Thigh-Bone. Notwithſtanding of which, he had the Confidence to ſend his Apology to the King, and to acquaint him, That the Reaſon of his Misfortune was, that the Wings had been only made of the Feathers of common Fowls; whereas, if they had been of Eagles Feathers, he could not have fail'd in his Deſign. Not long after this, upon the 23d of *April*, 1508, Monſieur *Darcy*, with his Brother and *Robert Cockburn* Biſhop of *Roſs*, arrived from *France*, with new Inſtructions from the *French* King. About the ſame Time likewiſe, died *Bernard Stuart*, the famous Warrior formerly mentioned, at *Corſtorphin*; whoſe Heart, by his own Orders, was carried to *Galloway* and buried in S. *Ninian*'s Church there. His Father *John*, Lord *Aubigny* in *France*, was Second Son to Sir *John Stuart* Lord *Darnly*, and *Iſobel Seton*, Daughter to Sir *William Seton* of That-Ilk, one of the Earl of *Winton*'s Anceſtors: And he himſelf, for his valiant Exploits, was, by *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, created Duke of *Terra-Nova*, Marquis *de Gyralle* and *Squillazo*, Count of *Acri*, Grand-Conſtable of *Sicily* and *Jeruſalem*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, Captain of the *Guard de Corps*, and Lieutenant-General of the *French* Army in *Italy*. Upon the 27th of *May*, in the ſame Year, Monſieur *Darcy*, and the Arch-Deacon of S. *Andrew*'s, were ſent to *France* with new and repeated Aſſurances of his obſerving the Ancient League between the Two Nations: The King honoured them ſo far, that he accompanied them himſelf the Length of the Iſland *May*. But, that the King of *England* might not take any Umbrage at the frequent Embaſſies betwixt him and *France*, he ſent the Biſhop of *Murray* Ambaſſador to *England*, who, by his prudent Management, put a Stop for ſome Time, to the War that was like to break out betwixt the Two Nations. The *Maxwels* and *Creichtons*, at this Time having a Feud, met at *Dumfreis*; where, after a ſharp Conflict, in which many

were kill'd on both Sides, the *Maxwels* gained the Victory. Upon the Nineteenth of *September*, a great Earthquake happen'd throughout the whole Iſland of *Britain*. Upon the Firſt of *October*, King *Henry* ſent a Preſent of fine Horſes and rich Furniture to King *James* and his Queen: And, in the ſame Month the Arch-Deacon of S. *Andrew*'s, in his Return to *Scotland*, was ſhipwrack'd upon the Coaſt of *England*; and he and Three Hundred Men who accompanied him, being taken Priſoners, were moſt generouſly ſet at Liberty, and came to *Edinburgh* in the Month of *November*.

After the Death of King *Henry* VII. *John* and *Andrew Bartons* obtained Letters of Repriſal againſt the *Portugueſe*, who had taken ſeveral *Scots* Ships. The *Engliſh* pretending that they had taken ſeveral of their Veſſels, under the Notion of being *Portugal* Ships or loaden with *Portugal* Goods, reſolved to attack them wherever they met them. So returning into *Scotland* with Two Ships only, the *Lion*, and the Little *Janet*, they met with the *Engliſh* Admiral *Edward Howard*, and his Brother Lord *Thomas Howard*, in the *Downs*. *Andrew Barton* noways ſuſpecting that he would be attack'd by them, ſince there was no War betwixt the Two Kingdoms, came up to them in an amicable Manner; but he quickly perceived his Miſtake, for he was immediately ſet upon, and a bloody Battel enſued betwixt them. Being overpower'd by Numbers and mortally wounded, he was forc'd to yield with his Two Ships. He and his Crew were brought Priſoners to the Arch-Biſhop of *York*'s Palace in *London*; but by the Means of *Fox*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, they were ſet at Liberty: In a few Days *Andrew Barton* died of his Wounds. King *James*, hearing of his Death, and of the taking of his Two Ships, was wonderfully incenſed, and ſent immediately Letters, by a Herauld, to King *Henry*; expoſtulating the Matter with him, and requiring Reſtitution, according to the League concluded betwixt them; but the Anſwer that King *Henry* gave the Herauld was, *That a Truce amongſt Princes was never broken for taking or killing Pirates.* This, inſtead of appeaſing King *James*, incenſed him more than ever. But this was not all; for altho' King *Henry* had, about a Year before, made a League with *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, yet at the earneſt Solicitation of Pope *Julius* II. he was prevail'd with to declare War againſt him; and having ſent over *Clarencieux*, his Herauld, he roughly demanded the Dutchy of *Normandy*, *Guien*, *Anjou* and *Main*, and with them alſo the Crown of *France*; all which he unjuſtly uſurp'd, and therefore he denounced open War againſt him and his Kingdom. Upon this the *French* King ſends over to *Scotland Monſieur de la Motte* with Letters, complaining of King *Henry*'s Treatment of him, and requiring King *James*'s Aid and Aſſiſtance. In his Voyage he had drown'd Three *Engliſh* Ships, and brought Seven Prizes alongſt with him to the Harbour of *Leith*. *Robert Barton* at the ſame Time, in Revenge of *Andrew Barton*'s Death, returned with Thirteen *Engliſh* Ships all Prizes. And Mr. *James Ogilvy* Abbot of *Dryburgh*, arrived with Two great Ships loaden with Artillery, Powder and Wines, in a Complement, from the *French* Queen to King *James*, with Letters, earneſtly ſoliciting him to renew the Old League with her Husband. The Vulgar were likewiſe ſtrangely amuſed with Two Accidents that had happen'd, and which they conjectured did portend great Calamities to

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the Nation. The Firſt was, That in the Gardens of *Craigmiller*, hard by *Edinburgh*, there were Two Scorpions found, One dead and the Other alive, never any of them being found before or ſince in the Iſland of *Britain*. The Other was a new Diſeaſe, which, our Author ſays, was like the Plague and ſpread over the whole Kingdom; and for the moſt part the Nobility and Gentry died of it, eſpecially thoſe who led Effeminate Lives, but few or none of the Vulgar. For which Reaſon they call'd it *Stoup Gallant*, becauſe all the young Gallants and Beaux died of it. *Robert Car*, Warden of the Borders, was kill'd by Three *Engliſhmen*. *Alexander* Lord *Hume*, Warden of the Eaſt Marches, in Revenge of the Injuries done him, entred the *Engliſh* Borders with Three Thouſand Men, and laid waſte the whole Country before him; but having divided his Forces and ſent a Part of them loaden with Spoils Home to their own Country, he fell into an Ambuſh of the *Engliſh*; where Sir *William Bulmur* with a Thouſand Archers put him to Flight, and took his Brother *George*. Upon theſe Hoſtilities the Lord *Dacres* and Doctor *Weſt* came Ambaſſadors from *England*; not with any Deſign of taking up the apparent Breach like to happen betwixt the Two Nations, but to learn what they could of the Tranſactions of the *French* at the *Scotiſh* Court.

About the ſame Time came from *Flanders* Sir *Cuthbert Home* of *Faſtcaſtle*. This Gentleman, after he had travell'd over the moſt of *Chriſtendom*, had the Curioſity to go to the Dominions of the *Turks*; and by his great Prudence, Sagacity and Wiſdom, came at length to be acquainted with the Grand Seignior, with whom he was very intimate; and ſtaid for ſome time with him at *Grand-Cairo* in *Egypt*. But, being informed by his Friends that he had fallen Heir to theſe Lands, by the Death of Eight Perſons whom he had left alive when he went from *Scotland*, he returned to his Native Country with ſeveral Preſents which he received from the Grand Seignior, as the Marks of his Eſteem and Favour. King *James* by this time being informed, that King *Henry* had laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Tervin* in *Picardy*, proclaimed War againſt him, and directed Lion King at Arms with Letters to him, dated at *Edinburgh*, the 26th of *July* 1513; wherein he told him, How he had broken the Truce, by denying ſafe Conduct to a Servant of his, tho' requeſted; That no Malefactor, either by Sea or Land, was arreſted or obliged to appear before the Commiſſioners agreed on and met for the redreſſing of Wrongs and Injuries; That he would not ſuffer Man-ſlayers by Sea to appear Perſonally before the Commiſſioners, which was both againſt the Law of God and Man; That he had protected thoſe who had ſlain *Robert Carr*, Warden of the *Scottiſh* Marches, at a Day of Meeting for the doing of Juſtice; That he had impriſoned and chained ſeveral of his Subjects by the Necks; That he had detained his Wife's Legacy, tho' promiſed in ſeveral Letters; That by his Command *Andrew Barton* was attacked and kill'd, when he had neither offended him nor his Subjects, without any Redreſs for the ſame; That he had detained his Ships and Artillery, tho' divers times requir'd, both from himſelf and alſo from his Wardens, Commiſſioners and Ambaſſadors; and Laſtly, That he had invaded his Friends, Couſins and Allies the King of *France* and the Duke of *Gelder*, in their own Territories; and there-

fore required, that he would return home with his Army, otherwiſe he was obliged to join with them in ſo juſt a War in their own Defence. King *Henry*, having read his Letters, call'd for the Lion King at Arms, and deſired him to tell his Maſter from him, 'That he valued not 'his Threats, for he had left a Noble Earl behind him, for his Lieu-'tenant, and Abundance of People to defend themſelves againſt him; 'That he would return, but it ſhould be to his Coſt, and not at his 'Summons; hoping, by the Aſſiſtance of God, whenever he came 'Home to expel him his Kingdom. To which the Lion very wiſely Anſwered, 'Sir, I am his Native Subject and he is my Sovereign 'Lord, and that which he commands me I may boldly ſay to any one 'whatſomever: What others command, I neither will or dare ſay, 'ſince I only owe Allegiance to him as my only King and Sovereign; 'but if your Majeſty will be pleaſed to write your Mind to him, I ſhall 'deliver it, altho' what my Maſter deſires requires rather Doing, than 'Writing or Words; which is, That you ſhould immediately return out 'of *France* with your Army unto your own Kingdom. King *Henry* being well pleas'd, both with the Boldneſs and Reaſonableneſs of the Anſwer, deſired *Garter* to take him to his Tent and entertain him ſumptuouſly till he ſhould diſpatch him. So he wrote his Return to King *James*, from the Camp before *Tervin*, upon the 12th Day of *Auguſt*, wherein he anſwered to every Article that was laid againſt him in moſt haughty and indiſcreet Terms. The Lion came not with the Anſwer before the King's Death; for knowing King *Henry*'s ſtubborn Temper, and impatient of any Delay in revenging the Wrongs that had been done to him and his Subjects, he gave Orders immediately for levying a powerful Army to invade *England* with; and brought out of his Caſtles good Store of Ammunition and his beſt Ordinances, eſpecially thoſe that had been Founded by *Robert Borthwick*, a famous Founder, and whoſe Pieces were diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt by this Verſe which was engraven upon them,

Machina ſum Scoto, Borthwick *fabricata* Roberto.

Whilſt the King ſtaid at *Lithgow*, till he had got together his Army, One Night, as he was at Evening Song in S. *Michael*'s Church, 'An 'Ancient Man came in, ſays *Hawthornden*, his Amber-colour'd Locks 'hanging down upon his Shoulders, his Forehead high and in-'clining to Baldneſs, his Garment of Azure Colour ſomewhat long, 'girded about him with a Towel or Table-Napkin, of a comely and 'reverend Aſpect; having inquired for the King, he intruded himſelf 'into the Crowd, paſſing thorow till he came to him, with a Clowniſh 'Simplicity leaning over the Canon's Seat where the King ſat. *Sir*, ſaid he, *I am ſent hither to intreat you for this Time to delay your Expedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended Journey; for, if you do, you ſhall not proſper in your Enterprize, nor any of your Followers. I am further charged to warn you, if you be ſo refractory as to go forward, not to uſe the Acquaintance, Company or Counſel of Women, as ye tender your Honour, Life and Eſtate.* After this Warning, he withdrew himſelf back again to the Crowd. When Service was ended the King enquired earneſtly for him, but he could nowhere be found, neither could any of thoſe who

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ſaw him, and narrowly obſerved him, give an Account how, when, or what Way he paſs'd from them.

Whilſt the King was preparing his Land Army, he ſent a Fleet under the Command of *James Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntly*, to the Aſſiſtance of the *French*. In this Fleet there were Three Capital Ships, the *Michael*, the *Margaret* and the *James*.

The King having marched his Army from *Lithgow* to the *Burrow-Moor* at *Edinburgh*, then a ſpacious and delightful Field by the Shades of many ſtately and aged Oakes, about the Middle of the Night, there was a Proclamation heard at the Mercat-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, *Summoning a great many Burgeſſes, Gentlemen, Barons and Noblemen, to appear within Fourty Days before the Tribunal of one* Plot-Cock. The Provoſt of the Town, being then in his Timber-Gallery, and hearing his own Name cited, cried out, *That he declined that Judicatory, and appealed to the Mercy of God Almighty.* Upon theſe, and ſeveral other Things that were buzzed about amongſt the Vulgar, the Earl of *Angus* and many of the Nobility diſſwaded the King from his Expedition: But, he taking it to proceed only from thoſe who had no good Will to the *French* Intereſt, they could not prevail with him in the leaſt. At length his Queen told, with Tears in her Eyes, That ſhe was afraid of ſome Fatal and Diſmal Event; for ſhe had been frighted and perplexed in her Sleep by ſtrange and terrifying Dreams. At one Time ſhe thought, that all her Jewels, Golden Chains and Armlets were turned to Pearls. At another Time, ſhe had ſeen him fall from a great Precipice, and that ſhe her ſelf had loſt one of her Eyes. When he told her, that theſe were only Dreams and not to be regarded, 'But 'tis no Dream, 'ſaid ſhe, that you have but One Son, and that but a weak Infant; and 'if you, as God forbid, happen to be overthrown and kill'd in Battel, 'What a lamentable Day will that be, not only to me but to the whole 'Nation, when you ſhall leave behind you ſo tender and weak a Succeſſor, under the Government of a Woman, and intail upon him 'a miſerable and bloody War? 'Tis no Dream, that you are to fight 'with a mighty People now turn'd inſolent by their Riches at Home 'and Power Abroad; whereas you know that your Nobility being indigent, may be bribed to leave you in your greateſt Danger. What 'a Folly, what a Blindneſs is it to make this War your's, and, to 'quench the Fire in your Neighbour's Houſe of *France*, to kindle and 'burn up your own in *Scotland*? You have no ſuch Reaſon to aſſiſt 'the *French* as you have to keep your Promiſes to *England*, and enjoy 'a Peace at Home. Tho' the *Engliſh* ſhould make a Conqueſt of '*France*, do you think that they would endeavour to Conquer your 'Kingdom that's to be inherited by an Offſpring of their own? No, 'that were like the Left Hand's cutting off the Right. Should the 'Letters of the Queen of *France*, a Woman Twice Marry'd, (the Firſt 'half in Adultery, and the Other almoſt Inceſt) whom you did not 'nor may ever ſee, prove more powerful with you than the Cries of 'your own only Child and mine; than the Tears, Complaints and 'Curſes of the Orphans and Widows that are to be upon the Event of 'Battel? But, if ye will go, ſuffer me to accompany you, it may be 'that my Country-Men will prove more kind to me than you, and for 'my Sake yield to a Peace. I hear the Queen, my Siſter, will be in

'the Army in her Husband's Abſence; If we ſhall meet, who knows 'what God, by our Means, may bring to paſs?

But all the Anſwer that he gave to thoſe Arguments, ſome of which incenſed rather than appeaſed him, was a ſpeedy March over the *Tweed*; not ſo much as ſtaying till the reſt of his Forces came up to join him. So that, upon the 22d of *Auguſt*, coming into *England*, he encamped near the Water of *Twiſel* in *Northumberland*. At *Twiſel-haugh* he made an Act, *That if any Man were ſlain, or hurt to Death, by the* Engliſh, *during the Time of his Abode in* England, *his Heirs ſhould have his Ward, Relief and Marriage.* Then he laid Siege to, took and demoliſhed the Caſtles of *Norham*, *Wark*, *Ford* and *Eatel*. The Lady *Ford*, being brought Captive to the Camp with her Daughter, a Lady of excellent Beauty, they inſinuate themſelves ſo far into the King's Favour, that they prevail'd with him to delay his proceeding any further, till they gave him Intelligence of the State of the *Engliſh* Army; which they promiſed to do if he would but diſmiſs them. This being done, he dallied away the Time, his Two fair Captives having betray'd him, till his Army begun to be ſtraitned for Proviſions by reaſon of the Seaſon of the Year and the Barrenneſs of the Country. Some adviſed him to lay Siege to *Berwick*, and others to return Home. But whilſt they were debating what to do, the Earl of *Surrey* having ſtrengthned his Army, to the Number of Six and Twenty Thouſand Men, and knowing the King to be a Man of great Valour and Reſolution, he ſent *Rouge Croſs* with a Challenge to fight him upon an appointed Day. The King, whoſe Army was far inferior to theirs in Number, yet thinking that every Man of them had the ſame Strength, Courage, Boldneſs and Reſolution which he had, willingly accepted of the Challenge, and ſent one *Hay*, a Herauld, alongſt with *Rouge Croſs* to know preciſely the Time.

The Herauld having returned with a poſitive Anſwer, and the Day appointed being come and no Appearance of the *Engliſh* Army, they urged him again to return to his own Kingdom, ſince it could be no Stain upon his Honour to do it. But he, being reſolute to fight them, ſtaid with his Army upon *Flowden-Hill* till they came up to him. Their Army was double the Number of the King's. *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Lord High Admiral, led the Van-Guard; Sir *Edmond Howard*, his Brother, the one Wing, and Sir *Marmaduke Conſtable* the other. The Lords *Dacres* and *Clifford*, with Sir *Edward Stanley*, the Rear. The Earl of *Surrey*, with the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord *Scroop* and Sir *Stephen Bull*, commanded the Main Body. The *Scots*, by reaſon of their little Army, not being able to order many Battalions, Mariſhal'd themſelves into Four. Three of which were order'd to enter into Battel, and the Fourth to attend for a Supply to any of the other Three that ſhould happen to be diſtreſſed. The King commanded the Middle, or Main Body, of the Army. *Alexander Gordon* Earl of *Huntly*, had the Right Wing of the Van; the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſe* led the other, or, as ſome ſay, the Lord *Home*. The Third Army was commanded by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*,; where was the Laird of *Kintail* with the *Mackenzies*, and the Laird of *Macklean* with his Clan. *Adam Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwel*, with his Friends, and the Flower of the Gentry of *Lothian*, were the Body of Reſerve. The Earl of *Huntly*, coming

coming down the Hill, where they were encamp'd near the Foot of *Branxtown*, engaged with that Wing of the *Engliſh* Army, which was led by Sir *Edmond Howard*. And, after a moſt furious and long Fight, he put them to the Flight, and ſo eagerly purſued the Advantage, that Sir *Edmond* had either been kill'd or taken, if he had not been reſcued by Baſtard *Heron* and the Lord *Dacres*. The Battalions which the Earls of *Argyle* and *Lenox* led, being, as we have ſaid, the *Mackenzies*, *Mackleans*, and other *Highland* Clans, encouraged with this Firſt Glance of Victory, notwithſtanding of all that M. *la Motte*, the *French* Ambaſſador, could do either by Signs, Threatnings or Clamour, to ſtop them, broke in furiouſly upon the Enemy, by whom they were valiantly received; but Sir *Edward Stanley* coming upon their Rear, the moſt of them were cut off. The Main Body, commanded by the King, being joined by the Earl of *Bothwel*, and the *Lothian* Gentry, fought it moſt valiantly on each Side, till the Darkneſs of the Night parted them, neither underſtanding the Fortune of the Day, or to whom the Victory belonged. About the Dawning of the next Morning, the Lord *Dacres*, with his Troops, taking a View of the Field, and ſeeing the Braſen Ordnance of the *Scots* not tranſported, and moſt of the Dead lying without being riffled, ſent Advertiſement to the *Howards*, and the Remnant of their penſive Army, to lay hold of this Opportunity of ſeiſing upon the *Scots* Ordnance: Which they did, and tranſported them to *Berwick*, as the Trophy of their Victory. Amongſt theſe were Seven Culverins of like Size and Make call'd the *Seven Siſters*. This Fight begun, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, *September* 9th, 1513, and continued Three Hours. What became of the King is variouſly reported. For the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, That hearing of the Death of the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, with their *Highlanders*, in whom he put great Truſt, he lighted from his Horſe; and, both by his Words and Example, encouraging all about him to do the like, he ruſhed into the Main Body of the Battel; where, after he had performed Wonders, he was ſlain, and a Heap of Nobles round him. Others ſay, That ſeveral Perſons that Day, being clothed in Armour like the King, that the Enemy might not know him, the Perſon whom they took for the King was *Alexander*, Lord *Elphinſton*, the King's great Favourite, and who had the ſame Sort of Armour on him that the King had, and in Face and Body reſembled him exactly: And that which makes this highly probable is, that the Body they found, and gave out to be the King's, had not an Iron Chain about it. Others ſay, That he was ſeen, the Day after the Battel, beyond the *Tweed* between *Kelſo* and *Duns*, and that immediately after he went to the Holy Land in Pilgrimage, where he died. And Laſtly, ſome ſay, That he was murdered by the Lord *Home*'s Followers, and that *Alexander* Lord *Home* refuſed to relieve the King in Battel, at the Deſire of the Earl of *Huntly*, but kept up his Men, and did not ſo much as join the Army. This is a meer Aſperſion upon this Noble Family; for, according to our Author, he commanded the Right Wing of the Van with the Earl of *Huntly*, and behaved himſelf moſt valiantly. Yea, ſo far was he from deſerting his King, or betraying his Country, that, the next Morning after the Battel, he caus'd riffle and plunder the *Engliſh* Camp, as they had done

the *Scots*. And, in their March to *Berwick*, he fell upon their Rear and took ſeverals of them Priſoners.

There died, ſays *Hawthornden*, in this Battel, above Five Thouſand of the Nobleſt and Worthieſt Families of the Kingdom. But *Holinſhed* ſays, That there was ſlain of both Sides the Number of Fifteen Thouſand, of which a Third Part, at leaſt, were *Engliſhmen*. But, be that as it will, it is certain that both Armies were ſo diſabled, that none of them were willing to renew the Fight the next Day. And the *Engliſh*, as our Author obſerves, were not in a Condition to give the leaſt Uneaſineſs to the *Scots* all that Winter.

The principal Perſons ſlain amongſt the *Scots* in this Battel were (*u*), *Alexander*, Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, the King's Natural Son; the Biſhop of the *Iſles*; the Abbots of *Inchaffrey* and *Kilwinning*; the Earls of *Montroſe*, *Crawford*, *Argyle*, *Lenox*, *Glencairn*, *Caithneſs*, *Caſſils*, *Bothwel*, *Errol*, *Athole* and *Morton*; the Lords *Lovit*, *Forbeſs*, *Elphinſton*, *Roſs*, *Sinclair*, *Maxwel* and his Three Brethren, *Darnly*, *Sempil*, *Borthwick* and *Erskin*. Knights, Sir *John Douglaſs*, Sir *Cuthbert Home* of *Faſtcaſtle*, Sir *Alexander Seton*, Sir *David Home*, Sir *Duncan Crawford*, and Sir *Alexander Lauder*. Gentlemen, *Balgony*, *Bonhard*, Mr. *John Grant*, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Kay*, Mr. *Eliot*, *Macklean* and *Mackenzie*. This laſt had his Corps taken off the Field, by his Followers, and carried home to his own Country, where they interred him amongſt his Predeceſſors at *Beauly*.

As for the King himſelf, who was thus taken away in the Twenty Fifth Year of his Reign, and Thirty Ninth of his Age. 'He was 'a Prince, ſays *Hawthornden*, of a vigorous Body, his Stature being nei-'ther too tall nor too low, of a pleaſant Countenance, a pregnant Wit; 'excell'd in Horſemanſhip, Fencing and Shooting. By much Watch-'ing, ſlender Diet and Uſe, he was enabled to endure all Extremities 'of Weather, Scarcity and Want of Reſt, with good Health of Body. 'He was juſt in giving Judgment, yet tractable and moderate. He 'was eaſy of Acceſs, moſt Courteous in Speech, and meek in anſwering 'every Man. He was ſo far from being overtaken with Anger, or 'other violent Perturbations, that he was never obſerved to give an 'evil or diſobliging Word to any, or that his Face, or the Colour of 'his Countenance changed by any Offence offered, or Informations 'given him; relying without Paſſion upon his own Magnanimity. He 'was of a free and liberal Diſpoſition, and far from any Oſtentation. 'Tho' he delighted more in *Mars* than in the Muſes, he was a great 'Admirer and Advancer of Learned Men; he was Generous, had 'great Confidence in his Nobility, and governed his People by Love and 'not by Fear. Now it is no Wonder, that if, amongſt ſo many Beau-'ties, there ſhould be found ſome Shades of Human Frailty. So he is blamed for being too much wedded to his own Humor, Opiniative and Raſh, and was ſo infected, ſays the ſame *Hawthornden*, *with that illuſtrious Crime, which the Ambitious take for Vertue, Deſire of Fame, that he preferr'd it to his own Life and the Peace of his Subjects*. He was ſomewhat Amorous; for, in his Pilgrimage to S. *Ninian*'s in *Galloway*, he fell in Love with Lady *Jean Kennedy*, a Daughter of the Earl of *Caſſils*, and confined the Earl of *Angus* to the Iſland of *Arran* for taking her away.

(*u*) Vide Holinſhed's Hiſt. of Scot. Ed. Hall.

away. And in his laſt Expedition, the Lady *Ford*'s Daughter was blamed for the retarding the Progreſs of his Arms. He had, by his Queen, Four Children; *James*, born at *Holy-rood-houſe*, *February* 21ſt, 1507, and who died *July* 14th, 1510. *Arthur*, born in *October*, 1509; died in his Infancy. *James*, born *April* 5th, 1511, who ſucceeded him. *Alexander*, born 30th *April*, 1514; died *January* 15th, 1516. His Natural Iſſue were, *Alexander*, Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, by *Mary Boid*, Daughter to *Archbald Boid* of *Bonſhaw*.; *Catharine*, married to *James* Earl of *Morton*, with the ſame Lady. *James* Earl of *Murray*, by Lady *Jean Kennedy*, Daughter to the Earl of *Caſſils*. *Margaret*, by Lady *Margaret Drummond*, Daughter to the Lord *Drummond*. And *Jean* by Lady *Iſobel Stuart*, Daughter to *James* Earl of *Buchan*.

The Learned Men that lived in his Time, beſides theſe already mentioned, were: *Alexander Stuart*, his own Natural Son, by *Mary Boid* a Daughter of *Bonſhaw*'s, as we have ſaid. This Prince (*x*), having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies, in his own Country, under the Inſpection of Mr. *Patrick Panter*, Abbot of *Cambuskenneth* and afterwards Secretary of State, for his further Improvement was ſent abroad. And, having travelled through *Flanders*, he came to *Paris*, where he ſtaid for ſome Time. From thence he went to *Padua*, and being informed that the Famous *Eraſmus* was then at *Venice* with *Aldus Manutius*, he ſent for him to be his Preceptor. And under this great Man he made a wonderful Progreſs in all the Sciences, as *Eraſmus* informs us. At this Time (*y*) he applied himſelf to the Study of Rhetorick, the *Greek* Language, the Law, Muſic and Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory. In 1506, he was promoted, from being Commendator of *Dumfermling* and *Coldingham*, to the Arch-Biſhoprick of S. *Andrew*'s; and afterwards made Lord High Chancellor of the Kingdom. In 1510 he returned to *Scotland*, and was kill'd in this Battel of *Flowden* in the 20th Year of his Age. How much, not only the Nation, but the Republic of Letters, ſuffered by the Death of this excellent Prelate, we may learn from the ſame *Eraſmus* (*z*), who gives us the following Character of him. *Cæſus eſt*, ſays he, *una cum fortiſſimo Patre, filius eo Patre digniſſimus*, Alexander *Archiepiſcopus titulo* D. Andreæ; *Juvenis quidem viginti ferme natus annos, in quo nullam conſummati viri laudem deſiderares: Mira formæ gratia, mira dignitas, heroica proceritas, ingenium placidiſſimum quidem illud, ſed tamen ad cognitionem omnium diſciplinarum acerrimum. Nam mihi fuit cum eo quondam in Urbe* Senenſi *domeſtica conſuetudo. Quo tempore a nobis Rhetorum præceptis* Græcanicisque *literis exercebatur. Deum immortalem! quam velox, quam felix, quam ad quidvis ſequax ingenium, quam multa ſimul complecti poterat? Eodem tempore diſcebat Juriſconſultorum literas; nec eas admodum gratas, ob admixtam barbariem, & odioſam interpretum verboſitatem audiebat. Dicendi præcepta & præſcripto themate declamabat, pariter & calamum exercens & linguam. Diſcebat* Græce, *& quotidie quod traditum fuerat ſtato reddebat tempore. Horis pomeridianis Muſicis operam dabat; Monochordiis, tibiis, teſtudini. Modulabatur & voce nonnunquam. Ne ipſum quidem convivii tempus ſtudiorum vacabat fructu. Sacrificus perpetuo ſalutarem aliquem librum recitabat, puta Pontificum decreta, aut Divum* Hieronymum, *aut* Ambroſium; *nec unquam recitantis vox interrumpebatur, niſi ſi quid alteruter Doctorum, inter quos medius accumbebat, admonuiſſet, aut ipſe parum aſſequens quod legebatur,*

(*x*) Vide M. du Pin Bib. Eccleſiaſ. Tom 4. in Eraſ. (*y*) Eraſ. in Adag. Spartam nactus es, hanc orna. (*z*) Id. ibid.

ſciſcitatus eſſet aliquid. Rurſum a convivio fabulæ, ſed breves, & hæ quoque literis conditæ. Proinde nulla omnino vitæ pars vacabat ſtudio, niſi quæ rei Divinæ ſomnoque daretur. Nam etiam, ſi quid ſuperfuiſſet temporis, quod tam variis ſtudiorum vicibus non ſuppetebat: tamen ſi quid forte ſupererat, id Hiſtoricorum lectioni dabat. Nam hac cognitione præcipue capiebatur. His itaque rebus factum eſt, ut Adoleſcentulus, vix dum decimum octavum egreſſus annum, tantum in omni literarum genere conſecutus fuerit, quantum in quovis viro jure mireris. Nec illud in hoc uſu venit, quod fere ſolet in aliis, ut ad literas felix, ad bonos mores minus eſſet appoſitus. Verecundi mores erant ſic tamen ut miram agnoſceres prudentiam. Animus ſublimis, & a ſordidis iſtis affectibus procul ſemotus; ſed ita ut nihil adeſſet ferocitatis, nihil faſtidii. Nihil non ſentiebat, permulta diſſimulabat, nec unquam ad iracundiam poterat incitari. Tanta erat naturæ lenitas animique moderatio. Salibus impendio delectabatur, ſed eruditis ac minime dentatis, hoc eſt non nigro Momi, *ſed candido* Mercurii *ſale tinctis. Si quid turbæ domi natum fuiſſet inter famulos; mirum quantâ dexteritate, quantoque candore ſolitus ſit componere. Denique Religionis erat & Pietatis plurimum, Superſtitionis nihil. In ſumma, nemo fuit dignior qui ex Rege, & ex illo Rege naſceretur.* The Sum and Subſtance of which is,

'That he was kill'd about the Twentieth Year of his Age, being a 'Youth in whom nothing was wanting to make him a conſummated 'Perſon. He was very beautiful, had a graceful Air and very Perſo-'nable, endowed with a happy Genius, perfectly well adapted for 'all the Sciences. When I taught him at *Siena*, ſays he, *Greek* and 'Rhetorick; Good God! How ſoon, how happily and to how many 'Things could he apply himſelf at one Time? For then he was lear-'ning the Law, a Study not very grateful, upon the Account of the 'barbarous Stile and the odious Verboſity of the Commentators. He 'heard the Precepts of Declaiming, and at the ſame Time would De-'claim upon the preſcribed Theme, exerciſing at once his Pen and 'his Tongue. When he learn'd his *Greek* he would every Day imme-'diately tranſlate what had been dictated in the Mornings. He applied 'himſelf to Muſic, both Vocal and Inſtrumental. There was no 'Time but he employ'd for improving himſelf. Yea, even in the 'great Solemnities of the Church, the Decretals of the Popes, the 'Works of S. *Ambroſe* or *Jerom*, in the Intervals of Worſhip, were the 'Subject-Matter of his Diſcourſe with the Doctors. In One Word, 'there was hardly a Moment of his Life but he employ'd in Study, 'unleſs it was when at Prayers or aſleep. And if he had any ſpare 'Time it was employ'd in reading Hiſtories, in which he took great 'Pleaſure. So that in the Eighteenth Year of his Age, he was inſtru-'cted to Admiration in all Sort of Literature. Neither was it with 'him, as it often happens to Men much addicted to Study to render 'them unpoliſh'd, for he was moſt polite in his Behaviour with a great 'deal of Prudence. He had a ſublime Soul free from all ſordid Affe-'ctions; without any Affectation or Rudeneſs. There were few 'Things but he knew; tho' he often feign'd not to know them that he 'might be better informed by others. He was ſo great a Maſter of 'his Paſſions, that he was never obſerved to be angry. He loved Jeſts, 'providing alwiſe that they were harmleſs. If any Diſcord hapned 'amongſt his Servants, it was wonderful to ſee with what Dexterity 'and Candour he would quell it. Laſtly, he was very Religious and

'void

' void of all Superſtition; ſo that the King his Father, nor no King, ' could have a worthier Son than he was. There is extant (*a*) in the Lawiers Library Three *Latin* Letters, written by this Biſhop from *Padua*, Two to his Father, and the Third to his Maſter, as he calls him, the Secretary: All upon private Buſineſs.

David Cranſton was brought up in the Univerſity of *Paris* (*b*), where afterwards he taught the *Belles Lettres* with great Applauſe for ſeveral Years: And by his Teſtament, which he made in the Year 1512, he left all that he had to the College of *Montacute* where he had been brought up. *Dempſter* ſays, That he ſaw publiſh'd at *Paris*, of this learned Man's Writing, a Book of Orations; a Vow to S. *Quintigern*, and a Book of Epiſtles. *Ab eo vidi publicatas* Pariſiis, ſays he, *Orationes*; *Votum ad D.* Kentigernum; *Epiſtolas*.

Finlay Dickiſon, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Paris* (*c*), wrote a general Hiſtory, of all the moſt memorable Things that have hapned ſince the Creation, publiſhed at *Baſle*, 1509. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter*, *Hiſtoriarum memorabilium Synopſin.* Baſileæ *prodiit*, 1509. *George Dempſter*, born at *Brechin* (*d*), and Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Pavia*, wrote the Hiſtory of *Charles* VIII. of *France* his Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in which the *Scots* had ſo great a Hand. This Book, *Dempſter* ſays, he had printed at *Venice* in the Year 1511. *Venit*, ſays he, *in manus meas* Venetiis *excuſum*, *cui Titulus*, de Rebus ad *Novarium* geſtis. *John Eldmair*, Profeſſor of Theology at *Paris*, and afterwards at S. *Andrew*'s, wrote (*e*) upon the Maſter of the Sentences, the *Platoniſts* Theology, and a Book concerning the Philoſophy of the Ancients, and ſeveral other Things. *Ejus ſunt*, ſays *Dempſter*, *in Libros Sententiarum, Lib. IV. Theologica* Platonica. *Philoſophia Antiqua & alia permulta. Thomas Forbes*, Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres* in *Spain*, wrote, ſays *Dempſter* (*f*) ſeveral Things; but I have only ſeen his Book concerning the Ancient Inhabitants of *Spain*, *Ejus ſunt permulta*, ſays he, *ſed ego tantum vidi*, *de antiquis* Hiſpaniæ *habitatoribus*. *John Gray*, born at *Haddington*, of the Order of S. *Francis*, wrote a Book of the Figurative Expreſſions of the Bible; another upon the Sacraments, and a Book of Poems. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter* (*g*), *de Figuris Bibliorum*; *Super Sacramentis*; *Carmina varia*. There is an Epigram of this Author extant, prefix'd to a Book of *John Picard*, a *Franciſcan* likewiſe, wherein he commends him thus.

Quis, rogo, tam nitidus, ſuperas tam cultus in oras
Summaque Doctorum venit in ora liber?
Heſperius, Gallus, Germanus & Italus, Anglus,
Armenius, Scotus, Perſicus, Indus, Arabs.
Cui tam multigenam ſoli licet eſſe, Joannis
Picardi *hoc virtus ingeniumque facit.*

George Hepburn, Son to the Baron of *Hailes*, and Dean of *Dunkeld*, wrote a Book on the Militant and Spiritual State of the Church. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter* (*h*), *egregium volumen*, *de utroque ſtatu Eccleſiaſtico*. He

(*a*) In Coll. Epiſt: Regum Scotiæ. (*b*) Vide Dempſter, lib. 3. p. 187. Jacob: Breuil Antiq. Pariſ. lib. 2. p: 689. (*c*) Vide Dempſt. lib. 4. p. 224. (*d*) Dempſt. lib. 4. p. 136. (*e*) Dempſt: lib: 4. p: 266. Leſly de Geſt. Scot. lib. 8: p. 310. (*f*) Dempſt. lib: 7. p. 288. (*g*) Dempſt. lib: 7. p. 533. Hen. Willot, Belg. Ath. Orthod. p. 239. (*h*) Dempſt. lib. 8. p. 343.

founded a Chapel at S. *Andrew*'s, in which he was buried. *John Hepburn*, Prior of S. *Andrew*'s, wrote, whilſt a Youth at *Paris* and Student in that Univerſity, a moſt elegant Poem in Praiſe of Hunting. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter*, *De Venatione Poema elegantiſſimum (i)*. He died at S. *Andrew*'s, 1501. *Joſias Logan* was born at *Dumfermling*, and having undertaken a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he travell'd over the moſt Part of *Europe*, all *Aſia* and *Africk*; and upon his Return, wrote the Hiſtory of his Travels, which are much commended by *James Cheyne* and *Samuel Purchaſe*. *Redux domum ſcripſit*, ſays *Dempſter* (*k*), *atque* Dumfermlini *depoſuit*, *Hiſtoriam Peregrinationis ſuæ*. *Laudant* Jacobus Cheynæus & Purchaſius. *John Lundy*, a Chanon of *Brechin*, wrote the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of that See. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter* (*l*), Brechinenſis *Sedis ſucceſſionem*. *Alexander Mill*, a Chanon of *Dunkeld*, wrote the (*m*) Lives of the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*; which is ſtill extant in the Lawiers Library. *Vitæ Epiſcoporum* Dunkeldenſium *MS. in Bibliotheca Juriſconſultorum* Edinburgi.

To *James* IV. ſucceeded his only Son; who, in an Aſſembly of the Lords and Eſtates at *Stirling*, was proclaim'd and crown'd King by the Name of King *James* V. *December* 21ſt, 1513. Immediately after this the Queen, his Mother, wrote a Letter to her Brother, King *Henry*, entreating him for her Sake and the Intant King, his Nephew's, to proſecute the War no further; for he was but then One Year, Five Months and Ten Days Old. King *Henry* embraced the Propoſal, and a Truce was concluded betwixt the Two Nations for One Year and One Day. The late King, by his Teſtament, had left the Queen the Tutelage of his Son as long as ſhe continued a Widow. Which being read, and approven of by the Eſtates, the young King was committed to her Care; and *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Angus* and *Arran*, were appointed to aſſiſt her. The Queen, having been left with Child, was brought to Bed in the Month of *April*, in the Caſtle of *Stirling*, of a Boy, who was Chriſtened *Alexander*. The Queen had no ſooner recovered her Health and Strength, but ſhe thought the only Way to ſecure her ſelf againſt all Factions, that might ariſe againſt her Government, was to marry One of the moſt powerful of the Nobility, who would be able to ſupport her and her Intereſt. And amongſt them all ſhe found none comparable to the Earl of *Angus*, both upon the Account of his Noble Anceſtors and his many perſonal Endowments, being One of the moſt accompliſh'd Gentlemen amongſt them; and this ſhe did with ſo much Precipitation and Haſte, that ſhe did not acquaint her Brother the King of *England* of what ſhe intended. The Marriage was no ſooner divulged amongſt the reſt of the Nobility, than they immediately fell into Factions. And what ſhe thought would have proven the only Support of her Government, was the very Bane of it. For now they told her, That by her Marriage ſhe had loſt both the Tutelage of her Son and the Government, and that even by her Husband's Teſtament; and therefore it was fit that a Governour ſhould be choſen in her Place. But then they could not condeſcend upon the Man; for ſome were for the Earl of *Angus* the Queen's Husband; but it was objected againſt him, that he was already become too great by his Marriage with the Queen; neither was it fit to truſt the young King to him.

Others

(*i*) Dempſt. lib. 8. p. 348. (*k*) Dempſt. lib. 11, p. 435. (*l*) Dempſt. lib. 11. p. 435. (*m*) Dempſt. lib. 12. p. 491.

Others were for the Earl of *Arran*, Lord *Hamilton*, as a Perſon every way fit for that Charge and being near in Blood to him. But *Alexander*, Lord *Home*, and Lord High Chamberlain of *Scotland*, told them, That it was a Wrong to exclude from ſo high an Honour a Man of the Male Line of Blood, and to prefer One in the Female. Therefore he propoſed *John*, Duke of *Albany*, Son to *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, Brother to King *James* III. then in *France*. They having asked him if he would firſt put his Hand to a Paper, which was ready drawn up for calling him Home to that Effect; without any Pauſe he ſubſcrib'd, and with this Proteſtation, That tho' all the reſt of the Nobility ſhould oppoſe it, yet he alone would go to *France*, charge him to accept of it, be his Convoy home, and maintain his Title to the utmoſt of his Power. The Chamberlain having acquainted the Duke of what was reſolved amongſt them, an Aſſembly of the Nobility met at S. *Johnſton*; where, by univerſal Conſent, it was agreed, That the ſaid Duke of *Albany* ſhould be admitted Tutor and Governour of the King and Realm; and, That the ſame ſhould be confirmed by the Three Eſtates in a Parliament which ſhould be kept at *Edinburgh*, the Thirtieth Day of *March* next, for that End. The King of *England*, hearing of this Reſolution of the Nobility, wrote a Letter to his Siſter, Entreating her by all Means to put a Stop to the calling of the Duke of *Albany* home; for he knew very well that he would never relinquiſh the *French* Intereſt to eſpouſe his. He wrote a Letter likewiſe to the Nobility, ſhowing them the many Inconveniencies that would ariſe from their making the Duke of *Albany* Governour. He wrote likewiſe to the *French* King, Entreating him to keep the Duke of *Albany* in *France*, in regard of his Proximity in Blood to the young King of *Scots*, his Nephew; for, at this Time, King *Henry* and *Lewis*, King of *France*, were concluding a Peace betwixt them. But, notwithſtanding all the Means and Labour King *Henry* had uſed to the contrary, it was concluded by the States aſſembled in Parliament at *Edinburgh*, at the Time prefix'd, That Sir *Patrick Hamilton*, *James Ogilvy* Abbot of *Dryburgh*, and Lion King at Arms, ſhould be ſent to *France*, to invite the Duke of *Albany* to come home, being now by Act of Parliament, made Tutor to the King and Governour of the Kingdom. Whereupon, in *April* next following, they went to *France*, and, about the Eight and Twentieth Day of *Auguſt*, 1514, they return'd with Articles in Writing from the King of *France* and the Duke of *Albany*, by which the Duke's Coming was excuſed; becauſe the King of *France* could not yet well ſpare him, until there were ſome End put to the War betwixt *England* and *France*; and likewiſe the Duke required the Reſtitution of his Father's Patrimony and Dignities to him, and ſome other Things of leſs Moment: All which being granted, the ſame very Perſons were ſent back again to *France*.

In the mean time a Peace was concluded betwixt *France* and *England*, in which there was no Mention or Proviſion for the Realm of *Scotland*; a ſingular Act of Ingratitude and Baſeneſs in the *French* King, in regard that the late unhappy War againſt *England* had been undertaken upon his Account: Beſides that, he had detained the Duke of *Albany* purpoſely to gratify the King of *England*. But King *Lewis* dying ſhortly after, *Francis*, his Succeſſor, reſolving to oblige the *Scots* as much as he could, and as he thought himſelf in Gratitude bound to do, furniſhed

ſhed the Duke of *Albany* with all Neceſſaries, and Eight well rigged Ships. With theſe he arrived, in the Month of *May*, on the Weſt Coaſt of *Scotland*; from whence, with a great Retinue of the Nobility and Barons, he came to *Edinburgh*. The Queen met him on the Way, and cauſed all the Honour and Reſpect, a Female Diſſimulation could deviſe, be put upon him. In the Parliament, which had been prorogued to his Coming, the Duke accepted the Government of the Kingdom, and gave his Oath of Fidelity to the King and Country; and the Three Eſtates gave their Oath of Obedience to him: And both ſwore, That, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, neither ſhould be deficient to the other. Then he was reſtored to all his Father's Eſtate, Titles and Honours, being declared Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March* and Governour of the Kingdom till the King's full Majority. After which the Parliament roſe, having made many excellent Laws for the Good of the Nation.

All Things being thus ſettled, the new Governour took Care to puniſh Oppreſſors; Juſtice was ſincerely executed, and the Court frequented by Good and Vertuous Men. But this was not all; for he went and viſited the principal Towns of the Nation, cauſing all their Grievances to be redreſs'd and Malefactors puniſhed. And, ſince he was not well acquainted with the Municipal Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, he took alongſt able Lawiers with him: But none had ſo much of his Ear as *John Hepburn*, Prior of S. *Andrew*'s; a Man of ſubtile Wit, malicious, crafty, rich, and endowed with a great Gift of Eloquence. This Man, having given him a true Account of the State of the Nation, and the Factions and different Intereſts of the Nobility, adviſed him above all Things to have a ſtrict Eye over the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord Chamberlain, and *Andrew Foreman* Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s. The Chamberlain, who had been the main Inſtrument of the Governour's Advancement and of bringing him home, ſeeing his Countenance altered towards him, reſolv'd to be reveng'd. So, making his Courtſhip to the Queen and the Earl of *Angus*, he was very graciouſly received by them; and they Three at laſt reſolved to convey away privately the King and his Brother into *England*, and to commit them to the Care of King *Henry* their Uncle. But this was not ſo ſecretly contrived but that it came to the Ears of the Governour, who immediately, getting together as many Men as he could, at Midnight marched from *Edinburgh* to *Stirling*; where unawares he ſurpriſed the Caſtle, and in it the Queen with her Two Sons. After which a Council being call'd, the King and his Brother were taken from their Mother and committed to the Cuſtody of Four Noblemen, who, by Turns, were to attend and take Care of their Education. The Chamberlain, hearing of this, made his Eſcape into *England* with his Brother *William*, and the Queen with her Husband and his Brother, Sir *George Douglaſs*, made their Eſcape to *Tantallon*, and from thence to *Berwick*; from which they had a Convoy to the Nunnery of *Coldſtream*; where they ſtay'd till they ſhould know how King *Henry* would have them diſpoſe of themſelves. He ordered the Caſtle of *Harbottle*, in *Northumberland*, for the Place of their Reſidence; and here the Queen was deliver'd of a Daughter nam'd *Margaret*. In the mean Time the Governour wrote to King *Henry*, That he had no evil Deſign either againſt the Queen or her Husband; and that, if they

pleaſed

pleaſed to return, they ſhould be noways diſturb'd by him in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of all that they could claim to; but that he would not ſuffer the King to be carry'd out of his Kingdom. He wrote Letters likewiſe to them, promiſing, That, if they would return, all bygone Injuries ſhould be forgot. Upon this all of them returned ſave the Queen. King *Henry*, being informed that the Earl of *Angus* had left his Wife and thrown himſelf on the Governour's Mercy, ſaid with ſome Reſentment, according to *Echard*, *That it was done like a* Scot; meanly upbraiding a whole Nation for the Fault of one Man. However King *Henry*, to comfort his Siſter ſent for her; whereupon, with a Noble Attendance, mounted upon a white Palfrey, preſented to her by the Queen of *England*, behind Sir *Thomas Parr*, ſhe paſſed thorough *London* to *Baynard*'s Caſtle; and from thence to the Court at *Greenwich*, where ſhe was joyfully received. And the King, as a further Mark of his Eſteem of her, order'd Two ſolemn Days to be kept for Tilting and Barriers, in which he himſelf was the chief Champion. The Governour, to ſhow the World that he had not proceeded againſt theſe Gentlemen without Ground, reſolved to bring them all to a Trial. Whereupon he cauſes ſeiſe, and impriſon, *Gawin Douglaſs* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* and Mr. *Patrick Panter* Secretary to the late King. The Lord *Drummond*, Grand-Father to the Earl of *Angus*, having beat the Herauld who ſummon'd him to appear and anſwer to what was to be laid to his Charge, was impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Blackneſs* and forfaulted. *Alexander* Lord *Home*, being ſummon'd and not appearing, was denounced Rebel; his Moveables ſeiſed on and brought to the Exchequer. Upon this he lays waſte all the Lands about the Borders, and plunders the Town of *Dumbar*. The Governour, having got together about a Thouſand hardy Soldiers, marches ſtraight to the Borders to fight him: But the Earl reſolved rather to try what his Clemency would do; ſo he willingly ſubmits himſelf to his Mercy, and is brought Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* and committed to the Care of the Earl of *Arran*, who was married to his Siſter, with an Intimation of not ſuffering him to make his Eſcape under the Pain of High Treaſon. The Earl finding that the Governour had not treated him according to his Expectation, it was not long ere he engaged his Keeper, the Earl of *Arran*, to join with his Faction againſt the Governour; promiſing, that they would put the whole Government in his Hands, as the Man who was neareſt Heir to the King, and to whom conſequently ſuch an Honour only belonged. The Earl of *Arran* upon this takes away his Priſoner with him, and both of them ſummon all their Friends, Followers and Relations to join them. In the Beginning of the Spring *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arran*'s Siſter Son, with all his Followers, declaring for them, they took the Caſtle of *Glaſgow*. But the Governour, marching againſt him with his Forces, recovered the ſame with ſmall Loſs of his Men Then he marched ſtraight towards *Hamilton*, reſolving to raze it to the Ground: But the old Counteſs of *Arran*, being at that time there, who was Daughter to King *James* II. Siſter to King *James* III. Mother to the Earl of *Arran*, Grand-Mother to the Earl of *Lenox*, and Aunt to the Governour; this Lady, I ſay, who was as venerable for her Vertues as her Years, with Tears in her Eyes, falling down at the Governour's Feet, not only prevail'd with him to lay aſide his

Deſign of burning the Houſe, but, by the Aſſiſtance of *Andrew Foreman* Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, to be reconciled both to the Earls of *Arran* and *Lenox*; and they are pardoned, in *November* following, at *Edinburgh*. About this Time died at *Stirling Alexander*, Duke of *Rothſay*, Brother to the King; a Child, to Admiration beautiful and promiſing. He was buried in the Abbay-Church of *Cambuskenneth*.

The Term of Peace between the Two Kingdoms being almoſt expired, and both having a Deſire to continue it, the *Engliſh* ſent their Commiſſioners to *Coldingham*; to whom the Duke, then reſiding at *Dumbar*, ſent Monſieur du *Plains* Ambaſſador for the *French* King, Sir *William Scot* of *Balwery*, and *Gawin Dumbar* Arch-Dean of S. *Andrew*'s. Theſe, after ſome Debates concerning the *Scots* Fugitives, concluded a Peace between the Two Nations from the Midſt of *January* 1516, till the Feaſt of *Whitſuntide* thereafter. The *Engliſh* comprehended in the Articles the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Home* and the reſt of the Queen's Faction, and all their Followers. The Lord *Home* was Conditionally received, upon his good Behaviour for the Time to come. Mr. *Gawin Douglaſs* and Mr. *Patrick Panter* were ſet at Liberty; the Lord *Drummond*, who had been forfaulted, was reſtored again to his Fortune and Honours, and the Earl of *Angus* and thoſe that had followed him were again received into Favour. The ſame Day, on which this Truce was agreed upon, the Queen was ſo very ill of a Fever, at *Morpeth*, that no Life was expected for her.

All Things being thus agreed betwixt the Two Nations, the Governour thought fit to call a Parliament, to be held at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *November*, for making ſuch Laws as might be thought good and proper for the Nation. In this Parliament the Governour was declared Second Perſon of the Realm; notwithſtanding of the Claim made by *Alexander Stuart*, his elder Brother, who was begotten on a Daughter of the Earl of *Orkney*'s, to whom the Duke of *Albany* their Father was lawfully married before his going to *France*, and before his Marriage to the Earl of *Bulloign*'s Daughter, Mother to *John* the Governour; upon which Ground *Alexander* made his Claim, and proteſted, as Heir to his Father; I ſay, notwithſtanding of this Challenge and Bravado, he, being more fit for a Cowl than a Crown, in open Parliament gave over all Title he had to the Crown in his Brother's Favours. Whereupon, to deprive him ever hereafter of Lawful Succeſſion, he made him Biſhop of *Murray* and Abbot of *Scoon*; and that he might ingratiate himſelf further with the Nobility, he ſatisfy'd all the contending Parties about the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices that had fallen Vacant either by the Battel of *Flowden* or otherways; for, either before or ſince his Advancement, he had preferred the following Perſons, *Andrew Foreman* he made Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s and Abbot of *Dumfermling*; To *James Hepburn*, Prior of S. *Andrew*'s and Competitor for the Arch-Biſhoprick, he gave the Biſhoprick of *Murray* and an Annual Penſion of a Thouſand Merks, to be paid to him by the Arch-Biſhop, out of S. *Andrew*'s; *James Ogilvy* was made Abbot of *Dryburgh*; *Alexander Gordon*, Couſin to the Earl of *Huntly*, he made Biſhop of *Aberdeen*; *James Beaton* was made Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow* and Abbot of *Aberbroth*, paying a Yearly Penſion to the Earl of *Murray*; To a Couſin of the Earl of *Arran*'s he gave the Abbacy of *Kilwinning*; And *George Dundaſs* was

was made Maſter of the Knights of *Rhodes*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in all which, as our Author obſerves, he was only to be blamed in this, that he conferred theſe Benefices upon them, without any Reſpect to their Piety and Learning, but to the Intereſts that they had in the Noble Families of which they were deſcended, altho' ſeverals of them were very deſerving Perſons.

All Things being now in perfect Tranquillity, the Governour went to *Faulkland*, where he ſpent ſeveral Weeks in the harmleſs Divertiſements of a Country Life. But whilſt he was thus innocently amuſing himſelf in the Country, he was informed of new Deſigns againſt him by the Lord *Home*. He comes immediately to *Edinburgh*, and, in the Month of *September*, ſummons the Lord *Home*, his Brother Mr. *William*, and Sir *Andrew*, call'd by the Country People Lord *Dand Car* of *Farneharſt*, to anſwer to what was to be laid to their Charge. They, notwithſtanding of all that their Friends could ſay to the contrary, came to *Edinburgh*; where they were impriſon'd, and try'd by a Jury, who found them guilty of what was laid to their Charge. But *Dand Car* of *Farneharſt*, by the Favour of his Keepers, made his Eſcape; and the other Two were executed and their Heads fixed upon the Croſs of *Edinburgh*. It is not to be imagined how much the People were aſtoniſhed with this Action of the Governour, who had hitherto behaved himſelf with ſuch Lenity and Mercy. The Governour no ſooner perceived this Alteration in the Minds of the People towards him, but he reſolved to go for ſome time to *France*. So calling together the Nobility, he ask'd their Liberty for Six Months, they denied it: But a little Time after, Ambaſſadors being ſent from *Francis* King of *France* to *Scotland*, to renew the Ancient League between the Two Nations, he managed the Affair ſo, that he was made Choice of to go over with the *French* Ambaſſadors to renew the League, promiſing to return to them within Six Months. Having obtained this, his next Care was to preſerve the State from any Alteration till his Return, which he order'd thus. The King was convoy'd from *Stirling* to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and committed to the Care of the Earl *Mariſchal*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Borthwick*; Two of which were always to reſide with him, and aſſiſt the Lord *Erskin*, who was appointed to be his conſtant Attendant and Governour. For the Government of the State he left Seven Deputies in his Place; the Earls of *Arran*, *Angus*, *Huntly*, *Argyle*, the Arch-Biſhops of S. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*, to whom was join'd Sir *Anthony Darcy*, *Le Sieur de la Beaute*, whom he had made Captain of the Caſtle of *Dumbar* and Warden of the Eaſt Marches, in the Lord *Home*'s Place; and *Malcolm*, Lord *Fleming*, was made Lord High Chamberlain. All Things being thus ſettled, the Governour embark'd at *Dunbarton*, accompany'd with the Earl of *Lenox*, the Lord *Gordon*, Maſters of *Glencairn* and *Arran*, Mr. *Gawin Douglaſs* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Mr. *Patrick Panter* Secretary to the late King, and ſome others of the Nobility, whom he was afraid to leave behind him.

Queen *Margaret*, being informed that the Governour was gone to *France*, returned to *Scotland*. At *Berwick* ſhe was received by her Huſband, the Earl of *Angus*; but he found not ſuch a kindly Reception from her as he expected. For, having been informed, that during her Abſence he entertain'd a Miſtreſs in *Douglaſsdale*, Jealouſy, that Plague of

too much Love, ſeiſed upon her Soul, ſo that never after ſhe could be reconciled to him. Upon her Arrival at *Edinburgh*, ſhe ſolicited the Governours for a Permiſſion to viſit her Son. At firſt they refuſed her; but a Rumor ſpreading, that the City of *Edinburgh* was infeſted with the Plague, the King was tranſported to *Craigmiller*, where, by the Courteſy of the Lord *Erskin*, ſhe had the Liberty of ſeeing him frequently. But her many Viſits raiſing Suſpicions in the reſt of the Guardians, that ſhe deſigned to convoy him into *England*, they removed him again to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and refuſed her the Liberty of Acceſs to him any further.

Sir *Anthony Darcy*, having by his great Care and Diligence ſuppreſſed all the Diſorders that were uſually committed upon the Borders, the reſt of the Governours declared him abſolute Deputy. The *Homes* thinking that this was a diſgracing of their Country-Men, eſpecially thoſe of their own Clan, they reſolved to diſpatch him. So contriving a ſeeming Quarrel betwixt the Curators of the Laird of *Langton* and One of his Uncles, (who by the Power and Means of Sir *David Home* of *Wedderburn*, whoſe Siſter was his Wife, had thruſt out the Heir and the reſt of the Children out of the Caſtle of *Langton*, and kept it by Force,) as the Deputy, accompany'd with a ſmall Train and his own Domeſtic Servants, came to *Duns* to hold a Juſtice Court concerning this Riot: The Borderers, who lay in Ambuſh for him, having attacked him, kill'd ſeverals of his Attendants, and he himſelf endeavour'd to make his Eſcape by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe; but the Horſe, either falling under him or ſinking in a Mariſh, left his Maſter to the Cruelty of his Enemies, who cut off his Head and put it up on the Battlements of the Caſtle of *Home*. Thus dy'd Sir *Anthony Darcy*, who deſerv'd a far better Fate for the many and great Services he had done both for *Scotland* and *France*; being a Man who was Courteous, Valiant and Noble in all his Actions, a great Adminiſtrator of Juſtice, One who ſpared no Travel and contemn'd all Dangers in order to protect the Innocent and Weak. Upon his Death the Governours made Choice in his Place of the Earl of *Arran*; which highly diſpleas'd the Earl of *Angus*; but *Arran*, having no Regard either to *Angus* or his Friends, immediately impriſon'd his Brother Sir *George Douglaſs* in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and *Mark Ker* of *Ceſsford* in *Garvet* Caſtle, out of a Suſpicion that they were acceſſory to Monſieur *Darcy*'s Death. Then having call'd a Parliament, many of the *Homes* and *Cockburns*, who had been Partners in that abominable Action, and had thereupon fled into *England*, were declared Rebels. The Parliament being diſſolved, the Earl of *Arran* marched with a ſmall Army and laid Siege to the Caſtles of *Home* and *Langton*, both which ſurrender'd to him. After which he return'd to *Edinburgh*. When the News of Monſieur *Darcy*'s Death was brought to the Court of *France*, the *French* King ſaid, *That he never expected better at the Hands of the* Scots, *who could never endure to be under a Foreign Yoke, and that the Duke of* Albany *had miſtaken his Meaſures in putting a Stranger in ſuch a Poſt.* Not long after the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* arrived, with an Account of all the Tranſactions betwixt the *French* King and the Duke of *Albany*; and to confirm all that he was Commiſſion'd to ſay, the Earl of *Lenox*, with *John* Lord *Gordon*, Son to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*, and an Herauld, arrived with Letters from the

the *French* King full of fair Promiſes. The Lord *Gordon* went ſhortly after to the North where he died, and was buried under a ſtately Monument erected by his Father in the Monaſtery of *Kinloſs*, much regreted by all Sorts and Ranks of People, being a Nobleman of great Integrity and Vertue. By this Time the Kings of *England* and *France* had concluded a Peace betwixt themſelves, without including their Allies the *Scots* in it; which the Nobility taking in very ill Part, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *France* to complain of their Treatment. To excuſe this Overſight, the *French* King wrote Letters to them, That he had been earneſtly preſſed by ſome of themſelves not to include them in the Peace, in regard that they had magnanimouſly reſolved, according to their wonted Valour, to be revenged on the *Engliſh* for the Death of their late Sovereign and Kinſmen. But this Evaſion giving them no Satisfaction, the *French* King interpoſed his Endeavours with King *Henry* for a Ceſſation of Arms between the Two Kingdoms. Whereupon *Clarencieux* and One *La Fiot* coming to *Scotland*, the One from the *French* King, and the Other from the King of *England*, a Truce was concluded between the Two Kingdoms for One Year and a whole Day. But, notwithſtanding of all this, the Kingdom begun to be ſenſible of the Governour's Abſence by the many Diſorders that hapned, a few of which I ſhall inſtance here. The Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lindſay*, contending which of them ſhould be Sheriff of *Fife*, fought it, with their Attendants, upon the Street of *Edinburgh*, till the Governours interpos'd their Authority and committed them both Priſoners, the One to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and the other to the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*. *Robert Blackader*, Prior of *Coldingham*, with Six of his Domeſtick Servants, was kill'd by the Laird of *Wedderburn*. At *Dundee* the Magiſtrates permitted a mad Man to run thro' the Streets for ſeveral Days; and he, in his Fury kill'd Three Women, One of which was a Perſon of Quality and a Nun of the Order of S. *Francis*, and another big with Child. He likewiſe deſtroyed Three Men. The King, upon the Report of the Plague's being in *Edinburgh*, was convoy'd to *Dalkeith* by the Earl of *Arran*, then Provoſt of the City: But upon his Return, it being then the Time of the Election of the Magiſtrates, they ſhut the Gates and denied him Acceſs to the City. Upon which a great Tumult aroſe betwixt thoſe who favoured the *Hamiltons* and the Faction of the *Douglaſſes*, and a Deacon of the Crafts was kill'd in the Quarrel. After this Tumult hapned another, which we have already ſpoke of in the Life of *Gawin Douglaſs*.

Theſe, and ſeveral other Diſorders in the Nation requiring the Preſence of the Governour, the Deputies ſent Letters to him with Sir *John Stirling* of *Keir*, earneſtly intreating him to come home. But King *Henry*, on the other Hand, as earneſtly ſolicited the *French* King to detain him. At length he diſpatch'd the Laird of *Keir* with Letters, wherein he told them, that he had obtained, but with great Difficulty, the *French* King's Permiſſion for coming home; and that he was preparing all Things for his Voyage. And accordingly ſhortly after he arrived ſafely, notwithſtanding of the *Engliſh* Ships which lay in wait for him, upon the Weſt Coaſt of *Scotland*, at a Place called *Garloch*. The Firſt Thing he did upon his Arrival was to turn out all the Magiſtrates of the City of *Edinburgh*, becauſe they had been Fomenters of the

Diviſion that had fallen out betwixt the *Douglaſſes* and *Hamiltons*, and made Choice of new Ones in their Place. Then he call'd a Parliament, to which he ſummoned all thoſe who were any ways acceſſory to the Diſorders that were committed in his Abſence; and ſuch of them as did not appear, were forfaulted and declared Rebels: The Earl of *Angus* and his Brother were pardoned upon the Queen's Interceſſion, notwithſtanding of her Averſion to him; but upon this Condition, That they ſhould leave the Country and ſtay in *France* One whole Year, which they obey'd. Others have recorded, that they were ſurpriſed in the Night time, and in *French* Ships convoyed privately away, which ſeems more probable; in regard of the Diſguſt that the Queen had at her Husband, whom ſhe had purſued for a Divorce, upon the Account of his having, before ſhe was married to him, promiſed to wed the Earl of *Bothwel*'s Daughter. *Gawin Douglaſs*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, fled into *England*; where he died, as we have obſerved in his Life.

The King of *England*, being diſappointed in his Deſign of detaining the Governour in *France*, ſent *Clarencieux*, King at Arms, to require him to remove immediately out of the Kingdom; Becauſe that it had been agreed betwixt him and the *French* King, in their laſt Treaty, That he ſhould not be permitted to live in *Scotland*; That it was not reaſonable that he, who was next Heir to the Crown, ſhould have the Guardianſhip of his Nephew the young King, whom he might murder; and, Laſtly, That he had, contrary to all Reaſon, baniſhed his Brother-in-law the Earl of *Angus*; and for theſe Reaſons he denounced War againſt him, if he did not obey his Orders. The Governour very calmly reply'd, That what was agreed to betwixt the *French* King and his Maſter he did not know; but he was very certain, that neither of them had any Power to baniſh him from his Country. As for the young King's Murder, he thanked God, That ſuch a Villanous Thought had never entred his Heart; and he hoped to let the World ſee how far he was from ſuch unnatural Deſigns. And as to the Earl of *Angus*, he told him, that he dealt more gentilely with him than he deſerved, upon the Queen's Deſire, whom he would always reſpect and honour as the Mother of his Sovereign. And Laſtly, as for his declaring War againſt the Kingdom, he ſaid, he would take Care to provide ſuch Forces that he would not be afraid of all the Power he could bring againſt him.

When this Anſwer was reported to King *Henry*, he gathered together a great Army to invade *Scotland*; and on the other Hand, the Governour renewed the Ancient League with *France*: And having call'd a Parliament at *Edinburgh*, by and with the Conſent of the Three Eſtates in Parliament aſſembled, an Army was raiſed to oppoſe any Attempts that might be made upon the Kingdom. King *Henry* to commence the War, ſent down Seven great Ships, which came into *Inch-Keith*, and plundered and deſtroy'd the whole adjacent Coaſts; and all the *Scots* and *French*, then inhabiting *London* and the other Places of *England*, were fined and commanded to go out of the Country. The *French* King, in Requital of this, ſeiſed upon all the *Engliſh* Men's Goods who were then reſiding at *Bourdeaux*, impriſoned their Perſons, and retained the Money to be paid for the Reſtitution of *Tournay*, as it had been agreed betwixt him and the King of *France*. The Earl of

Shrewſbury

Shrewſbury, in the mean Time, made an Incurſion upon the Borders, and burnt the one Half of *Kelſo* and plunder'd the other. Upon this the Governour marched with his Army to oppoſe him. The Firſt Night he encamped upon *Roſlin* Moor, and then marched ſtraight to *Annandale*; and coming to the River *Esk*, which runs into the *Iriſh* Seas near *Carliſle*, he encamp'd there; and, by the Advice of ſome *French* Enginiers, he fortify'd his Camp, reſolving to ſtay for ſome Time. The Citizens of *Carliſle*, terrify'd at the ſudden Approach of ſo powerful an Army, (for the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſay, he had no leſs than Fourſcore Thouſand Men with him) offered him many Preſents for the Safety of their Town: But he rejected them, not knowing that the Queen had influenced all the Noblemen and chief Commanders in the Army to oppoſe his invading of *England*. So that when he thought to have march'd further and fought the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, they refuſed to obey him; telling him, That it was ſufficient for them if they defended their own Country; and that, upon the uncertain Event of a Battel, the Kingdom might come to be ſo weakned, that ſufficient Forces would be wanting to protect their young Sovereign. The Governour calmly repreſented to them, the Diſgrace which they would bring upon themſelves by a ſhameful Retreat; and that ſince, in full Parliament, they had agreed upon the War, they ought to have made their Objections then, and not now, when their Enemies were inſulting over them: But finding that they continued obſtinate in their Reſolution, and that the Queen and they were for concluding a Truce for ſome Time, he went alongſt with the Current, and ſeem'd willingly to comply with what he could not help. The Queen being informed of this came her ſelf to the Army; and, at her Deſire, the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the Weſt Marches, came to the Governour's Camp the Eleventh of *September*, 1522, where a Ceſſation of Arms was agreed upon, till ſuch time as the Queen and Governour ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to King *Henry* to treat for a Peace. Accordingly Ambaſſadors were ſent; but King *Henry* demanded ſuch extravagant and diſhonourable Terms; that nothing was concluded.

The Governour reſenting highly the ſlighting of the Ambaſſadors and unfair Dealing of the Nobility, who refuſed to concur with him in the War, left the Army, and in the Month of *October*, by the Weſt Seas, went over to *France* to ſolicite the *French* King for further Aid. During his Abſence there was nothing but continual Incurſions by the *Engliſh* upon the *Scots* Borders, and by the *Scots* upon the *Engliſh*. The Governour demanded from the *French* King Five Thouſand *German* Horſemen and Ten Thouſand Foot, with which and the *Scots* who would join him, he doubted not but to bring the *Engliſh* King to ſuch Terms as might be honourable both for *France* and *Scotland*. The *French* King, by Reaſon of his Wars at that Time, could not ſpare ſo many Men; but he gave him Three Thouſand Pikes and One Thouſand Launces. The Governour, intending with theſe to return to *Scotland*, was informed that the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in Wait for him. Whereupon he diſperſed his Ships into different Harbours, and gave out that he deſigned not his Expedition till the next Spring. Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, the *Engliſh* Admiral, having waited for him, till the Middle of the Month of *Auguſt*, and noways doubting but that the Governour

would not return till the Spring, he laid up the Fleet in convenient Ports till that Time. But the Governour got no ſooner Notice of this, but gathering together all his Ships, to the Number of Fifty Sail, he embarked his Men at *Breſt* in *Britaign*, upon the One and Twentieth of *September*, and landed them ſafely at *Kircudbright* in the Weſt of *Scotland*. At the very Time of his Arrival the *Engliſh* had burnt the Town of *Jedburgh*. In his journey to *Edinburgh* he was met by many of the Nobility; and it was agreed amongſt them, that an Army ſhould be immediately rais'd to oppoſe *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, the King of *England*'s Lieutenant in the North, who during his Abſence, had, with the Marquis of *Dorſet* and his Brother, enter'd, plunder'd and burnt all the ſmall Villages about the Borders. Upon the 28th of *October* the Army having met at *Douglaſsdale*, marched towards *Coldſtream* upon the *Tweed*. Out of this Army the Governour made Choice of ſome of the hardieſt Soldiers of the *Scots* and *French*, whom he ſent to lay Siege to the Caſtle of *Wark*, under the Command of *Dand Car* of *Farneharſt*; and at the ſame time ſent Notice to the Earl of *Surrey*, *That he was willing to fight him upon any Day he pleaſed to appoint, and that if the Fortune of War ſhould give him the Victory, ſo that he might fall into his Hands, his Ranſom ſhould be eaſy, and his Entertainment according to his Quality and Merit.* The Earl of *Surrey* returned as rude and unmannerly an Anſwer as this Offer was kind and civil; ſaying, *That he would give him Battel if he durſt face him. And farther, That if the Duke were taken either by him or any of his, he would ſtrike off his Head, and ſend it in a Preſent to the King of* England. In the mean Time, thoſe who were beſieging the Caſtle of *Wark* were obliged to raiſe the Siege, by reaſon of a great Storm, which they were afraid might ſo ſwell the River of *Tweed* as to cut them off from their own, and render them a Prey to the Earl of *Surrey*'s Army, which was advancing to the Relief of the Caſtle. And here the Queen, for a Second Time, gained the Nobility to oppoſe the Governour's invading of *England*, and a Truce was propoſed, agreed upon and obſerved till the laſt of *November*. During the Time of this Truce, many Conſultations were held amongſt the Nobility about the continuing of the War; ſome being for it, and others againſt it. At length they concluded, that the King himſelf ſhould take upon him the Government, tho' he was but then in the Thirteenth Year of his Age. The Governour upon this very willingly demitted his Place, and went, for the Third Time, to *France*, where he died. He was a Prince adorned with many Virtues, was Active, Valiant and Reſolute, and of a very deep Reach in Politicks. His courteous and affable Nature went above his Ambition, and obtained him the Love and Reſpect of all that knew him.

Before the Rumour of the Duke of *Albany*'s going to *France* was ſpread abroad, the King of *England* ſent Letters privately to *France* to the Earl of *Angus*, inviting him over to *England*, promiſing to aſſiſt him againſt the Governour, both with Men and Money. He willingly accepted of the Offer, came over, and ſhortly after returned into *Scotland*. The Truce being ended upon the 21ſt Day of *May*, Five Hundred *Scots* Men, having by different Foords entred into *England*, a great Fair being then kept at *Berwick*, they fell upon the Merchants as they were travelling with their Goods, and carry'd off about Two Hun-

Hundred of them Priſoners to *Scotland*. The Earl of *Surrey* upon this was again ſent to the *Engliſh* Borders, and ſo many *Scots* Noblemen were appointed to ly upon the *Scots* Borders and to relieve one another Monthly. Notwithſtanding of which Sir *William Fenwick*, *Leonard Muſgrave* and One of the *Herons*, commonly call'd Baſtard *Heron*, with divers others, to the Number of Nine Hundred *Engliſh* Men, entred into the Marches of *Scotland* and plundered the whole Country before them. But they being accidentally met by a Body of Two Thouſand *Scots* Men, who were marching towards the *Engliſh* Borders, a bloody Battel enſued betwixt them. At length the *Engliſh* were put to the Flight, Sir *Ralph Fenwick* and ſeveral others, to the Number of Two Hundred, were taken Priſoners; and Baſtard *Heron* and a great many kill'd. Upon the 17th Day of *July* following, the Lord *Maxwel* and Sir *Alexander Jarden*, with an Army of Four Thouſand Men, with diſplayed Banners, entred by *Carliſle* into the Weſt Marches of *England*; where being met by a greater Body of Men, they fought it moſt deſperately for the Space of an Hour. The *Scots* being put in Diſorder, the Lord *Maxwel*'s Son, Sir *Alexander Jarden*, and others to the Number of Three Hundred, were taken Priſoners and ſent off with a Body of their Men towards *Carliſle*. The Lord *Maxwel*, a Nobleman of great Valour and Conduct, perceiving this, and how much they had weakned their Army by it, perſwaded the *Scots* to rally again and renew the Fight; which they did with ſo much Succeſs, that he recovered all the Priſoners, obtained a compleat Victory, and carried Three Hundred Priſoners home with him into *Scotland*.

The King of *England*, by this Time, being informed of the Duke's Departure, ſent down to his Siſter one *Magnus*, a Man well skill'd in the Laws, and *Roger Ratcliff*, as his Ambaſſadors, with a Propoſal of a Truce betwixt the Two Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, now that the Duke of *Albany* was returned into *France* who had been the only Cauſe and Procurer of the Wars betwixt them. Hereupon a Truce was agreed to, which was to laſt for a Year: And in the mean time *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*, *Robert Cockburn*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and *Alexander Miln* Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, were ſent Ambaſſadors to *England* with Propoſals of a Peace. They arrived at *London* upon the 19th Day of *December*, where they were received by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Lord of S. *Johns*, and divers other Noblemen who convoy'd them to their Lodgings. Upon the Three and Twentieth Day of *December* they were accompanied by Water to *Greenwich* by the ſame Lords; where they were very Nobly received and entertain'd. Being admitted to an Audience, the Biſhop, in a moſt eloquent Oration in *Latin*, told King *Henry*, That they were ſent Ambaſſadors from his Nephew, with Propoſals for concluding a firm and laſting Peace betwixt the Two Nations: And, for the better eſtabliſhing of it, they propoſed, That a Marriage might be made betwixt his Daughter Lady *Mary* and the young King their Maſter. Doctor *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, anſwered him, and told, That the King his Maſter, was willing, at his Nephew's Deſire and theirs, to conclude a Peace with them upon reaſonable Conditions; and as touching the Marriage of his Daughter, he would anſwer them hereafter to their full Contentment. King *Henry* alſo appointed Commiſſioners to commune and treat with them, who propoſed divers Articles on his Behalf. But

firſt and eſpecially, That the King of *Scotland* ſhould renounce the League with the King of *France*; and that he ſhould come into *England* and remain there until he were of competent Age to be married. To this the Ambaſſadors anſwered, *That theſe Conditions were above their Commiſſion, to which they could not well anſwer*; and therefore deſired Time to acquaint the Council of *Scotland* with them, which was agreed to. So Two of them remained at *London*, and the Earl of *Caſſils* returned to *Scotland* to bring back an Anſwer.

A Parliament being called to meet at *Edinburgh* upon this Head. The Queen and they who were of her Faction, ſuch as the Earls of *Arran*, *Murray* and *Eglinton*, being afraid of the Earl of *Angus*, iſſued out a Proclamation, diſcharging any of the Three Eſtates to ſit or aſſemble themſelves in the Town of *Edinburgh*; but that they ſhould keep their Meeting in the Caſtle, and there give their Preſence. Upon *All Saints Day* there hapned ſuch a violent Tempeſt of Wind, that many Houſes in the Town of *Edinburgh* were beat down by it, amongſt the reſt the Houſe in which the Biſhop of *Galloway* was lodged; but as they were removing the Rubbiſh they found him at his Devotions, and the Chamber, in which he was, intire and ſafe. Which the good Prelate taking as a ſpecial Warning for him, to remove from the Court in all Time coming, he retired himſelf from the World, and ſpent the Remnant of his Days with great Piety and Devotion. The Vulgar, who look'd upon this Hurricane as an ominous Prelude to the enſuing Parliament, talked openly, That the Nation might expect no Good from it. The Day of the Parliament's Meeting being come, the Earls of *Angus*, *Lenox* and *Argyle*, the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, the Biſhops of *Dumblane* and *Aberdeen*, and their Adherents, refuſed to enter into the Caſtle, and required, That the Parliament ſhould be held in the ordinary Place; and, That the King might be in Triumph carried thro' the Streets and ſhown to his People. All which being denied them, they immediately accuſed the Queen and her Faction, of violating Juſtice, of keeping the King Priſoner againſt his Will, having ſeiſed upon his Perſon and the Government without the Conſent of the Three Eſtates; and therefore they advertiſed them, That unleſs they ſet the King at Liberty, they would lay Siege to the Caſtle. The Queen returned Anſwer to them, That ſhe did not value their Threatnings; and that if they offered to beſiege her, ſhe would deſtroy the Town. Upon this the above-named Noblemen ſurrounded the Caſtle with Two Thouſand Men, and ſtopt all Proviſions from going in to them, ſave only ſo much as might ſerve the King every Day. On the other Hand the Queen, to terrify the Inhabitants, fired ſome Cannons upon them, but with Powder only. At length, by the Mediation of ſome Clergy Men, an Agreement was made betwixt them; and the King, in Magnificence and Pomp, was convoyed from the Caſtle to his Palace at *Holy-rood-houſe*, and the Eſtates aſſembled at their ordinary Place in the Town of *Edinburgh*. In this Parliament the Authority of the Governour was abrogated, and Eight Lords were choſen to have the Cuſtody of the King's Perſon, every One his Month ſucceſſively, and the whole to ſtand for the Government of the State; yet with this Limitation, That the King, by their Counſel ſhould not determine nor ordain any Thing in great Affairs, to which the Queen, as Princeſs and

and Dowager, gave not her Conſent and Approbation. The Lords were, the Arch-Biſhops of S. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Aberdeen* and *Dunkeld*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Lenox* and *Argyle*. The Earl of *Caſſils* was diſpatch'd back again to *London* with their Anſwer, concerning the Marriage and the Peace. But the News of the Overthrow of the *French* King, and the taking of him Priſoner at *Pavia*, being come to the Court of *England* before the Arrival of the Earl, King *Henry* told the *Scots* Ambaſſadors, *That he could not determine any Thing concerning the Marriage of his Daughter without acquainting the Emperor, her neareſt Kinſman and his Confederate, with his Proceedings; which could not be done in haſte, and ſo ſoon as they required, conſidering the Troubles of* Italy. Upon which the Ambaſſadors having obtained a Truce for Three Years and Three Months, faithfully to be kept, returned to their own Country.

About this Time *George Creighton*, Abbot of *Holy-rood-houſe*, being promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkeld*, the King, then in the Earl of *Angus*'s Hands, at his Deſire, beſtowed the ſaid Abbacy upon the Earl's Brother, *William*, Prior of *Coldingham*; without ſo much as ever asking the Conſent of the Queen, or any of the reſt of the Governours. With which the Queen was ſo much incenſed, that ſhe left the King and went to *Stirling*; ſo that, by her inconſiderate Retreat, ſhe gave *Angus* the Opportunity of diſpoſing of all other Offices, and the abſolute Command of the King's Perſon. And it was not long ere ſhe felt the Effects of this: For he made *Archbald*, his Uncle, Treaſurer, and Sir *George*, his Brother, Great-Chamberlain; and there was no Place, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, but he diſpoſed of as he thought fit. Upon this the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle* and *Murray*, who were of the Queen's Faction, accuſed him of High Treaſon; as having acted contrary to the Act of Parliament, concerning the King and the Government. But by the Advice of Sir *George Douglaſs*, his Brother, the King emitted a Declaration; wherein he told the Queen and all his Subjects, That it was his Choice and Pleaſure to ſtay with the Earl of *Angus*: But at the ſame Time he wrote privately to his Mother and the Lords of her Faction, moſt preſſing Letters, deſiring them, either by Force of Arms, or any other Way that they ſhould think moſt proper, to relieve him from the Tyrannical Government of the Earl of *Angus*. Upon which they got together as many Forces as they could, and marched with great Expedition towards *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Angus*, being informed of this, got the Towns-Men to join with him and his Followers under the young King's Command, tho' much againſt his Will; and with thoſe he reſolved to fight them. But when the Queen's Forces found that the King himſelf was there, they abſolutely refuſed to fight for fear of endangering his Perſon. And ſo they were forced to march back again to *Stirling*; where they disbanded them, and every Man returned to his own Dwelling-Place. The Queen with the Earl of *Murray* went to *Murray*-Land; the Earls of *Arran* and *Argyle* to the Weſt, and the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s to *Dumfermling*. And now the Earl became more abſolute than ever; but the Want of the Great-Seal being an Obſtacle to ſeveral of his Projects, in the Diſpatch of publick Affairs, and ſcorning to ask it of his Enemy, he caus'd the King ſend for it to the Arch-

Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, who was then Keeper of it; and the Arch-Biſhop, with all Reſpect, ſent it immediately: But at the ſame Time he reſolved to put a Taſch upon the Earl's Reputation.

The Queen and Earl had many Times in private, agreed betwixt themſelves upon a Separation, their Humours noways agreeing; beſides, it ſeems that ſhe had a great Twang of her Brother's Temper, who was too much pleaſed in the changing of his Wives, as ſhe ſeem'd to be in that of her Husbands. So, as we have obſerved above, having intented a Proceſs of Divorce againſt him, ſhe was now adviſed by the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s to finiſh the ſame; which both of them agreeing to, he was ſummoned before the Arch-Biſhop to hear the Sentence pronounced according to the Laws of the Church. Upon the Day appointed he accordingly appeared. The Queen alledged, *That he had been betrothed, given his Faith and Promiſe of Marriage, to a Noble Lady,* (ſome ſay a Daughter of *Traquair*, and others of the Earl of *Bothwel*) *before the marrying of her; and ſo, by reaſon of that Precontract, he could not be her lawful Husband.* The Earl confeſſed all. Upon which the Arch-Biſhop pronounced the Sentence; but with this Reſervation, *That the Child, come of the Queen and the Earl during the Time of their Marriage, by the Ignorance of the Mother the Queen, ſhould not ſuffer any Loſs, Dammage or Diſadvantage.* King *Henry*, her Brother, highly reſented this Behaviour of his Siſter; for he thought ſome Things tolerable in Men, which were noways decent but ſhameful in Women. But ſhe had no Regard to his Reſentments; for immediately after the Sentence was given, ſhe married *Henry Stuart*, Son to the Lord *Evandale*; whom afterwards King *James*, to do Honour to his Mother, made Lord *Methven* and General of his Artillery.

The Earl of *Lenox* coming to the Court, and ſeeming to be well ſatisfied with *Angus*'s Conduct, became very intimate with the King; who having frequently made his Complaint to him of the Reſtraint that he was under, he adviſed him to imploy the Laird of *Balcleuch* to relieve him, for he was a moſt powerful Man upon the Borders, and had an inveterate Hatred againſt the Earl of *Angus*. *Balcleuch*, being advertiſed of this privately, encourages the Borderers to commit great Diſorders, on Purpoſe to bring the King in Perſon there to rectify them. The Deſign took, and the King, to do Juſtice, accompanied with the Earls of *Angus*, *Lenox*, Lords *Home*, *Fleeming* and *Erskin*, with *Ceſsford*, *Farneharſt* and others, comes to *Jedburgh*. Where, after they had ſtaid many Days, and few or none of the Delinquents appearing, the King reſolved to return again to *Edinburgh*; and in their Way, as they were paſſing a Bridge over *Tweed*, near *Melroſs*, they perceived a Body of Armed Men coming down *Halidon*-Hill. Which, being come within Diſtance of diſcerning, were known, to be commanded by the Laird of *Balcleuch*, and about a Thouſand Men. The Earl of *Angus* immediately diſpatches an Herauld to know, What their Intentions were, and how they durſt approach ſo near his Majeſty's Perſon in Arms? The Laird of *Balcleuch*'s Anſwer was, That he came to do the King Service, to invite him to his Houſe, and ſhow him what Forces he was able to raiſe for his Majeſty when required; and that he would not obey any but his Prince; and ſo he march'd forward with his Forces. Upon this the Earl preſently alighted from his Horſe, (leaving

(leaving the Earl of *Lenox*, Lords *Erskin* and *Maxwel*, Sir *George Douglaſs* and *Ninian Creighton* with the King, as Spectators of the Game,) with the Lord *Fleeming* and his other Friends he marched ſtraight againſt them. The Firſt Onſet was given by the Borderers with mighty Fury and a great Shout. The Lord *Hume*, the Lairds of *Farneharſt* and *Ceſsford*, had taken their Leave of the King, who gladly diſmiſſed them, knowing that the *Homes* and *Kers* bore a mortal Hatred to the *Scots*. Yet they were no ſooner advertiſed of what had hapned, but they returned with an Hundred Launces, in very good Time for the Earl of *Angus*; and falling upon One of the Wings of *Balcleuch*'s Troops, forced them to yield Ground. Upon which they immediately fled for it. *Ceſsford* and *Farneharſt* eagerly purſuing the Routed, the former was ſlain upon the Deſcent of a little Hill, by the Blow of a Launce thrown at him by a Domeſtick Servant of the Laird of *Balcleuch*; and by his Death a Stop was put to the Chace. Fourſcore Borderers were kill'd in this Action, and the Laird of *Balcleuch* wounded; and a good many, beſides *Ceſsford*, were kill'd upon the Earl of *Angus*'s Side.

The Earl, finding by this Attempt that his Enemies were daily increaſing, and that ſeveral Noblemen were applying themſelves to the Earl of *Lenox*, who he knew hated him and was beloved by the King, he addreſſes himſelf to the Earl of *Arran* and the *Hamiltons*, offering, not only to pardon and forget all that had been betwixt them, but moreover to enter into a ſtrict Bond of Friendſhip with him, and make him Copartner in the Government, diſpoſing of Places, and all Things elſe whatſomever. Beſides he repreſented to him, how the King deſigned, failing Heirs of his own Body, to declare the Earl of *Lenox* his Succeſſor. The Earl of *Arran* finding this great Man, who had now the whole Government of the Nation in his Hands, ſoliciting him to join with him upon ſuch advantagious Terms, willingly accepted of his profer'd Friendſhip. Upon which the Earl of *Lenox* withdraws from the Court to *Stirling*; where, after he ſtay'd for ſome Months, he publiſhed a Declaration, wherein he exhorted all the King's faithful Subjects to come and join him, for recovering of the King's Perſon out of the Hands of the Earl of *Angus*, who, contrary to the Mind of the Three Eſtates of Parliament, had uſurped the Government and detained his Majeſty againſt his Will, conferring all Places of Truſt only upon his own Friends and Relations. He was immediately join'd by a Thouſand *Highlanders*; the Earl of *Caſſils* and the Maſter of *Kilmaurs* came from the Weſt with Two Thouſand Men to him; and the Queen and Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s ſent ſeverals to him from *Fife*. With theſe he marched ſtraight to *Lithgow*, where the *Hamiltons* had got together their Followers to aſſiſt the Governour. When he came near the Town, *Lenox* being *Arran*'s Siſter Son, the *Hamiltons* earneſtly dealt with him to lay down his Arms, and they would engage to reconcile them; but, if he would not hearken to that, they were reſolved to ſtand by the Governour to the utmoſt of their Power. The Earl told him, That he had eſpouſed a juſt Quarrel, the relieving of his Prince and freeing his Country from the Oppreſſion of an Ambitious Man, and that no Man ſhould diſſwade him to give over his Enterpriſe as long as any would ſtand by him.

Finding the Bridge over the *Avon* poſſeſt by the Enemy, he made his Men paſs the River near to the ancient Monaſtery of *Manuel*. The Maſter of *Kilmaurs* led the Van-Guard, and the Earl of *Caſſils* and himſelf the Main Body, conſiſting chiefly of *Highlanders*. On the other Hand, the Earl of *Angus*, having endeavour'd all that was in his Power to engage the King and the Citizens of *Edinburgh* to join him, (but in vain) he left the Management of it to his Brother Sir *George*; and *Archbald Douglaſs* Provoſt of the Town, accompanied with the *Homes* and *Carrs*, being in all about Two Thouſand Men, marches ſtraight for *Lithgow*. But the Earl of *Arran*, ſpurr'd by the Ambition, and too much Heat, of his Son Sir *James Hamilton*, had begun the Fight before he could appear. For a long Time it was valiantly fought upon both Sides, Victory inclining to neither. But at length, a Rumor ariſing that freſh Troops were appearing from *Edinburgh*, many of the *Highlanders* and Weſtland Men gave Way; and the reſt, by the Advantage of the Place, ſuſtained the Fight.

The King, after many Delays, Shifts and much Solicitation, at length marches ſlowly out of *Edinburgh*. But when they came as far as *Corſtorphin*-Hills, and heard the Noiſe of the great Ordnance, Sir *George Douglaſs* was ſo incenſed for his Slowneſs in marching with the Army, That, our Author ſays, he drove up the King's Horſe in a great Rage and gave him injurious Words, which he never after forgot. Not long after this, Word being brought to him that the Earl of *Lenox*'s *Highland* Men were fled, and by all Appearance, the Earl of *Arran* Maſter of the Field, he was extremely chagrined with the News. But, reſolving to make the beſt of an ill Game, he diſpatch'd immediately away his Domeſtick Servants, and thoſe whom he truſted moſt in, with *Andrew Wood* of *Largo*, to ſave ſo many as they could in the Chace, eſpecially the Earl of *Lenox* whoſe Life he told them was as dear to him as his own. But this Earl, after he had been taken by the Laird of *Pardowy*, in cold Blood was moſt inhumanly ſlain by Sir *James Hamilton*, who ſpared no Man he met with. They found the Earl of *Arran* mourning over his Corps, upon which he had ſpread his Cloak. The Laird of *Houſton* lay dead by his Side. The Maſter of *Kilmaurs*, ſore wounded, at their coming maintain'd the Fight; and was with great Difficulty ſaved by them, and as many others as either the King's Authority or their Power could reſcue. This Battel was fought in the Month of *September*, 1526.

After the Earl of *Angus* had refreſhed his Army, they accompany'd the King to *Stirling*; and then the Earl marched over to *Fife* in Queſt of the Queen and Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s. Yet ſuch was the Fidelity of the Perſons with whom they were conceal'd and of the whole Country, that they could not get Notice of either of them. But the Earl in Revenge, plunder'd the Abbacy of *Dumfermling* and the Caſtle of S. *Andrew*'s; defacing all the Ornaments, and carry'd away the Moveables. The Queen in the mean time, with her Husband *Henry Stuart*, and his Brother *James*, came to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which the Lords at their Return beſieged. The Queen, being informed that her Son was in Perſon amongſt the Beſiegers, capitulate and obtain'd Favour for her Husband and his Brother; and then cauſed the Gates of the Caſtle to be open'd. Then the Earls of *Arran* and *Angus* ſummoned all

all thoſe who had born Arms againſt the King to compear and anſwer, according to the Law, as Traitors. Whereupon ſome compounded for Sums of Money; others became Vaſſals and Dependers upon the Houſes of *Angus* and *Arran*. *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils* being ſummoned and and compearing, the Indictment was anſwered by *Hugh Kennedy* his Kinſman, who told them that he came not Againſt, but to Aſſiſt the King. For Proof of which, he offered to produce the King's own Letter. But, altho' by this the Earl of *Caſſils* eſcaped the Puniſhment of the Law, yet he did not that of their Revenge; for at the Inſtigation of Sir *James Hamilton*, as he was returning home, he was ſurpriſed by the Way and kill'd by the Sheriff of *Air*.

Several other Diſorders were at this Time committed in the Country. The Laird of *Macklean* was kill'd by Sir *John Campbel* at *Edinburgh*. Great Feuds aroſe in the North betwixt the *Leſlies* and the *Forbeſſes*, in which ſeverals upon both Sides loſt their Lives. A Controverſy ariſing betwixt the Laird of *Mackintoſh* and one *James Malcolmſon*; *Mackintoſh* was kill'd in the Quarrel, and *Malcolmſon* and his Aſſociates, having fled to the Iſland of Loch-*Rothmurcoſs*, were cloſely purſu'd by the *Mackintoſhes* and ſlain. Their Chiftain's Son, at this Time, being only a Boy and not capable to Head them, they made Choice of a Baſtard-Brother of *Mackintoſh*, call'd *Hector*, till he ſhould attain to a competent Age. But the Earl of *Murray*, who was the Child's Uncle, ſtole him away from them, and committed him to the Care of the *Ogilvies*, his Mother's Friends, deſigning that he ſhould have a Liberal and Polite Education; which he knew they would never give him. This ſo offended *Hector*, that, with all the Men he could raiſe, he made an Inroad upon the Earl of *Murray*'s Lands and thoſe of the *Ogilvies*; burning, plundring and deſtroying all before him, and kill'd about Twenty Four Perſons of the Name of *Ogilvy*. The Earl of *Murray*, receiving a Commiſſion from the King for ſuppreſſing of this Inſurrection, marched with his Followers and Vaſſals againſt them, took about Two Hundred of the principal Men and hang'd them all upon Gibbets. Yet ſuch was their Fidelity and Love for *Hector*, that altho' each of them was promiſed his Life, if they would but tell where he was abſconding himſelf, they all as one Man told that they knew it not; and that altho' they did, they would rather ſuffer the utmoſt Puniſhment could be inflicted upon them than reveal it. *William Mackintoſh*, *Hector*'s Brother, having been the main Inſtrument in raiſing of them, was hanged, drawn and quarter'd; his Head was fix'd upon the Steeple of *Dyke*; and his Four Quarters ſent to the Towns of *Inverneſs*, *Elgin*, *Foreſs* and *Aldern*. *Hector*, finding himſelf abandon'd by all his Followers, by the Mediation and Friendſhip of *Alexander Dumbar*, Dean of *Murray*, was convoy'd privately to the King, on whoſe Mercy he threw himſelf. His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to pardon him: Yet God did not ſuffer him thus to eſcape; for not long after he was moſt barbarouſly murdered at S. *Andrew*'s by one *James Spence*, a Prieſt, for which he was firſt degraded and then beheaded. The Borderers at this Time likewiſe committing ſeveral Abuſes, the King with an Army of Six Thouſand Men march'd to *Jedburgh* and brought them all under Subjection, puniſhing ſome and pardoning others. Upon his Return to *Edinburgh*, at a frequent Meeting of the Nobility in the

Abbay of *Holy-rood-houſe*, a ſimple Country Man, who had been a Servant of the Earl of *Lenox*, thruſting himſelf amongſt the Multitude till he came near to Sir *James Hamilton*, drew forth a Dagger, with which he ſtabb'd him Three Times; and the laſt Stroke was in his Belly to the very Shaft. But being immediately ſeiſed upon, Sir *James* was relieved and recovered of his Wounds. Being ask'd, What he was? From whence he came? and, Who had put him upon ſuch a deſperate Attempt? All they could extort from him was, That he was ſent by God, and ordered by him to do what he had done, and was ſorry that his Hand had fail'd in what he deſign'd. This Fellow was ſhortly after hang'd, and had his Head fix'd upon the Port of the *Canongate*.

By this Time the Arch-Biſhop was reconciled to the Earl of *Angus*, by beſtowing upon him and his Brother, Sir *George*, ſome Church-Benefices and Leaſes of Tithes; and they mutually entertained and feaſted each other, at *Chriſtmaſs*, in the City of S. *Andrew*'s. So that now, every Thing being according to the Earl's Wiſh, he reſolved to divert himſelf at his Dwelling-Places, which he had not ſeen for a long Time, and in examining what Condition his private Affairs were in. So, croſſing the River of *Forth*, he leaves the King under the Inſpection and Guard of his Brother Sir *George*, *Archbald* his Uncle, and *James* of the *Parkhead* Captain of the Guards. Whereupon the Queen and the Arch-Biſhop contrived betwixt themſelves, how the King ſhould make his Eſcape during the Earl's Abſence, and acquainted him privately of their Deſign, with which he heartily concurred. The Arch-Biſhop invites Sir *George* to ſee him in the City of S. *Andrew*'s, to receive the Leaſes of the Tithes promiſed, all now perfected and valid, according to Law ſufficient. Whilſt Sir *George* was thus amuſed at S. *Andrew*'s, *Archbald* the Treaſurer was engaged to come to *Dundee* upon an Intrigue of Love. But nothing could engage the Captain of the Guards to leave his Poſt. The King finding this, contrives a Stratagem of his own, which had the deſired Effect. He orders the Forreſter of the Park to give Advertiſement to ſuch Gentlemen about, who kept Hounds, the next Morning to attend him; for he would be early at the Game. So ordering Supper to be ſerved before the accuſtomed Time, he entertained the Captain with great Chearfulneſs, about his Project of the next Day's Sport; and withal pretended, he would go to Bed ſooner than ordinary, to keep his Promiſe to the Gentlemen. So the Waiters being all ſhifted and the Court huſht, ſhutting his Chamber-Door, in the Apparel of one of his Grooms, unperceived he paſt the Guard to the Stable. Preſently in Company of Two, who attended him with ſpare Horſes, he Poſted to *Stirling*; where he was moſt impatiently expected by the Queen in the Caſtle, which had been the only Fort in the Kingdom that the Earl had neglected to ſecure, and a part of her Dowry. The King's Eſcape was no ſooner known, but moſt of the Nobility, either willingly, or upon Invitation, came to him; and amongſt the reſt the Earls of *Argyle*, *Glencairn*, *Monteith*, *Huntly*, *Eglington* and *Rothes*; the Lords *Grahame*, *Drummond*, *Livingſton*, *Sinclair*, *Lindſay*, *Evandale*, *Ruthven*, *Maxwel*, *Semple*, and the Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s waited on him. So that now, finding himſelf free from any Danger of being ſurpriſed, he iſſued out a Proclamation, Diſcharging the Earl of *Angus* from all his Offices and publick Employments, or to come near the Court

Court by ſome Miles, under Pain of High Treaſon. The Earl of *Angus*, who with his Followers were on their Way to *Stirling*, hearing of this, turned back again to *Lithgow* to attend the King's further Orders. Whereupon a Herauld was ſent to him, ordering him to go and live in *Murray* till the King ſhould give Directions about him, and that his Brother Sir *George* ſhould render himſelf Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, there to remain during the King's Pleaſure. Theſe Offers being rejected, they were cited to anſwer according to Law, in a Parliament that was to be holden at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *September*.

Before the Day upon which the Parliament was to ſit, the Earl of *Angus*, accompanied with a great Number of his Friends and Followers, endeavoured to gain the Town of *Edinburgh*, and there to have waited for the King's Coming: But he was prevented by the Lord *Maxwel* and the Lord of *Lochinvar*; who in the King's Name had inveſted the Town. And when Notice was brought to the King that *Angus* was marching towards them, he comes with Two Thouſand Men, with an unexpected Suddenneſs, from *Stirling*; which the Earl being adverтiſed of, retired with his Followers. The Parliament having met, and none of them appearing, they were declared Rebels and forfaulted. The Things laid to their Charge were, *The aſſembling of the King's Lieges with Intention to have aſſail'd his Perſon. The detaining of the King, againſt his Will and Pleaſure, and contrary to the Articles agreed upon, the Space of Two Years and more; all which Time the King was in Fear and Danger of his Life.* And ſo highly were the King and Parliament incenſed againſt them, that the King ſwore never to give them a Remiſſion, and the Lords never to interceed for any of them.

The *Douglaſſes*, now having no Hopes left them of the King's Favour and Mercy, committed all Manner of Hoſtilities, the laſt Refuge of deſperate Men, plundering and burning the whole Country before them, even to the very Gates of *Edinburgh*. On the other Hand, the King gives a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Bothwel*, as his Lieutenant, to do the like to the *Douglaſſes* Lands and their Followers. But he refuſing to accept of it, the Earls of *Argile* and *Home* were conjunctly employ'd to act as his Lieutenants againſt them; which they did with ſuch Vigour, that, after many Night-Wandrings, they were conſtrained to fly into *England*, where they were charitably received and honourably entertained by King *Henry* VIII. About this Time *Gawin Dumbar*, Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, was made Chancellor, and *Robert Barton*, Treaſurer, Great Cuſtomer and General of the Artillery and Mines.

The King of *England*, intending a War againſt the Emperor *Charles* V. ſends Ambaſſadors to *Scotland* to renew the Truce betwixt the Two Realms, and to interceed for the *Douglaſſes*. Five Years Truce was agreed upon; but as for the *Douglaſſes*, the King would not ſo much as hear of them; only *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock*, by the Interceſſion of the Ambaſſadors and *Robert Barton*, had Liberty to return home. Not long after this, the Earl of *Murray* for the King of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* for the King of *England*, with divers other Commiſſioners with them, met upon the Borders, with full Power to conclude a laſting Peace betwixt the Two Nations. But the factious Men, on both Sides, put all in ſuch a Confuſion, by urging Difficulties, that they parted without agreeing to any Thing. The King finding

that the main Inſtruments in the obſtructing of this Peace, were the leading Men upon the Borders; he committed ſeverals of them to Priſon; ſuch as the Earl of *Bothwel*, who was firſt impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, then at *Aberdeen*, then in *Murray*-Land, and laſtly baniſhed; upon which he went and lived at *Venice*, where he died. With him, at the ſame Time, were likewiſe impriſoned the Lord *Maxwel*, the Lord *Home*, the Laird of *Balcleuch*, the Laird of *Farnehaſt*, the Laird of *Polwart*, the Laird of *Johnſton* and *Mark Ker*.

In the Month of *July* following, 1529, the King march'd with his Army towards the Borders, where he executed Juſtice impartially upon all Thieves, Robbers and Oppreſſors, without any Reſpect to their Perſons or Families: In *Ewſdale* he caus'd hang Eight and Fourty of them upon the Branches of Trees, with their Captain *John Armſtrong*; whoſe Brother *George*, for his diſcovering of others, was not only ſpared but Nobly rewarded by the King. Others of greater Note he brought with him to *Edinburgh*; where he cauſed them publickly to be Executed: Amongſt whom were *William Cockburn* of *Henderland*, and *Adam Scot* of *Tuſhelaw*, commonly ſtil'd, *The King of the Thieves*. The Noblemen and Gentlemen who were impriſon'd, were obliged to give Hoſtages for keeping the publick Peace, and then were ſet at Liberty.

In the Year 1530, the King inſtituted the College of Juſtice. Before it was ambulatory, removing from Place to Place by Circuits. Suits of Law were peremptorily decided by Baillies, Sheriffs and other Judges; and when any great and notable Cauſe offer'd it ſelf, it was judged ſovereignly by the King's Council, which gave free Audience to all the Subjects. The Power and Privileges of this College were immediately confirmed by Pope *Clement* VII. In this Court were Fifteen Judges Ordinary; Eight of them being Spiritual Perſons, of which the moſt Ancient was to be Preſident, and Seven Laicks. The Chancellor of the Realm, when he was preſent, was above the Preſident. There were alſo Four Counſellors Extraordinary, removeable at the Prince's Pleaſure. This College the King inſtituted in Imitation of that at *Paris*, firſt founded by *Philip* IV. of *France*, in the Year 1286. About this Time likewiſe the King ſtored his Arſenals with all Sorts of Arms, and the Caſtles of *Stirling*, *Edinburgh*, *Dunbarton* and *Blackneſs* were repaired and furniſhed with Ordnance and Ammunition.

Our Author obſerves, That the Year before, in the Month of *Auguſt*, there was ſeen upon the *Ochil*-Hills, near *Stirling*, a great many Lights, before the riſing of the Sun, and Armies of Men fighting in the Air. From all which the Country People concluded, that ſome ſtrange Things were to happen in the Kingdom. And in this they were not, ſays he, deceived; for at a Fair at *Cambuskenneth* a Boat returning to the Town of *Stirling* ſunk, and Fifty Perſons of Note and Quality were drowned. *James Inglis*, Abbot of *Culroſs*, was moſt inhumanely murdered by the Laird of *Tulliallan*, at the Inſtigation of one *William Lothian*, a Prieſt, who firſt being ſolemnly Degraded, before the King, then had his Head ſtruck off; and the next Day *Tulliallan* and the reſt of his Accomplices, were executed at *Edinburgh*. Sir *Arthur Darcy*, or *Edward*, as others call him, by the Perſwaſion of the Earl of *Angus*, with ſome ſelect Companies out of the Garriſons of *Berwick*, *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, made an Incurſion upon the Borders of *Scotland* as far as *Duns*,

Duns, and burnt *Coldingham* and *Dunglaſs* with ſome other ſmall Villages. Upon this the *Scots* made an Incurſion upon *Northumberland*, as far as *Fulberry*, burning and deſtroying all before them without the leaſt Oppoſition. After this ſeveral other Inroads hapned by the *Engliſh* upon the *Scots*, and by the *Scots* upon the *Engliſh* Borders. Whereupon the Earl of *Murray*, the King's Lieutenant for theſe Parts, divided his Army into Four Bodies; every One of which, for the Space of Fourty Days, by Turns, were to defend the Borders. The *Engliſh* finding, that at this Rate there was no Appearance of putting an End to the War betwixt the Two Nations, and neither of them deigning to propoſe a Peace, it was thought expedient by both Kings, that the *French* King, at this Time friendly to them both, ſhould be a Mediator to reconcile them. So an Ambaſſador having been ſent from *France* for that End, Commiſſioners from both Nations met Firſt at *Newcaſtle*, and then at *London*. The *Scots* Commiſſioners were, *James Colvil* of Eaſter-*Weems*, *Adam Otterburn* of *Redhall*, *William Stuart* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, and *Robert Reed* Abbot of *Kinloſs*. Theſe concluded at length a Peace to continue betwixt the Two Realms during the Two King's Lives, and one Year after the Deceaſe of him who ſhould firſt depart this Life; and upon the 20th Day of *January*, in the Year following, 1534, it was openly proclaimed, and afterward confirmed by both Kings; and the Charter thereof was interchangably ſeal'd with the Seals of both Realms, to the Joy of all thoſe of either Kingdom that were Lovers of Peace.

About this Time, hapned the famed Proceſs of Divorce betwixt King *Henry* and his Queen *Catharine*; of which we have given a full Account already. The Emperor highly reſenting the harſh Treatment of Queen *Catharine*, who was his Aunt, ſent *Godeſcallo Erico*, a *Sicilian*, Ambaſſador to King *James*, with the Complement of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*; but the great Deſign was, to get King *James* to concur with him againſt King *Henry* for the bad Treatment he had given his Aunt, and in calling a General Council to obviate the Calamities that threaten'd the *Chriſtian* Religion; and, the more to ingratiate himſelf with him, he gave him the Choice, for a Wife, of Three Ladies, all *Maries* and of the Imperial Stem. The Firſt was *Mary* of *Auſtria*, his own Siſter, and Widow of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*. The Second was *Mary* of *Portugal*, the Daughter of his Siſter *Eleonora* of *Auſtria*. And the Third was *Mary* of *England*, the Daughter of *Catharine* and King *Henry*; and this laſt he obliged himſelf to procure, either by the Conſent of her Father, or by main Force. As to the Firſt of theſe, he told the Ambaſſador, That he would concur with the Emperor in diſſwading his Uncle from repudiating his lawful Wife, Queen *Catharine*; and that he was heartily ſorry for his unaccountable Proceedings. As for the calling of a General Council, he would moſt heartily join with him, and ſend the learndeſt and wiſeſt of his Clergy to it. And Laſtly as to the Three Ladies, he had nothing to object againſt, ſince each of them deſerved the greateſt Prince of *Europe*; but that there was a Fourth Lady, near in Blood to the Emperor, whom he would rather chooſe, and that was the Lady *Dorothea*, Daughter of *Chriſtian* King of *Denmark*, and of *Iſobella*, the Emperor's own Siſter, who upon the Account of her matchleſs Vertues and the Vicinity of

that Nation to his, would be a more convenient Match for him. To this *Godeſcallo* anſwered, That a Match with Lady *Dorothea* could not, with the Emperor's Credit, be brought to paſs: Becauſe ſhe was promiſed already to *Frederick*, Elector *Palatine*, and that in all Probability the Marriage would be accompliſhed before the News could come to the Emperor of his Majeſty's Choice. But this was a meer Evaſion in the King, for he had long before ſent Sir *Thomas Erskin* of *Brechin*, Secretary, and *David Beaton*, Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, to *France*, under the Pretence of renewing the Ancient League, but really to propoſe a Marriage betwixt him and the eldeſt Daughter of King *Francis*; which the Duke of *Albany* had projected, when the League was renewed between the Two Kingdoms at *Rochel*. The Emperor's Ambaſſador being diſmiſſed, with many Preſents and Complements to his Maſter, upon the 22d of *February* 1535, *John Antonio Campegio* arrived at *Faulkland*, as Legate from the Pope. This Legate being admitted to the King's Preſence, after many Ceremonies and Apoſtolical Benedictions, delivered him a Cap and Sword, conſecrated the Night of the Nativity of our Saviour; which he ſaid the Fame of his Valour, and many Chriſtian Vertues, had moved his Maſter to remunerate him with; as alſo, that it might breed a Terror in the Heart of a wicked Neighbouring Prince, againſt whom the Sword was ſharpen'd. Then he deliver'd the Pope's Letters to him, which were writ in moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, and full of the Praiſes of the King's Predeceſſors, and his own eſpecially, for their firm Adherence to the *Catholic* Church. After which he concluded with a long and bitter Invective againſt his Uncle King *Henry*. The King told the Legate, That he regreted, as much as his Holineſs did, the unwarrantable Proceedings of his Uncle, and that he had endeavoured by Ambaſſadors, Once or Twice, to bring him to the Obedience of the Church, and that now he would try what a Perſonal Conference would do; and to ſhow the Legate how much he was in earneſt, he immediately diſpatched the Lord *Erskin* Ambaſſador to King *Henry*, to acquaint him with the Emperor's and Pope's Embaſſies, and to take his Counſel, about a Marriage with the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s Daughter, whom the *French* King had offered to him, his own Daughter being weak and ſickly. He likewiſe had in his Inſtructions to complain of the *Londoners*, who, in their Paſſage to the *Iſland*-Fiſhing, had ſpoil'd the Coaſt of *Orkney* and the adjacent Iſles; and to requeſt King *Henry*, that he would not ſuccour the *Lubeckers* againſt the Duke of *Holſtein*. The King of *England*, not to prove inferior to the Emperor or Pope in conferring Honours upon his Nephew, made him Knight of the Order of the *Garter*; and the King of *France* ſent him that of S. *Michael*. So that now being Knight of Four Orders, the S. *Andrew*, the S. *Michael*, the S. *George*, and the *Golden Fleece*; every Year of his Life afterwards, he celebrated theſe Four Feaſts, in their different Habits, with great Pomp and Solemnity. And the Robes, which were very Rich and Magnificent, were kept in the Palace of *Lithgow*. The King of *England*, after Audience given to the Lord *Erskin*, diſpatched *William* Lord *Howard*, Brother to the Earl of *Norfolk*, to *Scotland*; who made ſuch haſty Journeys that he prevented the News of his coming, and found the King at *Stirling*. The Subſtance of his Embaſſy was, 'That the Two Kings ſhould have a Meeting

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'at *York*, at which Interview the King of *Scotland* ſhould be declared 'Duke of *York* and General-Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *England*; 'and ſince his Neighbouring Princes had offer'd him what Matches 'they thought moſt honourable and convenient for him, he likewiſe 'profer'd him, in his Maſter's Name, the Princeſs *Mary*.

The King having taken all theſe Things to his Conſideration, reſolved to keep the Meeting with his Uncle: Upon which a great many Debates aroſe amongſt his Counſellors; for ſome were of his Opinion, and others oppoſed it, ſaying, That by this he would diſoblige the Emperor, the King of *France* and the Pope; and that the Marriage which was propoſed with the Lady *Mary* was noways proper, in regard that ſhe was as yet but a Child, and the King ought not to delay. Beſides, that it might be of a very fatal Conſequence for him to truſt himſelf in the Heart of *England*. But none oppoſed their Meeting ſo much as the Clergy, they being afraid that King *Henry* might prevail with him to throw off the Yoke of the Church of *Rome*, as he had done. But the greateſt Part of the Council were neither for rejecting the Meeting or the Match; only they propoſed, That the Interview might be at *Newcaſtle*, as the moſt commodious Place for furniſhing all Neceſſaries by Ships; That the Number of their Attendants ſhould be agreed upon, which ſhould not exceed One Thouſand each of them, and that the Time ſhould be at the Feaſt of S. *Michael*, or *Michaelmaſs*. When this was propoſed to the Lord *Howard*, he would neither accept of the Place or Time, and Poſted immediately for *England* in a Huff. The King, to prevent any Miſrepreſentation of his Proceedings, ſends immediately after him Sir *Adam Otterburn* of *Redhall*, who laid the whole Fault upon the Lord *Howard*.

In the mean time the King, to be free of all Importunities or Solicitations, either from *England* or his own Subjects, with Five tall Ships well Manned goes to Sea, having acquainted his Council, That he was going to *France*, upon the Project of a Marriage: But his true and only Deſign was to viſit the remoteſt Parts of his own Dominions; in which, as he was informed, great Diſorders were committed, and to try how the Nobility would behave in his Abſence, incaſe he ſhould afterwards make ſuch an Expedition. So taking alongſt with him *Alexander Lindſay*, an expert Pilot and Navigator, he ſails ſtraight to the *Orkney*-Iſlands, where he placed ſome Garriſons and ſurpriſed ſeverals of the moſt turbulent Men that were amongſt them, and carried them Priſoners alongſt with him. The like he did in the Iſlands of *Lewis*, *Sky*, and all alongſt the Iſles and Coaſt; till he was oblig'd by a Storm to land on the Coaſt of *Galloway*. During this Voyage he cauſed Mr. *Lindſay* to obſerve exactly the Variations of the Compaſs, the Times of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea at all the Ports, Sea-Coaſt Towns, Promontories and great Rivers; as likewiſe the Currants of the Seas, to fathom at High and Low Water to know the different Depths, to obſerve the Day of the Moon and the Time of the Year, to draw a Plan or Cart, of the Aſpects of the Coaſts, Promontories, Iſles and Ports, their different Bearings to one another, and the Leagues, Miles or Diſtances betwixt them; to ſound and obſerve the Depths upon the ſeveral Coaſts, the Rocks, Shelvs and Banks that were to be avoided; and laſtly, to mark preciſely the blowing of the Winds, and from what

Coaſt the Rains, Snows, Thunderings, &c. and the Time of their Duration: All which he cauſed to be put in Order for the Inſtruction of the Seamen and Sailers, and made Copies of it to be diſtributed amongſt the chief Commanders in his Fleet. One of which Copies falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh* Admiral, the Earl of *Northumberland*, he did communicate the ſame to *Nicolas de Arſeville*, Firſt Coſmographer to the King of *France*, who caus'd publiſh it at *Paris*, 1583, and Mr. *Adair* publiſhed the Hydrographical Cart of new, as the moſt exact of that Kind we have, in 1686.

The King, upon his Return to *Edinburgh*, finding that the Borderers had fallen to their old Trade of Robbing and Ravaging the Country, cauſed impriſon ſeverals of them, and upon ſufficient Bail diſmiſs'd ſuch of the *Highland* Clans as he had brought alongſt with him; and ever after they were ſo much afraid of him, that during his whole Reign there were few or no Diſturbances made in that Part of the Kingdom.

The King, being now reſolved to Marry, he ſent, to ſecond his former Ambaſſadors, *James* Earl of *Murray*, *William Stuart* Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, *John Erskin* and *Robert Reat*, Two Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber. The *French* King, after Audience told them, That his Daughter Princeſs *Magdalen*, being ſickly and indiſpoſed, he could not offer her in Marriage to the King their Maſter; but if he pleaſed to accept of his neareſt Kinſwoman, *Mary* of *Bourbon*, Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Vendoſme*, he ſhould have her. The Ambaſſadors anſwered, That they could ſay nothing to that, ſince it was not in their Inſtructions; but they ſhould acquaint their Maſter. The King was no ſooner informed of this, than ſuſpecting that there might be ſome Trick in the Affair, he reſolved to go himſelf in Perſon. So embarking at *Leith* with the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, *Rotheſs*, *Errol*, Lords *Fleeming* and *Boyd*, he ordered the Fleet to ſail ſtraight to the Mouth of the Firth, without acquainting them further of his Deſign. Some thought he was for *England*, to pacify his Uncle; others, that he deſign'd for *Germany*; and others, that he was going for *France*. In the mean time a violent Tempeſt aroſe, and ſeparating his Ships, the Captain of that which he was in, asked him, *To what Coaſt would he direct his Courſe?* To which the King Anſwered, *To any you pleaſe, except towards* England. The Storm increaſing, and the King falling aſleep, Sir *James Hamilton* adviſed the Captain to return towards *Leith*; ſo that when he awoke he found himſelf amidſt his own Harbours: And having enquired at the Captain, who it was that adviſed him to it, he was ſo incenſed when he found it to be Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he never had any Love for ſince his murdering of the Duke of *Lenox*, that he gave him a ſevere Reproof, and never afterwards forgave him. The King landing at *Kirkaldy*, ſtaid there till the Wind prov'd fair; and then Embarking, he ordered the Fleet to ſail ſtraight for *France*, where, with a proſperous Gale he arrived, upon the Tenth Day from his Embarkment, at *Diep* in *Normandy*. After his Arrival with the Lords above-mentioned and their Attendants, he went directly for *Vendoſme*, to ſee the Lady *Mary* of *Bourbon*; during all which Journey he cauſed one *John Tenant* perſonate the Lord of the Company, and came undiſcovered to *Vendoſme*. But theſe Strangers coming to take a View of the Court, ſome ſay he was diſcovered by Lady *Mary*, who had his Picture, and acknowledged himſelf to be the King of

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Scotland. But others, with greater Probability, ſay, That he did not diſcover himſelf, in regard that he had Three other Miſtreſſes in his View, who were all of them famed Beauties and Kings Daughters.

Whilſt he was *Incognito* at *Vendoſme*, the News came, that King *Francis* was to give the Emperor Battel in *Provence*. Whereupon he ſent an Expreſs to acquaint the Dauphin of his Arrival, who met him at the Chapel between *Tarray* and S. *Sophrin* in the Country of *Lions*. King *Francis* likewiſe received him with all the Honour and Reſpect imaginable. The News of his Arrival at *Paris* was no ſooner publiſhed, than the Nobility came from all the Corners of the Realm to wait on him; and for ſome Time there was nothing to be ſeen at Court but Tournaments, Barriers, and other Warlike Exerciſes: In all which King *James* proved inferior to none of them; and finding Princeſs *Magdalene* a moſt beautiful, virtuous and accompliſh'd Lady, he fix'd his Affection upon her. The *French* King would willingly have had him take her younger Siſter, the Lady *Margaret*, upon the Account of Lady *Magdalene*'s ſickly and tender Conſtitution. But finding the King firm in his Reſolution, the Marriage betwixt him and Princeſs *Magdalene* was agreed to. The *French* King contracted with her an Hundred Thouſand Crowns of the Sun, beſides Thirty Thouſand Franks of Yearly Penſion during King *James*'s Life. The King of *Scotland*, on the other Hand, gave her all the Lands that were poſſeſt by any former Queen, the Earldoms of *Strathern* and *Fife*, with the Palace of *Falkland*, and other Lands of the beſt and moſt certain Revenues of the Kingdom. So in the Year 1537, in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* in *Paris*, he was married to her, in Preſence of her Father, Seven Cardinals, the King of *Navarr*, and a great many of the Nobility. After the Solemnities of the Marriage were over, the *French* King being advertiſed that *Picardy* and *Piedmont* were overrun by the Imperialiſts, and King *James* being afraid, that his Uncle, the King of *England*, might attempt ſome Thing againſt his Kingdom during his Abſence, with mutual Aſſurances of Friendſhip, they parted; and King *James*, with his Queen, arrived ſafely at *Leith* upon the 29th Day of *May*. The Queen, after ſhe had put her Foot upon the Shore, kneeled down; and, having kiſs'd the Ground, ſhe pray'd for all Happineſs and Proſperity to the Kingdom. And never was a Nation bleſs'd with a better Queen than ſhe was like to prove, had God been pleaſed to prolong her Life. But this vain Shadow of their Happineſs was quickly turned into a Cloud of Sorrow; for, a few Weeks after her Arrival, ſhe was ſeiſed with a burning Fever, of which ſhe died in the Month of *July*, and was buried, with the greateſt Funeral Pomp and Solemnity that ever had been ſeen in *Scotland*, at the Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*, near King *James* II. She brought her Dowry along with her, and of Silver and Gold Plate and other Furniture, to the Value of an Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold. The King, her Father, likewiſe complemented King *James* with Two of the beſt Ships of his Fleet.

The King's Days of Mourning being over, the Maſter of *Forbes* was accuſed of High Treaſon, upon the Information of one *Strachan*, a leud profligate Fellow, who had been an intimate Acquaintance of his, in Revenge for his denying him a Favour he required. The Aſſiſe found him guilty, and he was condemned to be Beheaded and Quartered, for

deſigning to kill the King and reſtore the *Douglaſſes* to their former Honours. The Sentence was put in Execution, and his Quarters were fixed upon the Gates of *Edinburgh*. When he was upon the Scaffold, he proteſted his Innocence in what was laid to his Charge; but confeſt that God Almighty had juſtly puniſhed him for killing of the Laird of *Drum*. The King, being convinced by this Confeſſion of his Innocency, regreted very much the young Nobleman's Death; and, to make ſome Atonement for what had been done, he ſet his Father, who had been impriſoned and forfaulted, at Liberty; and reſtored him to his Honours and Eſtate. His Brother was made One of the Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and he gave a Noble Portion to his Siſter, and marry'd her Honourably; and laſtly, he baniſhed *Strachan* to *France*, where he died in great Miſery.

Yet notwithſtanding of all this, upon another Miſinformation, a more Tragical Accident happen'd. Lady *Jean Douglaſs*, Siſter to *Archbald* Earl of *Angus*, was eſteemed One of the moſt accompliſhed Ladies in *Britain*; being repreſented, by a *French* Author who writes the Hiſtory of this King's Life, as a Lady of a ſprightly and delicate Wit and admirable Beauty. This Lady was marry'd to *John Lion*, Lord *Glamis*, who died in the Flower of his Age, with whom ſhe had only one Son. After his Death ſhe married *Archbald Campbel* of *Keepneath*; which ſo incenſed *William Lion*, a near Kinſman of the Lord *Glamis*, who had been a Suiter of hers, that out of meer Revenge he accuſed her, her Husband, and an old Prieſt, of a Deſign of poiſoning the King, that her Brother might be reſtored to his Honours and Eſtate. The King, not knowing the Man's Malice againſt her, ſuffered the Proceſs to be concluded. Some of the Judges were for referring her to the King's Clemency, thinking that ſhe needed only to ſhow her ſelf to the King, who was Naturally very Amorous, to be acquitted. Others were for delaying till a further Trial of the Witneſſes might be had, upon whoſe Depoſitions the Proceſs did depend: But the moſt Part gave her over to the Aſſiſers; the greater Part of which, having no Regard either to the Laws of God or Man, found the poor Lady guilty of what was laid to her Charge; and ſhe was condemned to be burnt alive, which was accordingly put in Execution Five Days after the beheading of the Maſter of *Forbes*, upon the Caſtle-Hill, *July* 17th 1537. When ſhe was brought before the Judges, ſhe ſpoke to them to this Purpoſe. 'Thoſe who are my Brother's Enemies, not being ſatisfied with miſ-'repreſenting all his Actions and blackening his Reputation, have now, 'to ſatiate their Malice, repreſented me, his Siſter, to you, as concur-'ring with him in his Deſigns againſt the Government: But, ſince it 'belongs only to God to puniſh us for the Tranſgreſſions of others, 'and to the Judges of this Earth, for our own; you ought not to lay 'the Faults of my Brother, how reprehenſible ſoever they may be, 'to my Charge; but examine impartially what I am accuſed of. 'And ſince nothing tends more to acquit or condemn a ſuſpected 'Perſon, than a narrow Scrutiny into their bygone Life and Conver-'ſation, What have I done? Was there ever any that had Reaſon to 'complain of me? Examine, if you pleaſe, with the utmoſt Rigour, 'the whole Courſe of my Life. And ſince Vices as well as Vertues, 'are acquired and perfected in us, by a conſtant and long Practice, if

'nothing

'nothing can be found in my bygone Life that ſhould induce you 'to believe me to be a wicked Woman, you have no Reaſon to think, 'that, all of a ſudden, I ſhould arrive at ſuch a Height of Wickedneſs, 'as to project the Death of my Sovereign. Should I, who never offen-'ded, willingly, the meaneſt Subject of his Dominions, begin my Ap-'prenticeſhip with him whom I have always reverenced, and from 'whom I never received an Injury. To commit ſuch a Villainy is only 'for Ruffians, that are wearied of their Lives, and not for one of my 'Sex and Station. I thank God, I have ſpent the moſt of my Days in 'an innocent and harmleſs Retirement from the World; and ſince, as 'I have ſaid, I never received any Diſobligation from his Majeſty, 'What ſhould induce me to be his Enemy? I am accuſed of having 'a Deſign of killing the King; and, to render me ſtill more odious, they 'ſay it was to be done by Poiſon: I who do not ſo much as know 'what Poiſon is, or how to prepare it. But if it be ſaid, that it might 'have been ſent to me, or that I had bought it; yet, How could I 'have had the Opportunity of giving it to the King? I, who never 'frequented his Court, Table or Palace, eſpecially ſince I was married 'to my preſent Husband, having never been at Court; How then can 'it be imagined, that I could have had ſuch a Deſign? And I hope 'theſe Things may ſufficiently juſtify me and convince you of my In-'nocence. But if the Malice and Power of my Enemies be ſo great, 'as to overballance the Equity and Juſtice of my Cauſe, I am willing 'to expiate, with my Blood, the Crimes that are falſly imputed to our 'Family. You may take my Life, but you cannot ſully my Reputa-'tion; being Conſcious to my own Innocence, and that God will vin-'dicate me when I am laid in my Grave. Only I ask the Favour, that 'if nothing will ſatisfy you but my Life, you would ſpare my Husband, 'Child and his Couſin, who know no more than I do the Cauſe of 'their Misfortune. Let me have the Poiſon, that's ſaid I prepared for 'the King, I will drink it willingly. For if it be the Hatred that's 'bore to the Houſe of *Douglaſs*, that is the principal Motive of my 'being proſecuted for this imaginary Parricide, it is not Juſtice that 'they ſhould fall a Sacrifice with me, ſince none of them are of this 'misfortunate Family. And if I can obtain this, I ſhall die with Plea-'ſure and Satisfaction of Mind; if not, God will certainly be avenged 'upon you and yours for the ſhedding of innocent Blood.

The King, being informed of this, was inclined to pardon her. But ſuch was the Spite and Malice of thoſe which were about him, againſt this Noble Family, that he ſuffer'd the Sentence to paſs, which ſhe heard without the leaſt Alteration in her Countenance, or ſhedding ſo much as one Tear; altho' the whole Multitude about her could not refrain themſelves from expreſſing their Sorrow, in Sighs, Groans and other Demonſtrations of their Grief. Her Husband, being informed of what had hapned, was ſtruck with Horrour and Amaſement: But, to add to his Grief, he was ordered to be One of the Spectators at her Death, and then he himſelf to be executed. To avoid which, he en-deavour'd to make his Eſcape by the Means of a Rope; which proving too ſhort, he daſh'd his Brains againſt the Rock, and was the next Day found dead. Tho' the young Boy her Son, the Lord *Glamis*, could not be ſuſpected of having any Hand in this Affair, by reaſon of his Age,

yet he was kept in Priſon till the King's Death; the old Prieſt *John Lion*, his Couſin, being very infirm, was ſet at Liberty; but *William Lion*, who had been the Informer, was baniſhed the Country; which juſtify'd the Lady's Innocence, and verify'd that common Obſervation, *That how well ſoever Princes love to find out the Treaſon, yet they hate the Informer, unleſs they have clear Probation for what they alledge.*

About the ſame Time likewiſe, the Laird of *Drumlanrick* was accuſed of High Treaſon by the Laird of *Hempsfield*; but not having any clear Probation, and the King regreting what he had already done upon ſuch ſlight Informations, they were ordered to juſtify themſelves, by the old Cuſtom of a Combat, at the Palace of *Holy-rood-houſe*: Both willingly embraced the Propoſal, and the King himſelf was Umpire of their Valour. They appeared, upon the Day appointed, Armed from Head to Foot. After many Rencounters, in which they both ſhowed a great deal of Courage, their Casks, Corſlets and Vantbraces being ſorely ſhattered, by the mutual Blows they gave to each other, the One being almoſt Breathleſs, and the Other Short-ſighted broke his Sword, the King, by Heraulds, cauſed ſeparate them; and all that could be found by it was, That both of them durſt fight in cloſe Arms.

During theſe Tranſactions, the King was urg'd by his Council to think upon another Wife; and none of all the Ladies he had ſeen in *France*, where he reſolved only to Match, pleaſed him ſo well as *Mary* of *Lorrain*, Siſter to the *French* King, Daughter to *Rene* Duke of *Guiſe*, and Widow to the Duke of *Longueville*. Therefore *David Beaton* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, and the Lord *Maxwel*, were ſent Ambaſſadors to that Court, with the Propoſal of the Marriage. It was agreed to, and they were married by Proxy, as the Cuſtom is amongſt Princes, in Preſence of the *French* King and moſt of the Peers. After which Solemnity Monſieur de *Annabault*, Admiral of *France*, accompanied her to *Newhaven*, in the Beginning of *June* 1538, where ſhe embarked with many of the *French* Nobility, who attended her, and a goodly Fleet of *French* Ships; and, landing upon the Coaſt of *Fife*, ſhe ſtay'd for ſome Days at *Balcolmy*, and then, accompanied by the King and a great Train of the Nobility, ſhe went to S. *Andrew*'s, where the Marriage was conſummated in the Cathedral Church, in the Month of *July*.

The King, being informed that ſeverals of the Iſlanders were deſtroying one another by their mutual Feuds, reſolved to viſit them once more. So having order'd his Fleet to be in Readineſs, accompanied by the Earls of *Huntly*, *Arran*, *Argile*, and many others of the Nobility, he embarked at *Leith*, and ſailing alongſt the Coaſts of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Roſs*, *Sutherland* and *Cathneſs*, at length came to the *Orkney* Iſlands, where he landed and was moſt ſumptuouſly entertain'd by *Robert Maxwel*, then Biſhop thereof. Having ſtay'd for ſome Days there, and taken in freſh Victuals, he ſail'd to the Iſles of the *Lewis*, *Sky*, and the other Iſlands of the *Hebrides*, and ſafely arrived at *Dunbarton*, having brought with him the principal Men among them, to find Surety for their good Behaviour in all Time coming. Amongſt theſe our Author names *Mackleod* of the *Lewis*, *Mackleod* of the *Herris*, the

the Laird of *Glengarie*, *John* of *Moydart*, the Laird of *Macklean* and the Laird of *Macdonald*. Upon his Arrival at *Dunbarton*, he had the joyful News brought him of the Queen's being delivered of a Son at S. *Andrew*'s. Upon which he took Horſe and went ſtraight there, and was preſent at his Baptiſm: The Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s and the Earl of *Arran* being his God-Fathers, and the old Queen, the King's Mother, his God-Mother. He was Named *James*, after his Father; and his Mother, in *February* thereafter, was Crowned Queen of *Scotland*, in the Abbay-Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*, by the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*.

The whole Nation was ſo overjoy'd at the Birth of the young Prince, that there was nothing but Feaſting, Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, Proceſſions, and all other Demonſtrations of Joy every where to be ſeen. And the King having reconcil'd the Chiftains of the Iſlands to one another, they went home very peaceably. The Queen-Mother not long after this fell ſick at *Methven*, and in a few Days after died there, and was buried in the Charter-houſe of S. *Johnſton*, near the Tomb of King *James* I. The King, her Son, with all the Nobility and Gentry being preſent at her Funerals, which were celebrated in a moſt Solemn and Pompous Manner. Not long after, *James Beaton*, Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, died; to whom ſucceeded the Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, his Nephew, who was afterwards made Cardinal.

The Kingdom about this Time begun to be divided in Opinions about Religion. The Stateſmen labouring in vain to reconcile them, the King was extremely perplexed in his Mind, and uncertain what Courſe to follow. But at length the Clergy prevail'd with him to ſupport the Intereſt of the Church of *Rome*, and puniſh ſeverely ſuch as ſhould be found broaching, or preaching, either the Doctrines of *Luther* or *Calvin*. Whereupon this Year 1539, a Chanon-Regular, Two *Dominicans* and ſeverals of the poor Country People were burnt alive at *Edinburgh*, for maintaining the Doctrines of the Reformers. Two Prieſts ſuſpected of Hereſy were degraded and condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. *Heironymus Ruſſel*, a Monk of the Order of the *Gray Friars*, and One *James Kennedy*, a young Gentleman who lived at *Air*, were burnt at *Glaſgow*. Many were cited to appear, and, upon their refuſing, declared Heretics: For the King, by the Perſwaſion of the Clergy, had made Sir *James Hamilton* Supream Judge of the Inquiſition; and he, to oblige the Clergy, ſpared no Man. Amongſt others *James Hamilton*, Sheriff of *Lithgow*, Brother to Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* Abbot of *Ferm*, having embraced his Brother's Opinions, the Lord Inquiſitor reſolved to have him burnt. The Sheriff, to be equal with him, ſends his Son to the King with an Accuſation of High Treaſon againſt Sir *James*. The King, who had no cordial Affection for Sir *James* ever ſince his killing the Earl of *Lenox*, reſolved to take this Opportunity of being quit of him; knowing that it would be noway unacceptable to the People, to whom he had rendered himſelf odious by his rigorous Procedures. So that this young Gentleman the Sheriff's Son, who had found the King at *Stirling*, was ſent to *Edinburgh* with Inſtructions to his Privy Councellors there, to meet and examine the Affair narrowly; and, that they might not diſtruſt him, he gave him a Ring to be ſhown them, which they knew well to be the Token he uſually ſent them when he deſigned

the Meſſenger ſhould be truſted and the Buſineſs communicated kept ſecret. The Affair was no ſooner laid before them but a Council was called, where was Sir *James Erskin*, Secretary; Sir *James Lermont*, Maſter of the Houſhold; *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, Treaſurer-Depute; and ſeveral others. Theſe having met, the Firſt Thing they did was to cauſe ſeiſe upon Sir *James* at his Lodgings, and committed him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and then proceeded, according to the King's Direction, to inſtruct his Proceſs. Sir *James*, paſſionately reſenting his Impriſonment, made his Application to the Clergy to interceed for him with the King. The Councellors on the other Hand were no leſs earneſt to have him tried, and the Treaſurer being a great Favourite of the King's and a Friend to the Reformers, he prevail'd with him to give the Judges full Power to proceed againſt him, and adminiſtrate juſtice according to their Conſciences and the Laws of the Nation. And the Pannel, being found guilty of ſuch Points of the Indictment as were laid againſt him, was condemned to die; and thereafter accordingly beheaded and quartered; his Quarters being put upon the Town-Gates, and his Lands annex'd to the Crown. The Crimes laid to his Charge were, That he had Intelligence with the Earl of *Angus* and *Douglaſſes*; That he deſign'd to have broke open the King's Doors and kill'd him; That, for this End, being directed to repair a Caſtle in *Bute*, for which he received Three Thouſand Crowns in the Month of *April*, yet he went not thither, hoping to accompliſh his Treaſon againſt the King's Perſon; That he kept ſtill Men about him of deſperate Fortunes, and who durſt undertake, upon Direction, to commit the greateſt Villanies; That in Converſe he had often aſperſed the King's Majeſty, by calling him King of Clowns and Prieſts, and Scourge of the Ancient Nobility; (for the King uſed often to go in Diſguiſe thro' the Country, and learn from the Country People the Diſorders and Oppreſſions of his Nobility, which he ſeverely puniſhed;) That he endeavoured to put a Stop to the King's Marriage; and, That he had kill'd the Earl of *Lenox* in cold Blood, after he was Priſoner, and had been the main Author of the Earl of *Caſſil*'s Murder. When he came to the Scaffold, he proteſted before God and his Holy Angels, That he had never any Deſign againſt the King's Perſon; but that God had juſtly puniſhed him for his other Faults, and for his being more zealous in the Service of his Prince than in that of his Creator; and exhorted the Spectators to learn from the Example of his Death, what a vain Thing it was to put Truſt in Princes, or rely upon Human Greatneſs.

Not long after this a greater Inſtance hapned of the Inſtability of Human Happineſs and Vanity of the World. For the King and Kingdom thought themſelves bleſs'd in the Royal Progeny, the Queen having had another Son to him who was Chriſtened *Arthur* at *Stirling*; yet all of a ſudden they were blaſted in their Hopes, both of them dying, the One at S. *Andrew*'s and the Other at *Stirling*, within Six Hours of one another. After which the King turned ſo retired, ſullen and melancholly, that every Thing diſpleaſed him. Upon this the Queen, who was no leſs ſorrowful than he, propoſed, that for both their Healths and Diverſion they ſhould make a Progreſs thro' the Country. The King was pleaſed with the Overture; ſo, accompanied with a great Number of the Nobility

Nobility and Gentry, they ſet out from *Stirling* to S. *Johnſton*, and from thence they went ſtraight to *Aberdeen*; where they were very ſplendidly entertained by the Biſhop, Univerſity and Citizens, by Turns, with Balls, Masks, Comedies, Speeches, Diſputes, and all other Sorts of Divertiſements. And, having ſtay'd here for Fifteen Days, they went from thence to *Dundee*, from that to *Faulkland*, and from that to *Edinburgh*.

About this Time the Cardinal had ſummoned Sir *John Borthwick* to appear for Hereſy; and, not having anſwered the Diet, he was held and condemned as guilty and burnt *in Effigie*, at *Edinburgh*. He himſelf fled into *England*, where he was kindly received by King *Henry*, who emploied him afterwards in an Embaſſy to the Princes of *Germany*. Mr. *George Buchanan*, the famous Poet, having likewiſe been impriſoned for making Satyrical Verſes againſt the *Franciſcans* about this Time, made his Eſcape in the Night by a Window, whilſt his Keepers were aſleep; *The Muſes*, ſays *Hawthornden*, *holding the Cable*.

The King had no ſooner returned from his Progreſs than he fell into his former Melancholy, being ſtrangely perplexed with affrighting Dreams in the Night-time. He had dream'd the Night before his Children died, That Sir *James Hamilton* had appeared to him with a Sword in his Hand, with which he cut off both his Arms, telling him, That when he returned he would be further revenged; but till that Occaſion he ſhould ſuffer by theſe Wounds he had got. He was alſo affrighted with other Dreams, warning him of his approaching End. To ſatisfy his Mind about theſe Things, the King, ſays the *French* Hiſtorian above-cited, call'd before him Two of the moſt learned and eminent Divines of the Nation, but he does not tell us their Names, and deſired to know what their Opinions were concerning Dreams. The Firſt of them who was asked ſaid, 'That God by them very 'often revealed to Men ſuch Matters of Import as were to befall 'them; and altho' they were ſome times hidden or vailed with great 'Obſcurities, yet the Event always proved the Truth of them. That, 'it was true, Dreams were generally myſterious, but that it only be-'longed to thoſe whom God had endowed with an extraordinary Gift 'to interpret them, as it was in the Caſe of *Joſeph*. So that 'when they are thought to prove falſe, it is only becauſe they have not 'been rightly interpreted by thoſe to whom theſe Myſteries have not 'been revealed: And that moreover, God had made Choice of that 'Time for revealing his Will to us, becauſe then the Soul was not 'diſturbed by the diſtracting Objects of our Senſes, and conſequently 'not ſo refractory to receive his Inſpirations as when awake; as we 'are taught by the Sacred Writ, in the Dreams of *Abimelech*, *Laban*, '*Judas Maccabeus*, *Nebuchadnoſor*, S. *John*, the Wiſe Men, and the reſt 'of them mentioned in Scripture. And that it was highly probable, 'that he infuſed into the Souls of *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* that Knowledge, 'in all Workmanſhip, which they had only from him, rather when 'they were aſleep, by lively Images and Repreſentations of what they 'were to make for the Tabernacle, than when they were awake; at 'which Time they had no Occaſion of ſeeing ſuch Things. But the other Divine was of a quite different Opinion, for he ſaid, 'That it 'was an old Error upon which many great Men had ſplit, to believe,

'that there was any Myſtery of Heaven in our Dreams, they being 'nothing elſe but ſimple natural Operations, proceeding partly from 'the Temperament of our Bodies, and the continual and active Mo- 'tion of our Spirits, whoſe Nature being ſuch as never to be at reſt; 'when the Senſes and Members of the Body become languid and 'unactive by Sleep, then ſhe is conſtrained to divert her ſelf ſome times 'with the Imagination; where the Ideas of an Infinity of Things are 'formed, which neither are, will be, nor ever were; and ſometimes like- 'wiſe with the Memory, where are imprinted the Figures of the Objects 'of our Senſes, or what ſhe does or projects to do: And if it happens 'that the Mind be toſs'd by ſome violent Paſſion, the Ideas of the Ima- 'gination mixing with thoſe of the Memory, the Dreams that ariſe 'upon this can receive no reaſonable Interpretation, which could not 'be, if they had any Thing of Divine Inſpiration in them. Beſides it 'is noways probable, that Dreams ſhould have a Heavenly Prerogative, 'as if thoſe that ſlept deſerved more from God Almighty's Hands than 'thoſe that are awake and working for the Publick, or thoſe who are 'daily imploy'd in profound Meditations. But likewiſe it is incredible 'to think, that God is the Author of Dreams, and that by them God 'makes known to us the Things that are to come; ſeeing that of a 'Hundred Thouſand of them, there is hardly One that chances to 'prove true: Which could not be, if they were from God who never 'acts in vain, whoſe Gifts are fruitful, and whoſe Inſpirations, pro- 'ceeding from his univerſal Wiſdom, are equally intelligible. Beſides, it 'is infallibly true, that God does not produce Effects diſagreeable to 'his Perfections: And ſince he is the Light, the Truth and Order of all 'Things, it were ridiculous to ſay, That God is the Author of Dreams 'that are full of Obſcurity, Lies and Confuſion. That their Authori- 'ty is not to be ſuſtained by the Sacred Writ, becauſe, in *Leviticus*, 'we are expreſly forbidden to put any Truſt in them or obſerve 'them. And the Wiſe Man ſays, That Dreams are but vain Illuſions, 'and have occaſioned many to fall. It is true, that in the Night-time, 'God has inſpired and revealed his Will to Men, but that was a par- 'ticular Grace of God but not by Dreams, which are altogether in- 'compatible with the Divinity. And it is a groſs Miſtake to think, 'That the nocturnal Viſions of *Abimelech*, *Solomon*, and the other holy 'Perſons mentioned in the Bible, were Dreams, they being Prophecies 'full of high and ſacred Myſteries; and conſequently it was a great 'Weakneſs of Mind, and Folly, to put any Truſt in them. The King was ſo well ſatisfied with this Diſcourſe, that for the Future he had no more Diſturbance from his Dreams.

About this Time, the King of *England* was advertiſed of the Meeting of the Emperor, the King of *France* and the Pope, at the City of *Nice*. And being afraid that they might agree to the carrying on of a War againſt him, he reſolved once more to try if he could engage his Nephew, King *James*, to be in Friendſhip with and meet him at *York*, where they might concert Affairs that would tend to the Good of both Nations. The Nobility were very earneſt with King *James* that he ſhould accept of his profer'd Friendſhip, Repreſenting to him the many Advantages that would accrue to the Nation by it. But the Clergy, on the other Hand, as much oppoſed it and offer'd, that if upon the

ſlight-

ſlighting of his Interview, his Uncle ſhould denounce War and invade the Country, they in his juſt Defence would furniſh him with Money to entertain a Powerful Army againſt him, and advance him for his preſent Uſe Fifty Thouſand Crowns, and that to be continued Yearly: And incaſe of a War, they were willing voluntarly to contribute all their Rents and Revenues to the Maintainance of it, providing that he would allow them ſuch Judges as they ſhould appoint, to put the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Laws againſt Heretics in Execution; and that the Goods of all who ſhould be convicted of Hereſy, which they eſteemed no leſs than an Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Yearly Rent, ſhould be brought into the Exchequer, and their Lands annexed to the Crown: After long Reaſoning upon both Sides it was agreed, That, providing King *Henry* would accept of the Terms formerly propoſed to him, he would meet him. King *Henry* thought his Nephew too imperious to aſſume to himſelf the appointing of the whole Circumſtances of their Meeting; yet, rather than break with him for a Trifle, he agreed to every Thing. But that he might have ſome Point yielded to him, he required the Time ſhould be the Firſt of *Auguſt*. Theſe Conditions being almoſt agreed upon, Three or Four Hundred Men, of *Ridſdale* and *Tindale*, and ſome other Borderers, break in upon *Liddeſdale*, laying waſte the whole Country before them. This, unluckily falling out during the Treaty, ſo irritated King *James*, that he immediately accepted of the Offer of the Clergy, and ſent Letters full of Complements to King *Henry*; but withal told, he could not meet him at *Newcaſtle* for certain Reaſons of State, which neceſſarily required his Preſence in his own Kingdom. King *Henry* being extremely incenſed at this Diſappointment, and having many of the Nobility of *Scotland* of his Faction, he took Eight and Twenty of the *Scots* Ships, richly loaden with Merchandices, as they were returning from *France*, *Flanders*, *Denmark*, and other Countries, beginning the Prologue of an unneceſſary War. *Which*, ſays Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in his Preface to the Hiſtory of the World, *was made without any great Cauſe, and proſecuted with more Cruelty than was fitting againſt a Nephew.*

King *James*, to put a Stop to the *Engliſh* Incurſions upon the Borders, ſent *George* Earl of *Huntly*, with full Power, in Quality of his Lieutenant, and at the ſame time diſpatched Sir *James Lermount* of *Darcy* as his Ambaſſador to King *Henry*, to require Reſtitution of his Ships, and complain of the Hoſtilities of the Borderers, ſince no War was as yet declared betwixt the Two Nations. King *Henry* not only refuſed to render the Ships, or give a Reaſon for his ſuffering the Borderers to invade the Country, but detained the Ambaſſador to gain Time; and, under hand, ſent Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Earl of *Angus* and Sir *George Douglaſs*, with Three Thouſand Men to invade the Borders; and they burnt and laid waſte before them as far as the debateable Bounds. The Earl of *Huntly*, on the other Hand, omitted no Occaſion moſt valiantly to oppoſe them: And having placed Garriſons in the Towns of *Kelſo* and *Jedburgh*, he raiſed all the Forces he could make, and reſolved to fight them wherever he and they could meet. At length, having engaged at a Place called *Hal-den-rig*, they fought it moſt bravely upon both Sides, Victory for a long Time inclining to neither. But at length, the Lord *Home* coming up to the Earl of *Huntly*'s Relief

with Four Hundred freſh Launces, he turned the Fortune of the Day; and the *Engliſh* were put to the Flight. The Warden, Sir *Robert Bowes* Captain of *Norham*, Sir *William Mowbray*, *Richard Bowes*, the Warden's Brother, *James Douglaſs* of *Parkhead*, and a Natural Son of the Earl of *Angus*, (he himſelf having made his Eſcape by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe) and others to the Number of Six Hundred were made Priſoners, upon the 24th Day of *Auguſt*, 1541, being S. *Bartholomew*'s Day. King *Henry*, hearing of this, proclaimed open War againſt the *Scots*; and ſends an Army of Fourty Thouſand Men, as our Hiſtorians ſay, or Twenty, according to the *Engliſh*, to invade *Scotland*, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom he call'd *The Rod of the* Scots, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hartford*, *Angus*, *Rutland* and the other Lords of the North Parts of *England*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Maſter of the King's Horſe, and Sir *John Gage*, Comptroller of the King's Houſhold.

In the mean Time, the Queen finding her ſelf big with Child, accompanied by the King and ſeverals of the Nobility, goes on Foot to *Muſſelburgh*, to perform her Devotions in the Chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin of *Loretto*, ſo call'd, becauſe a *Scots* Hermite, who had been in *Italy*, had brought alongſt with him out of the Chapel there, a Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin, which he ſaid he was commanded to do by a Divine Revelation, and which was hung up here, and upon that Account much frequented for Devotion in theſe Days. About the ſame time likewiſe M. de *Morveille* arrived Ambaſſador from *France*, with new Aſſurances of the *French* King's Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance when required.

The King no ſooner returned to *Edinburgh*, but he immediately iſſues out a Proclamation for raiſing an Army; and having got together from all Parts of the Kingdom a goodly Number of well Arm'd Men, he muſter'd them on *Sautry-Edge*, and found them amount to Thirty Thouſand. With theſe he encamped on *Fala* Moor, and being advertiſed that the Duke of *Northfolk* was marching with his Army ſtraight towards *Edinburgh*, he detach'd Ten Thouſand Men under the Command of the Lords *Seton*, *Home* and *Erskin*, to aſſiſt the Earl of *Huntly*, who had not a ſufficient Power to oppoſe the *Engliſh* Army; and he himſelf ſtaid with the main Body of his Army till the Artillery, and other Furniture of War, ſhould come up. The Duke of *Northfolk* having learn'd from the *Scots* Nobility, with whom he kept Correſpondence, that King *James* was marching againſt him with a powerful Army, and knowing him to be a brave and valiant Prince, being afraid of the Chance of War, and that he might come to loſe his former Reputation, by being foil'd by this young Prince, retires with his Army over the *Tweed*; which the Earl of *Huntly*, and the other Noble Lords that had join'd him, having got Notice of, after moſt of his Army had paſſed the River, they fell upon his Rear, cut off ſeverals of his Men, and carry'd away a good many Priſoners.

The King having joined them with the main Body of the Army, and finding that the Duke of *Northfolk* was ſhunning an Engagement, reſolved to purſue him, and ſtay, at leaſt, as long in *England* as he had done in *Scotland*. But the Nobility abſolutely refuſed to obey him, being afraid that he would hazard his Perſon too much. And ſince he had

no

no Children, they earneſtly intreated him to conſider in what a miſerable Condition they would be left incaſe he ſhould fall in Battel, as his Father did: And beſides that he had done what ſufficiently vindicated his Honour, by obliging the Duke to retire with his Army out of his Dominions. The King ſeeming ſatisfy'd with theſe Reaſons and returning to *Edinburgh*, as the Duke of *Norfolk* did to *London*, disbanded his Army. But the King could not but expreſs upon all Occaſions the Reſentment he had againſt the Nobility for their refuſing to go along with him in Purſuit of the *Engliſh* Army. They finding this, moſt of them retired to their Country-Seats: But the Lord *Maxwel*, taking another Courſe, comes to the King; and offers, that if he would give him the Command of Ten Thouſand Men, he would make an Incurſion into *England*, deſtroy and lay waſte more of their Country than the Duke had done in *Scotland*, and likewiſe ſtay longer there than he had done here. The King was extremely pleaſed, thanking him kindly for the Offer; and immediately appoints a Rendevouz to be at the Weſt Marches. No Proclamation was publiſhed for levying of Men, but cloſe Letters ſent to the moſt conſiderable of the Nobility and Gentry, to attend upon ſuch a Day with their Followers. The Cardinal and the Earl of *Arran*, that the Deſign might not be known by Sound of Trumpet and beating of Drums, raiſe Men openly and march towards *Haddington* and the Eaſt Borders: Whilſt the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Glencairn*, Lords *Fleming*, *Somervel* and *Erskin*, Barons *Ayton*, *Langton*, *Ormiſton*, *Waughton* and many others, accompanied with the King's Domeſtick Servants, march towards the Weſt Borders.

The Night before the Incurſion was to be made, the King came to *Lochmaben* to ſee what the Event would be. Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Warden of the *Engliſh* Marches, being alarmed at this Meeting of the *Scots*, aſſembled all the Forces he could get together; and, ranging them in Order of Battel upon a ſmall Hill, prepared to receive them. Upon this the *Scots* Lords deſired to know the King's Lieutenant-General; for it was now high Time to put themſelver in Order, that every One might be commanded to his Poſt. Preſently *Oliver Saintclair*, One of the King's Minions, upon croſſed Pikes is mounted; the King's Banner diſplay'd and the Commiſſion read, in which he is deſigned Lieutenant; and all are commanded in the King's Name to obey and follow him. Yet thoſe who were acquainted with *Oliver*, affirm, That the Commiſſion was not read, but the Charge given to him to read it to the Lord *Maxwel*, who was appointed Lieutenant-General. However it was, they were ſo incenſed upon the very preſenting of him, as unworthy to command them, that they threw down all their Arms and ſuffer'd themſelves to be taken Priſoners; every *Engliſh* Man having Three or Four *Scots* Men for Priſoners, (if we may believe their Hiſtorians.) This Surrendry of the *Scots* Army, for Victory it cannot be call'd, happened at *Solway*-Moſs upon the 24th Day of *November*, 1541. The Priſoners of Note were, the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Glencairn*, the Lords *Maxwel*, *Fleming*, *Somervel*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, *Robert Erskin*, Son to the Lord *Erskin*, *Oliver Saintclair*, the Lairds of *Craigy*, *Aiton*, *Langton*, *Ormiſton*, *Waughton*, *Graden Ker*, the Lord *Maxwel*'s Two Brethren, *John Leſly* Baſtard to the Earl of *Rotheſs*, beſides Two Hundred of the better Sort, and Eight Hundred common Soldiers. The Certainty of this ſhameful

Surrendry of the *Scots* Army being brought to the King, who, ſome ſay, was then at *Lochmaben*, and others, at *Carlaverock*; he was ſo Thunderſtruck with it, that he went to *Faulkland*, in a deep Melancholy, of which he died ſhortly after, upon the 14th Day of *December*, in the Thirty Third Year of his Age, and the Thirty Second of his Reign. Whilſt he was upon his Death-bed he was told that the Queen was brought to Bed of a Daughter, whereupon he turned his Face from thoſe that read the Letter, and ſaid, *It will end, as it began; the Crown came by a Woman and it will go with One. Many Miſeries threaten this poor Kingdom. King* Henry *will either make it his by Arms or Marriage.* And then, with a deep Sigh expired. His Corps was convoyed with great Funeral Pomp and Solemnity from *Faulkland* to *Edinburgh*, and buried in the Abbay Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*, attended by the Cardinal, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, *Mariſchal*, *Rotheſs*, and many others of the Nobility and Gentry, all cloathed in Mourning Robes, with lighted Tapers before them, Trumpets and ſeveral other Inſtruments, ſounding doleful and ſorrowful Notes; accompanied with the Lamentations of the Vulgar, who looked upon him as their Father. He was laid beſide the Body of *Magdalene*, his Firſt Queen, where he reſted in his Tomb till King *Henry* not only deſtroied it, but the moſt Part of the Church, in which he was buried; proving, after his Death, to him as inhuman an Uncle as *Nero* proved a Son.

This Prince was of a well made Body and had an excellent Spirit, if it had been carefully poliſh'd. He was of a middle Stature, and Nature had endowed him with Strength and Agility equal to any of the Age he lived in; which he confirmed ſo by all Sorts of Manly Exerciſes; that he was able to endure the greateſt Fatigues of Travel, and practiſe all the Feats of Arms; as he often ſhowed in the Purſuit of Malefactors, being always the Firſt amongſt his Troops who attack'd them, and the Laſt who left the Chace. In his private Affairs he was attentive and liberal, and ſpared no Charges; yet at the ſame time, managed his Treaſury ſo well, that none of his Predeceſſors could veigh with him for Riches. Never Prince was of a more affable and eaſy Acceſs to all Sorts of People than he was. He was a great Encourager of Learning and learned Men, and naturally given to Poetry, as many Verſes of his yet extant teſtify; eſpecially that Poem call'd *Chriſt's Kirk on the Green*, written with an unimitable Livelyneſs of Wit and good Humour. The Poor loved him as their Father, for protecting them againſt all the unjuſt Incroachments of their Superiors. He was very ſober and temperate in his Diet, a ſevere Adminiſtrator of Juſtice, and brought the Nation to ſuch a Conformity, that it is ſaid of him by way of Excellency, *That he made the Ruſh-Buſh keep the Herds of Cattel.* He was thankful and beneficent to his Friends, but a dangerous and irreconcilable Enemy, as appears in the Caſe of the *Douglaſſes*; and in putting the Lady *Glamis* and Maſter of *Forbes* to Death. He infinitely obliged his People by eſtabliſhing a Juſtice-Court among them, and bringing home all Sorts of Manufactories. He ſent to *Germany* for ſome that were well ſeen in the Knowledge of Minerals, and by their Induſtry found out the Gold Mines of *Crawford*-Moor, being unknown to this Part of the World before him, and out of them he conſiderably enriched his Coffers. He left his Arſenals well furniſhed with all Sorts

of

of Arms and Furniture for War. His Death proved, that he had ſuch an high and aſpiring Mind, that he chuſed rather to die than outlive the Affront his Subjects had put upon him; tho' they had really brought the Taſch upon themſelves. For, had he been as great a Maſter of Reaſon, as his Paſſions were over him, he had found a much Nobler Way of being revenged upon them and his Enemies; ſince he not only had the greateſt and moſt powerful Part of his Nation, the Clans, to aſſiſt him; but likewiſe a great Number of the Noble and Ancient Peers and Gentry, who were ſtill firm to his Intereſt and Family. He left behind him, of Lawful Iſſue, One only Daughter, Five Days old, who ſucceeded to his Kingdom and Misfortunes. His Natural Children were, *James*, Prior of S. *Andrew*'s, Earl of *Murray*, and afterwards Regent, the greateſt Enemy his Daughter had; *Robert*, Prior of *Holy-rood-houſe* and Earl of *Orkney*; *John*, Prior of *Coldingham* and Earl of *Bothwel*; *Adam*, Prior of the *Charter-Houſe* at *Perth*; *James*, Abbot of *Kelſo*; and a Daughter call'd *Janet*, married to the Earl of *Argile*.

This Prince being a great Favourer of Learning and learned Men, as we have ſaid; many of them, both at home and abroad, imploy'd their Pens in celebrating his Praiſes. So happy is a Prince, ſays *Hawthornden*, when he encourages Learning. For when neither Medals, Tombs, Triumphal Arches, the vain Labours of Artiſans, which may be ruined by Rains, Storms, Thunders and Earthquakes, can perpetuate their Memories; yet the Paper Monuments of the Learned are able to do it. *Dempſter* ſays, that the following Epitaph, among many others, was compoſed upon him (*a*).

Si Rex, ſi juvenis, miſerandum funus obivi,
Quid doleo! minime, quippe Jacobus *eram.*
Hæc pater, hæc atavi ſubierunt fata Jacobi,
Tam dira infelix omina nomen habet.
Ut minus infelix hoc tantum exulto Jacobus,
Hæres nullus erat tum mihi, cum caderem.

The Learned Men who flouriſh'd in his Time were, beſides theſe already mention'd, Sir *John Ballanden*. This Gentleman was deſcended from an Ancient and Honourable Family; his Father, Mr. *Thomas Ballanden* of *Auchinoul*, was Director to the Chancery, in 1540, and Clerk-Regiſter in 1541. He himſelf (*b*) having finiſh'd the Courſe of his Studies enter'd into Holy Orders, was made Arch-Dean of *Murray*, Chanon of *Roſs*, and Doctor of Theology; and, in this King's Minority, he likewiſe was made Clerk-Regiſter, as we learn from himſelf, in the Proem to his Coſmography, in theſe Verſes.

And fyrſt occurrit to my Remembering
How that I wes in Seruice with the King.
Put to his Grace in Zeris tendereſt.
Clerk of his Comptis, I wes inding
With Hart and Hand, and euery othir Thing
That mycht hym pleis in ony Maner beſt.

(*a*) Vide Dempſt. lib. 9. p. 382. (*b*) Catal. of Stateſmen penes me.

But, it ſeems, that he was turned out of this honourable Poſt by the Factions of the Times; for immediately after, in the ſame very Stanza, it follows,

Quhill hie Inuy me from his Seruice keſt,
Be thaym that had the Court in gouerning,
As Bird but Plumes haryit of the Neſt.

But after this King's Death, in the Reign of his Succeſſor and Daughter, Queen *Mary*, I find him again Clerk-Regiſter and one of the Lords of the Seſſion. He died at *Rome*, according to *Dempſter* (c), in the Year 1550. This learned and ingenious Author, at the Command of King *James* V. tranſlated *Hector Boethius*'s Hiſtory into *Engliſh*, which was printed in the Year 1536, under this Title, *The Hiſtory and Chronicles of* Scotland, *compilit, and newly correctit and amendit, be the Reverend and Noble Clerk Mr.* Hector Boeis, *Chanon of* Aberdene, *tranſlated lately be Mr.* John Ballanden, *Archdene of* Murray *and Chanon of* Roſſe, *at Command of* James *the Fyfte, King of* Scottis; *imprentet, in* Edenburgh, *be* Thomas Davidſon, *dwelling fornens the* Fryere-Wynde. It is in a Black Letter, in *Folio*. He has likewiſe tranſlated with it *Boeis*'s Deſcription of *Scotland*, to which he has prefixed a Poem of his own, call'd, *The Proem to his Coſmography*; and another Poem likewiſe of his own addreſſed to King *James* V. which he calls the *Prohem of his Hiſtory*. *Dempſter* ſays, That he wrote a Tranſlation of *Hector Boeis*'s Hiſtory; The Deſcription of *Scotland*, tranſlated from the ſame *Hector Boeis*; The Deſcription of *Albion*. This I take to be the ſame with the Deſcription of *Scotland*. Several Letters to King *James* V. but I believe none of them are extant. Of Vertue and Pleaſure, a Dream: This is certainly the Proem to the Coſmography, where Vertue and Pleaſure are introduc'd thus, entertaining King *James* with a Dialogue.

Ane ſiluer Fontane ſprang of Watter cleir
Into that Place, quhare I approchit neir:
Quhare I did ſone eſpy ane fellowſn Reird
Of Courtly Gallandis in their beſt Maneir,
Rejoyſing them in Seaſon of the Zeir.
As it had bene of Mayis *Day the ſeird.*
Thair gudlie Hauingis maid me nocht affeird.
With thaym I ſaw an Crownit King appeir
With tender Downis riſing on his Beird.
Thir Courtly Gallandis ſettand thair Intentis
To ſing and play on diuers Inſtrumentis,
According to this Princis Appetit:
Two pleſand Ladyis come pranſand oure the Bentis,
Thair coſtlie Cleithin ſchew thair mychty Rentis:
Quhat Hart mycht wis thay wantit nocht ane Myte.
The Rubies ſchone upon thair Fingaris quhite.
And ſinallie I knew be thair Conſentis
This ane Virtew, that othir hecht Delite.

Thir

(c) Lib. 2. p. 107.

Thir Goddeſſes arrayit in this Wyſe,
As Reuerence, and Honoure, liſt deuiſe,
Afore this Prince fell down upon thair Kneis.
Syne dreſſit thaym in thair beſt Auyſe
(So far as Wiſdome in thair Power lyis)
To do the Thing that mycht hym beſt appleis,
Quhare rejoyſit in his Heuenly Gleis,
And him deſyrit for his hie Empryis
Ane of thaym Two unto his Lady cheis.
And firſt Delite unto this Prince ſaid thus, &c.

He wrote likewiſe, ſays he, divers Sorts of Verſes, and the Life of *Pithagoras*. This Philoſopher was the Son of *Mneſarcus*, or (*d*) *Mamarcus*, and was born in an Iſland of *Tuſcany*, which was under the Dominion of the *Athenians*: And ſome ſay, That he was Sirnamed the *Samian*, becauſe *Mamarcus* had dwelt a long Time at *Samos*. He was the Scholar of *Pherecydes* and *Hermodamas*. From his Youth he had a great Inclination to Travel, and wherever he was, omitted nothing that might improve him in all the Sciences. Having got a Letter of Recommendation to *Amaſis*, King of *Egypt*, from *Polycrates*, he travel'd to that Country; and learn'd from their Prieſts all that they were capable to teach him. From thence he went to *Chaldea*, where he converſed with the *Magi*. And from that ſail'd into *Crete*, and then returned to *Samos*. But, finding that *Polycrates* was become the Tyrant of that Iſland, or, according to others, *Silo* his Brother, who ſucceeded him, he went to *Cretona*, a City of *Italy*; where he acquired ſo great a Reputation, that he and his Diſciples, who were reck'ned no leſs than Three Hundred, formed the Government into an Ariſtocracy. His Knowledge in Moral Philoſophy, as we have obſerved in the Firſt Volume of this Work, aimed at the purifying of the Mind, from the Impurities of the Body and Miſts of the Imagination, *by a conſtant Meditation upon Death*. His Poem, upon which *Hierocles* writes a Commentary, is certainly the greateſt Maſterpiece of Morality that ever was written by a Pagan. And it was a Noble Precept that he was conſtantly inculcating upon his Scholars, *To do always Good, and never to lie*. And *Cicero* ſays, That there appeared a certain Character of Wiſdom amongſt his Diſciples; which ſo diſtinguiſhed them from the Diſciples of all the reſt of the Philoſophers, that at *Rome*, under the Firſt Conſuls, a Man paſt for a *Pithagorean* when he had a compoſed Mien. It is true, that he had learned from the *Egyptians* the Way of Teaching under Symbols, which was not very agreeable: Yet even theſe Enigmatical Maxims had a great deal of good Senſe in them. Thus, to ſignify that we muſt not by ſharp and biting Words irritate a Man that is in Paſſion, he ſaid, *That we muſt not rake up the Fire with a Knife. Not to receive a Swallow into our Houſe*, ſignify'd, That we were not to admit into our Company a great Talker or a falſe Friend, who never fails to viſit us in the pleaſanteſt Seaſon, and leaves us when Winter approaches. *Not to ſit upon a Buſhel*, ſignify'd, Not to be lazy, nor ſo eagerly intent upon the Preſent, as to have no Regard to the Future. *Not to eat the Heart*, ſignify'd, Not to be inge-

(*d*) Vide Diogen. Laert. de vit. Philoſoph. Voſſius de Sect. Philoſoph. cap. 6. & lib. 4. de Hiſt. Græc. M. la Moth le Vayore de la vertue des Payens, lib. 2. &c.

nious in tormenting our ſelves. *Not to return after you are gone*, ſignify'd, Not to care for Life when Death approaches; nor be concerned for the Pleaſures of this World when we are forced to forſake them. *Taſte not of Creatures with black Tails*, ſignify'd, That we ought not to converſe with Men of vicious Lives, or to keep bad Company. *Do not ſtrike Hands with every Man*, ſignify'd, That we ought not to make our Friendſhips haſtily. *Wear not a ſtrait Ring*, ſignify'd, That we ought not to torment our ſelves needleſly. *Put not Food in a Chamber-Pot*, ſignify'd, Do not beſtow good Advice where you know it will not be taken; like unto that of the Goſpel, *Caſt not Pearls before Swine. Blot out the Print of the Pot*, ſignify'd, Not to leave any plain Marks of Anger, but, as ſoon as the Paſſion is over, to lay aſide all Thoughts of Revenge. *Take not a Man's Burden from him, but lay more upon him*, ſignify'd, That we ought not to encourage Men in Lazineſs. *Abſtain from Beans*, ſignify'd, Not to be aſpiring after publick Offices; alluding to the Cuſtom of the *Athenians*, who uſed Beans in the Election of their Magiſtrates. Theſe and ſeveral others, which are explain'd to us by his Diſciples, ſhow him to be a Man of conſummated Wiſdom. There was one Thing indeed which ſeemed very ſtrange in him, which was, That he was throughly perſwaded that Souls paſt from one Body to another: And of himſelf he ſaid, That in Times paſt he was *Ethalides* (*e*), then *Euphorbus*, who was wounded by *Menelaus*; afterwards *Eubulides*, *Hermotimus*, *Pirrhus* a Fiſher Man at *Delos*, and now at laſt *Pithagoras*. He remembred all theſe Things, as he ſaid, becauſe *Mercury*, whoſe Son he was according to ſome Authors, granted him whatſoever he deſired ſaving Immortality, which was not in his Power to give; but in Compenſation, he had the Privilege to remember whatſoever had paſt in the World relating to himſelf. This Famous *Metempſychoſis*, as he calls it, or *Reciprication of Souls*, according to *Tertullian*, was firſt taught by *Hermes* and *Zoroaſter*, and *Pithagoras* learned it from *Canupheus* and ſome other *Egyptian* Prieſts. The *Saracens*, the *Brachmans*, the *Perſians*, *Japaneſe* and *Chineſe* were infected with this Error; which having paſt into Great-*Greece* with *Charondas*, amongſt the *Getæ* with *Xamolxis*, became at laſt One of the principal Points of the Religion of our *Druids*.

His Knowledge in Numbers and Geometry was ſurpriſingly great; for to him we are obliged for diſcovering the following Propoſitions in *Euclid*, Prop: 32, 44, 47, 48. But he gave ſolemn Thanks to the Gods in a Sacrifice, That he had found out *the Rule of the Chord*; that is to ſay, That the whole Arch of the Circle being given, he found the Proportion of its Chord with the *Radius* of the Circle; and that he had demonſtrated, That the Square of the *Hypotenuſa*, that is the Side that ſupports the *Right Angle* of a *Rectangle Triangle*, was equal to the Squares of the Two other Sides: Out of which flowed that other Propoſition, That the Side of a Square is incommenſurable to its Diameter; a Propoſition which *Plato* put ſo high a Value upon, that he ſaid, That he who was ignorant of it was not a Man but a Beaſt. And, in One Word to this great Man, *Pithagoras*, we owe the whole Doctrine of Incommenſurables. And for his Knowledge in *Muſic* and *Aſtronomy* he is highly celebrated by the Ancients, and deſervedly too; for he it was

(*e*) Vide Crévreau's Hiſt. of the World. Vol. 1. p. 142.

was who firſt diſcovered, that not only *Venus* but *Mercury* alſo were carried round about the Sun, as their Center: And that *Lucifer* and *Veſper*, or the Morning and Evening Star, was one and the ſame Star of *Venus*; and from thence he made that Noble Diſcovery of the Sun's being the Center not only of thoſe Two, but of the other Planets alſo, and conſequently of the whole World; and moreover, That the Earth it ſelf, as One of the Planets, moved about the Sun. For this was a conſtant Tenet in his School; as we learn not only from *Ariſtotle* in the general, but alſo from *Laertius* in particular; of *Philolaus*, and from *Archimedes* of *Ariſtarchus*, both of them *Pithagoras*'s Diſciples. And many other Paſſages concerning this memorable Particular are to be found in *Plutarch*; beſides that of *Timæus*, a *Pithagorean* alſo, who held, That the Earth was not only moved round about the Sun, but likewiſe daily turned round upon an Axis of its own: For which he was call'd by *Plato* and *Syneſius*, *The moſt excellent Aſtronomer.*

Laſtly, according to *Celſus*, of all the Ancient Philoſophers, he alone joined to the Study of Nature, that of Medicin; not that he applied himſelf to the Practice of it, as *Empedocles* his Diſciple did, but to the Theory. And he it was that firſt brought in the Doctrine of the Climacterick-Years, or that every Seventh Year of a Man's Life was dangerous to him; which was afterwards extended to the Obſervation of the Seventh Day in Sick Perſons, and then to all the odd or unequal Days. This great Man lived Fourſcore and Ten Years, or an Hundred and Fourſcore, according to others. The Manner of his Death is alſo doubtful; for ſome ſay that he ſtarved himſelf to Death. But this is altogether improbable; becauſe, as M. le *Fievre* hath very well obſerved, in his Abridgment of the Lives of the *Greek* Poets, all the *Pithagoreans* were firmly perſwaded, That it was as unlawful for a Man to go out of the World without the Order of God, as for a Soldier to leave his Poſt without his Officer's Direction. Others ſay, that the *Syracuſans* kill'd him; and others, that, being with his Friends at the Houſe of *Milo*, ſome People, who were in a Rage becauſe they would not admit them into the Houſe, ſet Fire to it, wherein he and they were burnt alive. *Euſebius* ſays that he died in the Fourth Year of the LXX Olympiad, in the Year 497 or 498 before the Birth of our Saviour, and in the Eightieth or Nintieth of his Age.

As for our Author *Ballenden*, *Dempſter* ſays, That by incredible Study and Application, he attained to a thorough Knowledge of all the Sciences, and wrote the following Books: *Ejus ſunt*, ſays he, Boethii *Hiſtoriæ Verſio in* Scoticum, Edinb. 1536, *in Folio*. *Hiſtoriæ* Scoticæ *Coſmographia*. Albaniæ *deſcriptio*. *Epiſtolæ ad* Jacobum *V*. *De Virtute & Voluptate*. *Super quodam ſomnio diverſi generis carmina*. *De Vitâ* Pithagoræ, wrong printed, in *Dempſter*, *de Litera* Pithagoræ. The reverend and learned Biſhop of *Carliſle*, ſpeaking of *Ballenden*'s Tranſlation of *Boeis*'s Hiſtory, ſays (*f*), 'That it was haſtily put into *Engliſh* by *William* 'Harriſon; and that neither of them have exactly kept to their Text: 'The former abridging the Original; and the latter new modelling 'even the Tranſlation. And *Harriſon* ſpeaking of his own Performance ſays (*g*), 'Hitherto have I tranſlated *Hector*'s Deſcription of *Scotland*, 'out of the *Scotiſh* into the *Engliſh* Tongue, being not a little aided

(*f*) Scots Hiſt. lib. p. 10. (*g*) Holenſhed's Ch. Vol. 1.

'therein by the *Latin*, and now and then gathering ſuch Senſe out of 'both as moſt did ſtand with my purpoſed Brevity. *George Con*, in his Book, *De duplici ſtatu Religionis apud* Scotos, ſays (*b*), That he received his Degree of Doctor in the *Sorbon*, and that he was a ſtrenuous Oppoſer of the Reformation, both by his Writings and Diſputes, and that Doctor *Laing* and he concurred in this together.

Benedict Chelydonius, Abbot of the *Scottiſh* Monaſtery at *Vienna*, a Man of great Piety and Learning, and of whom a great many *Elogiums* are extant, but eſpecially by that eminent Theologue, *Eckius*, ſays *Dempſter* (*i*), with whom he lived in a ſtrict Friendſhip, wrote and publiſhed a Book againſt *Luther* and *Bandinus*, his Four Books upon the Maſter of the Sentences. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *& evulgavit contra* Lutherum *Apoſtatam.* Bandini, *Sententiarium*, *Lib.* 4. *publici juris fecit.* Lov. 1577, *in* 8*vo.* & *ibid.* 1557, *in* 8*vo.*

Gilbert Crab, Provincial of the Order of the *Carmelites*, 'lived in 'the Country of *France*, ſays *Spotſwood* (*k*), much eſteemed for his Dexterity and Diligence in the Education of Youth. He was ſent to *Paris* 'by his Friends, being yet very young, and having ſtudied his Courſe 'there, was preferred to be Sub-Dean of a Church near unto *Bourdeaux*; 'yet ceaſed not to advance the Knowledge of Letters to the uttermoſt: 'And was ſo reſpected, that the Children of all the Noblemen of thoſe 'Parts were committed to his Inſtruction. He died young at *Bourdeaux*, 'not having attained to the Fourtieth Year of his Age, much lamented 'by thoſe who knew him. *Dempſter* ſays, That he was Provincial of the *Carmelites*, and died at *Bourdeaux*, in 1520; and that he is highly praiſed by *Arnoldus Amedelius de Sonis* a *Carmelite*, in his Epiſtles; and that he publiſhed a Book of Morality, another to his Diſciples, and a Book upon the Purity of the Bleſſed Virgin. *Edita ſunt ab eo Terminorum Moralium. Pro Puritate* Mariæ. *Ad ſuos Diſcipulos.*

David Cranſton, Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres* in the Univerſity of *Paris* in the College of *Montacute*, whom we have mentioned, page 527, wrote *Queſtiones in lib.* Mart. *Magiſtri*, *de Fortitudine*, Par. 1511, 8*vo.* *Additiones in Moralia* Jacobi Almain. Par. 1512, *in* 8*vo.*

William Gregory was brought up in the Univerſity of *Paris*, in the College of *Montacute*, entred into the Order of the *Carmelites*, was made a Doctor of the *Sorbon*, and Confeſſor to *Francis*, Firſt King of *France* (*l*), and died in the City of *Tholouſe*, about the Year 1528. *Bale*, the *Engliſh* Biographer, ſays (*m*), that he was very kindly received and entertained by this Author; and *Dempſter* ſays, That he wrote a Book upon the Civil and Eccleſiaſtic Power; Four Books upon the Maſter of the Sentences; Evening Queſtions; *Sorbonical* Collections; Eight Books upon *Ariſtotle*'s Politicks; Of the Threefold Power; Of the Soul; Of the Eternal Kingdom of Chriſt; A Sum, or Compend, of Theology; and, A Scholaſtick Commentary upon the Pſalms of *David*. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *De duplici Poteſtate. Elucidationes Sententiarum. Lib.* 4. *vide* Lippen. *Bibl. realis Theol. p.* 1393. *Queſtiones veſperales*; *Collectiones* Sorbonicas *In Politica* Ariſtotelis, *lib.* 8. *De Animæ potentia triplici*; *De æterno Chriſti Regno*; *Summam Theologiæ ſacræ*; *Scholaſticos in* Davidem *Commentarios. Vide Sixt. Senenſ. Bib. ſanct. lib.* 4.

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(*b*) Lib. 2. p. 167. (*i*) Lib. 3. p. 181. (*k*) Lib. 2. p. 68. (*l*) Vide Dempſt lib. 7. p. 323. (*m*) Bal. Cent. 14.

Alexander Lion, Chantor of *Murray*, was a Man of great Learning, wrote much, ſays *Dempſter* (*n*); but that he had only ſeen his Preface to the *Scots* Hiſtory, directed to the Nobility of *Scotland*. *Scripſit multa*, ſays he, *ſed ego tantum vidi Præfationem, ſuper hiſtoria patria ad Nobilitatem* Scoticam.

William Manderſton, D. of Medicin, wrote many elaborate Treatiſes in all the Sciences, ſays *Dempſter* (*o*), but I have only ſeen his Treatiſe of *Logic*; his Treatiſe concerning the Queſtion of Future Contingencies; his Commentary upon *Ariſtotle*'s Ethicks; and a Book of Chymie. Beſides all which he has written a Book upon Vertue in general, and of the Four Cardinal Vertues in particular, Dedicated to Arch-Biſhop *Foreman*. *Ejus ſunt*, ſays he, *per multa variis ſcientiis diligenter elaborata; ſed ego hæc pauca tantum vidi. Dialecticam*, Pariſ. 1530, *in* 8*vo*. *Queſtionem de Futuro Contingenti*: *In Ethicam* Ariſtotelis *commentarios*: *De Arte Chymica*: *De Virtutibus in genere, & quatuor Virtutibus cardinalibus in ſpecie*, Pariſ. *in*

Andrew Foreman, Nephew to *Alexander* Lord *Home* and Earl of *Pittenweem* in *Scotland* and *Cottingham* in *England*, as I find him deſigned in a Charter (*p*), was advanced to many Honourable Poſts, and employed in ſeveral Embaſſies and Negotiations by King *James* IV. He was advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Murray*, and ſent Ambaſſador to Pope *Julius* II. And in the Collection of the Letters of the *Scots* Kings, from the Year 1505 till the Year 1626, in the Lawiers Library, there is a Letter from this Pope to King *James* IV. wherein he not only highly commends him, but likewiſe promiſes, that at the Firſt Creation of Cardinals, he ſhould be made One. This Letter is dated the 6th of *May*, 1511. The ſaid Pope made him Legate *a latere*, but died before he performed his Promiſe of giving him a Cardinal's Hat. Upon the Death of *Alexander Stuart*, Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s, and Natural Son to King *James* IV. and the Duke of *Albany*'s being made Governour, he was by him promoted to that See. And in the ſame Collection there is a Letter from the Duke of *Albany* to Pope *Leo* X. *Julius*'s Succeſſor, wherein he preſſes the Pope to advance him to the Dignity of a Cardinal promiſed by his Predeceſſor, and to continue him his Legate *a latere*. In the Minority of King *James* V. he was One of the Regents appointed by the States, and Lord Privy-Seal; and by King *Lewis* XII. of *France* he was made Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, and died in 1521, and was buried at *Dumfermling*. *Dempſter* ſays (*q*), That he wrote a Book againſt *Luther*; a Book concerning the *Stoick* Philoſophy, and a Collection out of the Decretals. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *contra* Lutherum. *De* Stoica *Philoſophia*. *Collectania Decretalium*.

Peter Roſs, Doctor of Medicin, publiſhed ſeveral Writings; but *Dempſter* ſays (*r*), that he only ſaw a Poem upon the Arms of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and another, upon all our Kings, and ſeveral Letters, moſt of which were written to *Hector Boeis*. The Poem upon our Kings he highly commends, which, he ſays, he only once ſaw when he was at *Doway*. *Varia edidit*, ſays he, *ego pauca vidi, in his Carmen Epicum, De Leone*, Scotorum *Regum Inſigni*. *Epitome Regum* Scotorum. *Epiſtolæ ad diverſos*.

(*n*) Lib. 11. p. 438. (*o*) Lib. 12. p. 486. (*p*) In Hadding: Col. in the Lawiers Lib. (*q*) Lib. 6. p. 287. (*r*) Lib. 16. p. 577.

Alexander Seton, a *Dominican* Friar and Confeſſor to King *James* V. falling under Suſpicion of favouring the Reformers and their Doctrines, was obliged to fly into *England*; where he ſtaid for ſome Time at *Berwick*. From thence he wrote a Letter to the King, which Mr. *Petrie* (*ſ*) has inſerted in his Hiſtory, in which he promiſes to return and vindicate himſelf, if his Majeſty would promiſe to protect him. The King returning no Anſwer to him, he went to *London*, where *Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, perſwaded him to renounce ſeveral of the Doctrines of the Reformers at *Paul*'s-Croſs. But, repenting of what he had done, he publiſhed a Vindication of himſelf and the whole Particulars of his Examination, which is ſtill extant in *Fox*'s Martyrology. After this he was made Chaplain to *Charles*, Duke of *Suffolk*, in whoſe Service he died, in the Year 1542. *Dempſter* ſays, That, beſides his Examination, he wrote a Commentary upon both the Epiſtles of S. *Peter*; on the Epiſtle of S. *James*, and a Volume of Sermons. *Scripſit*, ſays he (*t*), *Proceſſus ſuæ Examinationis. In utramque Epiſtolam* Petri. *In Canonicam* Jacobi. *Conciones*.

John Ware, a *Carmelite* Monk at *Dunkeld*, and afterwards their Provincial, was eſteemed a good Poet, Orator, Philoſopher and Theologue. He wrote, ſays *Dempſter* (*u*), a Book concerning the Generation of Mettals; Solutions of divers Scholaſtical Queſtions, and a Volume of Panegyricks upon the Saints. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *de Metallorum Generatione: Queſtionum ſcholaſticarum reſolutorium: Orationes de ſanctis.*

Richard Wigton, a *Carmelite*, who taught the *Belles Lettres* for ſeveral Years at *Tholouſe*. *Dempſter* (*x*) ſays, That he wrote a Book of Coſmography, and another on the memorable Things in *Scotland*. A Book of his Lectures, and ſeveral other Things are ſtill in MSS. in *Fox*'s Library. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *De Coſmographia*: *Res* Scotiæ *memorabiles*: *Lecturas ſuas. Alia Opera habentur MSS. in* Foxienſi *Bibliotheca.*

John Wadlock was born at *Dundee*, and, having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies, he entred into Holy Orders, and became a Monk of the Order of S. *Francis*. He was ſent to *Rome* by his Superior, to negotiate ſome Affairs of theirs at that Court. Where he gave ſuch Inſtances of his Prudence, Wiſdom and Learning, that he was afterwards made Provincial of that Order in *Scotland*; and profer'd to be advanced to an Epiſcopal See, which he refuſed. This Learn'd Man apply'd himſelf principally to the Mathematical Sciences: In all which there were none of his Age better ſeen than he was; as will appear, ſays *Dempſter* (*y*), to any One who will peruſe his Works. And theſe, according to him, are, A Book upon Meteors. A Book of Judicial Aſtrology, or of the Motion of the Planets, their Conjunctions, Houſes, and Method of erecting of Horoſcopes, One of the Menſuration of the Earth, One of the Situation of the Terreſtrial Paradiſe; and One upon the Properties of the Sea. And here, for the Reader's Diverſion, I ſhall give ſome Obſervations upon his Book of Judicial Aſtrology, his Book of the Menſuration of the Earth, and his Book of the Properties of the Sea.

'Tis highly probable, that Aſtrology had its Firſt Riſe among the *Egyptians*, or, at leaſt, the *Ethiopians*; who, as we learn from *Diodorus* (*z*) and *Lucian*, allowing the *Egyptians* only to be a Colony of theirs ſent abroad to find out a Place to ſettle in, contend that they received

(*ſ*) Part 2. Cent. 16. p. 170. (*t*) Lib. 17. p. 591. (*u*) Lib. 19. p. 664. (*x*) Lib. 19. p. 664. (*y*) Lib. 3. (*z*) Lib. de Aſtrol.

received Aſtronomy from them. And to this Purpoſe is what *Cicero* ſays of *Cepheus*, One of the *Ethiopian* Kings, 'Neither had *Atlas*, ſays 'he (*a*), been believed to have ſuſtained Heaven, nor *Prometheus* to 'have been chained on *Caucaſus*, nor *Cepheus* with his Wife's Son-in-law 'and Daughter to have been ranked amongſt the Conſtellations; had 'not their Divine Knowledge of Celeſtial Bodies firſt occaſioned the Per-'petuation of their Names in the Diſguiſe of Fables. And *Mercury* is ſaid to have been the Firſt who brought the Science of the Stars into *Egypt*. Thus *Marcilius* writing of the Aſtronomy of the *Egyptians*, ſays (*b*) of *Mercury*,

Tu Princeps authorque ſacri, Cyllennie, *tanti*, &c.

Theſe Nations, being deſtitute of the Knowledge of the True God, begun to think, that thoſe Glorious Bodies, appearing above them in the Firmament, were not only the Authors of their Being, but likewiſe of all the Good and Evil that did befall them in their Lives. And upon that Account they begun to make Images, which they called Taliſmans, under the Aſpects and Influence of ſuch and ſuch Planets. Thus we are told by *Ptolomy* (*c*), 'That the generable and corruptible Forms 'are affected by the Celeſtial; which therefore the Taliſmans make 'uſe of, by obſerving the Entrance of the Stars into them. The Meaning of which is, ſays *Hali Abu Giafar* (*d*), That the Forms of Things here below are anſwered by the like Figurations above; and that the Celeſtial Forms have a ruling Influence upon the Sublunary. For Example, the *Scorpion* and Serpent in Heaven upon thoſe in Earth. 'Therefore the *Sapientes*, ſays he, or Wiſe Men, obſerved 'when a Planet was out of his Combuſtion and entred into any of 'theſe Forms; then, placing the Planet upon the Horoſcope, they 'engraved the Form upon a Stone; then adding what elſe was neceſ-'ſary, they fitted it to Preſervation or Deſtruction, as they pleaſed, &c. And we are told, that in the nether Region of *Grand-Cairo*, in *Egypt*, the Crocodiles were harmleſs; but in the upper Region they deſtroyed all the Inhabitants. To prevent this (*e*), the Taliſmans caſt a Leaden Crocodile, with an *Egyptian* Charm written on it, which they buried in the Foundation of a Temple. This for a long Time defended the People; but when, at the Command of *Achmet Ben Tolen*, the Caliph, the Leaden Image was melted, the Crocodiles returned to their own Malice again. And the *Arabick* Geographer (*f*) ſays, That in the Middle of the *Hempts*, a City of *Syria Apamea*, there was a Stone ſet up in a Wall, having upon it the Figure of a Scorpion. And when any of them were bitten, they brought Clay with them, and taking out the Impreſſion of the Figure, they applied it to the Place affected. But the moſt famous Operator, amongſt the Heathens, in this Sort, was *Apollonius Tyaneus*, a Man of that Note among them that they put him in the Ballance with our Saviour. *Philoſtratus* wrote his Life, under the Reign of the Emperor *Septimus Severus*, at the Deſire of the Empreſs *Julia*, and compares all the Actions of this Impoſtor, who had been brought up among the *Egyptian* Prieſts and *Magi* of *Chaldea* with

(*a*) Tuſculan 5. (*b*) Aſtron. 1. (*c*) Centiloq. verb. 9. (*d*) See Mr. Gregory's Notes upon 1 Sam. 6 and 5. (*e*) Vide Card. de Subtilitate, lib. 9. Scal. Exercit. 19, 6. Numb. 6. (*f*) Geograph. Nubienſ. Clim. 3.

thoſe of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour. Thus he oppoſed the Ghoſt of *Proteus*, who adverтiſed *Apollonius*'s Mother of her Son's Birth, to the Myſtery of the Annunciation. The ſinging of Swans in a Meadow at the ſame Time, to that of the ſinging of the Angels. The Ambaſſadors whom he received at his Birth, to that of the Adoration of the Wiſe Men. His Diſputes with the Prieſts of *Greece*, to thoſe of the chief Doctors of the Law. The Devil which he caſt out of the Body of a young Man of Seventeen Years old, whom he loved, to the unclean Spirit which was caſt out of the Body of the *Gadaren*. The Sentence of Condemnation of a Servant and Miſtreſs of a certain King, which he ſuſpended, to that of the Woman taken in Adultery. The Girle whom he raiſed at *Rome*, to that of *Jairus* chief Ruler of the Synagogue his Daughter. His Apparition in *Puzzolo* to his Two Diſciples *Demetrius* and *Damis*, to that of the Two Diſciples as they were going to *Emmaus*, Sixty Furlongs diſtant from *Jeruſalem*. His curing a maimed, blind and lame Man, to the withered Hand of him who was cured on the Sabbath Day, the Paralytick who was let down from the Roof of his Houſe with his Bed, and the blind Man who was in the Way near *Jericho*. His diſappearing at *Lindus*, a City of *Rhodes*, as he was going to the Temple of *Pallas*, to the Aſcenſion. And, in one Word, he makes him imitate all our Saviour's Actions; but takes no Notice of the Difference of their Doctrines and Tempers. For to give but Two or Three Inſtances; our bleſſed Lord and Saviour was for giving to *Cæſar* what was *Cæſar*'s, with all Humility and Mildneſs: But this Impoſtor, being ſent for by the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, unmannerly refuſed to come; and wrote to him, 'That he, who had reduced *Greece* under Slavery 'ought not to deſire the Converſation of a *Grecian*; That, poſſibly, he 'thought in ſubjecting it he had done greater Things than *Xerxes* did; 'but he had done leſs than *Nero*, who with his Buffoonry reſtored their 'Liberty. And this he did upon the Account of that Emperor's Clemency to the Chriſtians; for he had diſcharged the Perſecution begun againſt them, ſaying, *That it was not for Men to revenge the Gods, who could revenge themſelves if they would diſcharge their Wrath upon them.* Our Saviour was for forgiving our Enemies, and rendering Good unto thoſe that deſpightfully uſed us: But this Impoſtor breathed nothing but Blood and Revenge. For once, when he was haranguing the People, he ſtopt all of a ſudden and cry'd out, *Strike the Traytor, ſtrike the Traytor*; and then told them, with Satisfaction, that the Emperor was murdered. Which was, ſays *Philoſtratus*, ſhortly thereafter verify'd (*g*) by the News of the Emperor's Death happening at that Time. And laſtly, the People having obſerved, that this Impoſtor did all his Feats by his Taliſmans, accuſed our Saviour of doing his Miracles by the like Means. And becauſe they eſteemed the God, or Taliſman, of *Ekron* to be the moſt powerful Taliſman amongſt them, call'd *Baalzebud*, that is ΒΑΑΛΜΥΑΣ as the Seventy Interpreters have it, or the *Fly-God*, they ſaid it was by him he did all. The moſt learned *Selden* (*h*), finding this to be the true Etymology of the Word, yet ſays, That he neither knows himſelf, nor does he believe that any other can tell him, why this Taliſman, or God of *Ekron*, was call'd the *Fly-God*. *Nequeo dicere*, ſays he, *nec mihi quis alius, opinor, ſatis poteſt.* But the eminently learned Mr.

(g) Philoſt. Vit. Apol. Tyan. (*h*) Syntagmat. 2, C. 6.

Mr. *Gregory*, (*i*) tells us the Reaſon of it. 'The *Ekronites*, ſays he, were 'peſtered with noiſom Flies. To avert this Nuiſance, the Aſtrologers 'ſet up the Image of a Fly, Taliſmatically endowed. The People finding the Benefit of this ΑΠΟΜΥΟΝ made it a God. And *Pliny* ſays (*k*), *Cyrenaici* Acorum *Deum, muſcarum multitudine peſtilentiam inferente, invocant.* Beſides theſe Things which *Philoſtratus* tells of this Impoſtor, *Codinus*, *Cedrenus*, *Heſycheus*, *Olympiodorus*, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *John Tzetzes* and *Joannes Antiochenus Melala*, tell us of many Teleſmatical Operations done by him. And the laſt cited Author, in the Tenth Book of his Chronography, ſpeaking of the Reign of *Domitian*, ſays (*l*), 'In the 'ſame Times of the Reign of *Domitian* flouriſhed the moſt learned *Apol-* 'lonius *Tyaneus*, who got himſelf a great Name by travelling about, and 'making Teleſms in all Places where he came for the Cities and the 'Countries. From *Rome* he went to *Bizantium*, and entring into that 'City of *Byzus* (now more happily called *Conſtantinople*) he made 'there alſo many Teleſms, at the earneſt Deſire of the Citizens; as that 'againſt the Storks; againſt the River *Lycus* which paſſeth thorow the 'Middle of the City; that againſt the Tortoiſes; that againſt the 'Horſes and other ſtrange Things. Then, afterward leaving *Bizanti-* 'um, he went and did the like in other Cities. From *Tyanis* he 'came into *Syria*, and ſo to *Antioch* the Great, where alſo he was de- 'ſired by the chief Men of the City to make ſuch Teleſms as they had 'need of. And he made One againſt the Northern Wind, and ſet it 'upon the Eaſt Port of the City. The Author goeth on, and at large deſcribeth *Apollonius* his Charms againſt the Gnats and Scorpions; adding moreover, that *Apollonius*, walking upon a Day with the chief Men of the City to obſerve the Situation of the Place, happened upon a ruinous Pillar; and enquiring into the Purpoſe of that, the Citizens related unto him, 'That in the Days of *Caius Cæſar*, when the City 'had been ſhaken with an Earthquake, on *Debborius*, a Taliſman, to 'prevent the falling of the City, incaſe an Earthquake ſhould happen 'again, ſet up this Pillar, and upon that a Marble Pectoral inſcribed, 'ΑΣΕΙΣΤΑ ΑΡΤΩΤΑ which, in Proceſs of Time, had been conſumed by 'Lightning, &c. The Citizens therefore were earneſt with him to ſet up a new Teleſm; but *Apollonius*, fetching a deep Sigh, refuſed to make any further Teleſms againſt Earthquakes. The Citizens being urgent upon him, he took writing Tables and foretold as followeth. 'And thou miſerable City of *Antioch* ſhalt ſuffer Twice: And a Third 'Time ſhall come upon thee, wherein thou ſhalt be conſumed by Fire; 'even in that Part by which *Orontes* runneth. And it may be thou 'ſhalt ſuffer once more. This written, he delivered the Tables to the Citizens and departed to *Seleucia*, and from thence into *Egypt*. 'But 'before he went, ſays the ſame Author, he cauſed an Image of a Scor- 'pion to be molten in Braſs and ſet up on a little Pillar, in the Midſt 'of the City, and the Scorpions vaniſhed out of all their Coaſts. But, God willing, in the Third Volume of this Work I ſhall ſhow, that of all the Romances which have ever been, there never was a leſs probable or a more impious One than this.

Beſides the Heathens, we find the *Jews* making Uſe of theſe Aſtrological Taliſmans. *Moſes*, who was known in all the Wiſdom of the

(*i*) In his Notes upon 1 Sam. 6. 5. (*k*) Lib. 10. cap. 27. (*l*) Apud Gregor. ubi ſup.

Egyptians, erected a Braſen Serpent in the Wilderneſs; upon which all the *Iſraelites*, who were bitten with Serpents, when they looked were cured and lived; *Numbers* Chap. 21. V. 9. Which ſome have had the Impiety to ſay, That he did Teleſmatically; notwithſtanding that it is there expreſly ſaid, he did it by the Command of the Lord. 'Tis true that the *Iſraelites* made a wrong Uſe of it: For we find, that, even till the Days of *Hezekiah*, King of *Judah*, they looked upon it as a God, and offered up Incenſe to it. For it is ſaid in the Second Book of the *Kings*, Chap. 18. V. 4. that that King *brake into Pieces the braſen Serpent which* Moſes *had made; for unto thoſe Days the Children of* Iſrael *did burn Incenſe to it.* When the Ark was taken and detained by the profane *Philiſtines*, *the Hand of God was ſore upon them and ſmote them with Emerods and Mice.* Concerning which the *Philiſtine* Aſtrologers being conſulted, they adviſed, That Five Golden Taliſmans ſhould be made of the Mice, and as many of the Diſeaſe, according to the Number of the Lords of the *Philiſtines* for taking away this Plague; this being the true Meaning of that Paſſage, 1 *Samuel* 6. 5. *Wherefore ye ſhall make Images of your Emerods and Images of your Mice that marr the Land, and ye ſhall give Glory unto the God of* Iſrael. *Peradventure he will lighten his Hand from off you, and from off your Gods, and from off your Land.* So *Rabbi Moſes Maimonides*, in his *More Nevochim* (*m*), has theſe Words, 'I ſay of that of *Samuel* concerning the Images of the Emerods, That 'they were ſo call'd not ſo much from their external Form, as from a 'ſecret Influence within remedial againſt the Plague in the hinder 'Parts.

The Aſtrologers, from their Taliſmans for removing of Diſeaſes and Plagues, proceeded to the making of others for Cities. In doing of which, the Firſt Thing was the Propitiation of the Place, by reconciling the *Genius* with a reſpective Sacrifice. Thus *Abdilphaker* (*n*), in his *Arabick* Hiſtory of the Foundation of *Antioch* by King *Antiochus*, ſays, That it hapned, that whatſoever the Workmen digg'd up by Day was again thrown in by Night; and they were affrighted from the Work by a dreadful Apparition. Upon which the King call'd for the Aſtrologers and Wiſe Men; who, after Sacrifice rightly performed, diſcovered an Appearance of *Almarick* or *Mars*. Whereupon it was agreed, 'That 'a magnificent Temple ſhould be erected to his Name and his Statue 'ſet up; and that the Foundation of the City ſhould be laid under 'his Aſcendent, &c. Alſo an Anniverſary, of Three Days Feſtival, was 'inſtituted. And the Author ſays, *That theſe Things continued until the Manifeſtation of* Jeſus *the Son of* Mary. *Peace and the Prayer of God be upon him.* And *Muazzus*, the Head of the *Fatiman* Family, cauſed the City of *Grand-Cairo* to be ſet up under the ſame Aſcendent of *Almarick*; that, as *Mars* had a coercive Power in the ſuperior World, ſo the City might be *Coactrix orbis* here below. And therefore it was Named *Alchahira*.

Now the Aſcendent of a City, ſaith *Haly* (*o*), *is that Sign which riſeth in the Horoſcope at the laying of the Firſt Stone. And the whole Art of this*, ſays *Ptolomy* (*p*), *lies in obſerving the Sun and Moon's Place in the Zodiack, which they had at the laying of the Foundation; but eſpecially of the Aſcendent as the*

(*m*) Part 1. cap. 1. (*n*) Vide Mr. Gregory upon the II. Samuel 5. 6, 8. (*o*) Ad Carpum Ptol. ad verb. 15. (*p*) Ptol. Tetrab. lib. 56. 4. & 5.

the moſt principal Angle. According to theſe Rules *Tarucius Firmicus* caſt the Nativity of *Rome*, and *Vectius Valens*, an Aſtrologer of *Antioch*, that of *Conſtantinople*; the Figure whereof is extant in a *Greek* Manuſcript in the *Vatican*. And this ſuperſtitious Practice was not long ago uſed, at the Inſtauration of *Rome*, by Pope *Paul* III. *Gauricus* drew the Figure of the Heavens; *Vincentius Campanatius* obſerved the Time by his Aſtrolabe, toward the Inſtant whereof he cry'd out with a loud Voice, *Ecce adeſt hora præciſa decima ſexta fere completa*; then immediately *Ennius Verulanus*, the Cardinal, laid the Firſt Stone.

Now in the Nativities of Cities, after the Conſideration of the Life and Being of the City from the Horoſcope; the next Care taken was *of the Part of Fortune, the Second Aſcendent:* And this *Part of Fortune* found out, was myſteriouſly included in a Statue of Braſs, Taliſmatically prepared. The Rites amongſt the Heathens were, *A Pure Virgin was offered up in Sacrifice; a Statue of the Virgin ſet up, impoſed upon with a new and ſecret Name, and Sacrifice done to that. And all this was called the Fortune of the City*, ſays *Joannes Antiochenus*. Theſe were *the Blind and the Lame, hated of* David's *Soul*, mentioned II. *Samuel*, Ch. 5. V. 6, 8. as the learned Mr. *Gregory* has proven in his Notes upon that Place. But they who are curious to ſee ſeveral Nativities of Cities, Forts and Caſtles, with the Judgments given upon them, may read *Gauricus*, *Junctin*, *Garcæus*, *&c.*

From the erecting of Horoſcopes of Cities, the Aſtrologers proceeded to theſe of the Nations, and from thence they erected thoſe of all the principal *Nati* under their Dominions, and of Princes themſelves; yea even that of the Prince of Princes, *Chriſt Jeſus*, our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour. In the *Sphæra Perſica*, ſaith *Aben Ezra* (*q*), there ariſeth up, in the Face of the Sign *Virgo*, a beautiful Maid. She holdeth Two Ears of Corn in her Hand, and a Child in her Arms. She feedeth and giveth him Suck, *&c.* This Maiden, ſaith *Albumazar*, we call *Adre nedeſa*, the *Pure Virgin*. She bringeth up a Child in a Place which is called *Abrie*, the *Hebrew*-Land, and the Child's Name is called *Eiſi* or *Jeſus*. From this *Albertus Magnus* believed that our Saviour was born under *Virgo*. And therefore Cardinal *Alliac*, erecting our Saviour's Nativity by his Deſcription, caſteth this Sign into the Horoſcope. 'But that 'was not the Meaning of *Albumazer*, ſaith Friar *Bacon*, but that the ſaid 'Virgin was born under that Sign, as alſo we have it ſet down in 'the Kalendar; and was to bring up her Son in the *Hebrew*-Land. But, according to the received Tradition of the Church, our Saviour was born the 25th of *December* at Midnight, in the Year of the World 3967, the Cycle of the Sun being 9 and the Moon 1. Therefore, ſays the learned Mr. *Gregory* (*r*), his Aſcendent was not *Virgo* but *Libra*; and then he gives us the Figure of the Heavens at his Birth, and tells us, 'That at that Time there fell out a Conjunction (the greateſt that can 'be) of the 8 and 9 Spheres in the Head of *Aries*. From whence it 'will follow, that whereas, at the Beginning of this World, the Aſteriſms were all out of their proper Places, (it pleaſed God to have it 'ſo) and at the Reſtitution of the World they were all found in 'their own Diviſions; it is an Appearance of that Kind, which Nature can ſhew the World but once. The ſame Figure of the Heavens

(*q*) Introd. lib. 6. cap. 1. (*r*) See Mr. Gregory's Notes upon Iſaiah, p. 6.

'could never before nor never can fall out again, unleſs the World 'ſhould unreaſonably laſt againſt all Chriſtian Expectation, by the moſt 'moderate Account. For, if you caſt about the ſlow Revolution of 'this Period, it will trouble you to call theſe, or almoſt any other, the '*latter Days*; the Period, according to ſome, is to finiſh a Circle of 'Thirty if not Fourty Thouſand Years. This great Year begun at our 'Saviour's Nativity, but for any Man to expect that it ſhould ever 'have an End as to us, and this World, cannot be thought of but upon 'grounded Atheiſm and Abſurdity. So far Mr. *Gregory*. Others think, that, at the finiſhing of this Period, will be the Conſummation of all Things. But the Vanity, Abſurdity and Impertinence of Judicial Aſtrology, with which this Author and many other learned Men have befool'd themſelves, has been ſo ſufficiently expoſed by many eminent Pens of this and the former Age, that the Credit of it is ſunk and dwindled into Nothing.

But that Noble Speculation, of the Meaſuring of the Earth, has been thought worthy of the greateſt Men of all Ages; as will appear from this brief Hiſtory of it.

Anaximander (*ſ*) the Diſciple of *Thales*, is highly commended, by *Diogenes Laertius*, for being the Firſt who gave us the Meaſure of the Earth. This Philoſopher lived about 550 Years before Chriſt; and it is probable, that all the Mathematicians, from his Time till that of *Eratoſthenes*, were of his Opinion; for we find none elſe mentioned. What this was we are told by *Ariſtotle* (*t*). The whole Circle of the Earth being divided into 360 Degrees or Parts, he found, that every Degree was 1111 *Stadia*, which make 52 Leagues and a Half. So according to this, the Circuit of the Earth was 18900 Leagues. But *Eratoſthenes*, who lived about 200 Year before Chriſt, found, that every Degree was but 700 *Stadia*; and conſequently the whole *Perimiter*, or Circuit of the Earth, to be 252000 *Stadia*; which, *Pliny* ſays, made of *Roman* Miles 315000, each Mile conſiſting of a Thouſand Paces. After him *Poſſidonius*, who flouriſhed a little before our Saviour, in the Times of *Cicero* and *Pompey*, found, that the Circuit of the Earth was 240000 *Stadia*, according to *Cleomedes*; or rather 180000, according to *Strabo*. But *Eratoſthenes*'s Calculation was eſteem'd the beſt till the Days of *Ptolomy*, who flouriſh'd 144 Years after Chriſt; and he made the Circuit of the Earth to be 180000 *Stadia*. The *Arabians*, having applied themſelves to the Mathematicks, we are told by their Geographer *Abulfeda*, who flouriſh'd about the Year of our Lord 1300, That, about the 800 Year of our Lord, *Almamon* their King, or Caliph of *Babylon*, ordered all his Mathematicians to meet upon ſuch a Day; and try, by their own Experience, what they found the *Perimiter*, or Circuit of the Earth, to amount to. And accordingly they met on the Plains of *Sanjar* or *Meſopotamia*; and, having taken the Height of the Pole, they divided into Two Troops, the One marching as directly as was poſſible towards the North, and the other towards the South; till the One found the Pole One Degree more, and the other One Degree leſs elevated. Then meeting again at their Firſt Station, to compare their Obſervations, they found the One had computed $56\frac{2}{3}$ Miles, and the other juſt 56; but they agreed to account $56\frac{2}{3}$ for One Degree. So the *Perimiter*, or Circuit of the

(*ſ*) Bernard. Varen. Geograph. Gener. lib. 1. p. cap. 4. (*t*) Ariſt. de Cœlo, lib. 2.

the Earth, according to them, was 20160 or 20400 Miles. Yet (*u*) *Ptolomy*, having eſtabliſhed the Bigneſs of a Degree 500 *Stadia*, for which the *Arabs* account 66⅔ Miles, it follows, that the *Arabian* Mile was equal to 7½ *Stadia*. But we are to ſeek what *Stadium Ptolomy* means. For if it were the *Greek*, Eight of which made an ancient *Italian* Mile, the Proportion of the *Arabick* Mile to the *Italian* will be as 15 to 16; and conſequently the 56⅔ Miles, found in a Degree by the *Arabs*, will make but 53⅓ old *Italian* Miles. But if more favourably to the *Arabs* we ſuppoſe, (which is moſt likely) that the 500 *Stadia* of *Ptolomy* were the *Alexandrian*, bigger than the *Grecian*, according to the Proportion commonly received of 144 to 125, we ſhall find, that the Degree meaſured by the *Arabs* was 61½ *Italian* Miles, which makes 47188 Toyſes of *Paris*; ſuppoſing that the old *Roman* Foot was to that of *Paris*, as 667 to 720; tho' the *Roman* Foot, of which the Module is to be ſeen in the *Capitol*, is to the ſame *Pariſian* Foot but as 653 to 720 or thereabout. Amongſt the Moderns, the Firſt, who attempted to ſolve this Problem, was *Fernelius*; who tells us, in the Beginning of his *Coſmotheoria*, that leaving *Paris* he went directly North, until, by the Meridian Altitudes of the Sun, he found the Height of the Pole One whole Degree more than at *Paris*; but he has not named the Place where he ſtaged, ſaying only that it was at 25 Leagues from *Paris*; and that, for knowing this Diſtance more preciſely, he went in a Coach and counted all the Turns of the Wheel till he came to *Paris*; and having eſtimated how much the Irregularities, and Turnings of the Way, might augment the Length, he judged, that a Degree of a great Circle of the Earth contained 68096 Geometrical Paces, which are equal to 56746 Toyſes and Four Foot of *Paris*. Now the *Paris* Toyſe is Six Foot, the Foot containing Twelve Inches, and the Inch Twelve Lines.

Snelius after him took a more certain Way; for, inſtead of relating his Eſtimation, he ſearched, by Geometrical Ways, the Meridional Diſtances between the Parallels of *Almain*, *Leyden* and *Bergenopzom*. Then, according to the Differences of the Heights of the Pole in thoſe Places, he concluded a Degree was 28500 *Rhineland* Perches; which make 55021 Toyſes of *Paris*. So that, according to this, the Circuit of the Earth is 9903 *Pariſian* Leagues wanting ſome few Feet. But Father *Riccioli*, by another Method, made the Degree 64363 Paces of *Bologna*, or about 62900 Toyſes. At length the Royal Academy of Sciences, at *Paris*, took into their Conſideration, That in this Diverſity of Opinions, it was worth the while to try the whole anew for the Solution of this famous Problem; not only for the Uſe of Geography, in what concerns the Difference of Longitudes, but more particularly for the Uſe of Navigation. In order to this it was judged, that the Space contained betwixt *Sourdon*, in *Picardy*, and *Malvoiſin*, in the Confines of the *Gaſconois* and *Hurepois*, would be very proper for the Execution of this Deſign, becauſe theſe Two Bounds, which are diſtant One from the other about 32 Leagues, are ſituated very near in the ſame Meridian; and it was known by divers Journeys, purpoſely made, that they might be joined by Triangles with the High Way from *Ville-juive* to *Juviſy*: Which Way was paved in a ſtraight Line without any conſiderable Inequality, and of ſuch a Length as was proper to ſerve for the Fundamental

(*u*) Vide the Meaſure of the Earth by the Royal Acad. of Sciences at Paris.

Baſe of all the Meaſure that was undertaken. For meaſuring the Length of this Way, Four Pike-Staves, each of Two Toyſes, were choſen; which, being join'd Two and Two at the great Ends by a Screw, made Two Meaſures each of the Length of Four Toyſes. The Manner obſerved in the Meaſuring was, That after One of the Meaſures was placed on the Earth, the other was join'd to it End to End along by a great Rope: Then the Firſt was taken up and ſo ſucceſſively. And, for the more eaſy keeping of the Accompt, the Meaſurer who had laid the Second Rod, had Ten little Stakes given him: One of which he left ſtanding at the Head of his Rod, every Time he laid it on the Ground; ſo that every ſuch Stake noted Eight Toyſes. And when all the Ten were taken up they marked Eighty Toyſes. In this Manner the Diſtance between the Middle of the Mill of *Ville-juive*, all along the great or high Way to the Pavilion of *Juviſy*, was Twice meaſured. Which Diſtance was found to be 5662 Toyſes and 4 Foot in going; and 5663 and 11 Foot in returning. But as a nearer Approach to Exactneſs could not be hoped, ſo the Difference was divided; and the round Number of 5663 Toyſes was agreed on for the Length of the Line, or Fundamental Baſe. Upon which they built all their Calculations, ſave only at the Concluſion of the Work, the whole was verify'd by a Second Baſe of 3902 Toyſes actually meaſured as the former. And in fine, with great Accuracy, they determin'd the Surface of the Earth to 57060 Toyſes of the Caſtle of *Paris*: That is to ſay, $28\frac{1}{4}$ *Pariſian* Leagues, or $73\frac{7}{100}$ *Engliſh* Miles, of 5000 Foot each. The whole Method of their Proceeding, the Deſcription of the Inſtruments they made uſe of, and the great Care and Exactneſs obſerved in every Thing, is publiſhed in a Treatiſe by it ſelf; and ſhows how far they have outdone all the Ancients in their Methods, which are deſcribed and demonſtrated by our Author M. *Wadlock*.

The principal Properties of the Sea, are, its Flux and Reflux, various Tides, Saltneſs, Spherical Figure, Colours, Weight or Gravity, different Motions, Deepneſs and Height: Of which laſt Property I ſhall only ſpeak at this Time; as an Inſtance of the Method I am to obſerve in treating of the reſt, when Occaſion offers, in the Third Volume of this Work.

The Depth of the Sea is determined by *Fabianus*, *Pliny* and *Cleomedes* (*x*), to be Fifteen Furlongs, that is One Mile and Seven Eight Parts (*y*). And *Plutarch* ſays (*z*), That the ancient Geometricians aſſigned equal Dimenſions to the Deepneſs of the Sea and the Height of the Mountains. And *Eratoſthenes*, in *Theon* (*a*), ſays, That the higheſt Mountains paſs not in perpendicular Erectneſs Ten Furlongs, that is One Mile and One Fourth Part; of which Height alſo it is obſerved in *Pliny* (*b*), that *Dicæarchus*, by Dioptrical Inſtruments, found the Hill *Pelius*, in *Theſſaly*, to be. And in *Plutarch* (*c*), *Xenagoras*, another Mathematician, is ſaid to have found the Hill *Olympus* to be of perpendicular Height 1270 Paces. But all this is to be underſtood of the Mountains in and about *Greece*; which are nowiſe comparable to the huge Mountains of vaſt Continents, ſuch as the *Alps* in *Europe*, *Atlas* in *Africk*, *Caucaſus* in *India*, the *Andes* in *Peru*, *&c.* But notwithſtanding the

(*x*) Fabian. apud Plin. lib. 2. cap. 102. Cleomed. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 10. (*y*) Vide Breerwood's Enquiries, p. 134. (*z*) In Vita Æmilii Pauli. (*a*) Theon. in Comment. magn. conſtr. Ptolem. lib 1. (*b*) Lib. 2, cap. 63. (*c*) Loco ſupra citato.

of the great Height of theſe Mountains, above the common Superfice of the Earth; yet the Sea is certainly deeper in ſome Places than the higheſt Mountains. Now, to make a true Eſtimate of the Depth of the Sea, we are not to reckon and conſider only the Height of the Hills above the common Superfice of the Earth, unto which the extraordinary Depths or Whirlpools that are found in the Sea do properly anſwer, but the Advantage or Height of all the dry Land, above the Superfice of the Sea. The Height of the Main-Land, excluding the Hills, is conſiderable above that of the Sea, altho' it does not appear ſo to the Eye, becauſe it is found in that Part of the Earth which the Sea covereth, that it deſcendeth lower and lower towards the Midſt of the Sea. Even ſo that Part which is uncovered, the Courſings and Streamings of Rivers upon all Sides from the Midland Parts towards the Sea, evidently demonſtrate the Main-Land to be higher. And altho' it is hard to determine preciſely what the ordinary Declivity of the Earth may be; yet a rational Conjecture may be made of it by the Courſe of the Rivers. Thus in great Continents, through which Rivers have long Courſes ſome of 1000 or 2000 Miles, the Height of the ordinary Mid-Land above the Face of the Sea is more than that of the Hills above the common Face of the Earth. Which the learned Mr. *Brerewood* proveth thus (*d*). *Pliny* (*e*), in the Derivation of Water, requireth One Cubit of Declining in 240 Foot of Proceeding; *Unum Cubitum in binos Actus*. Now *Actus*, as may be obſerved in *Columella* and others, is a Dimenſion of 120 Foot long. But *Vitruvius* and *Palladius*, in their Conjectures (*f*) require ſomewhat leſs; to wit, that, in the Courſe of 200 Foot forward, there ſhould be allowed One Foot of deſcending downward; which yet in the Courſe of 1000 Miles, as the *Danube*, the *Wolga*, the *Indus*, and ſeveral other Rivers longer than it, will make, by this Computation, more than 5 Miles of a Perpendicular Deſcent. And in the Courſe of 2000 Miles and more, which the *Nilus*, *Niger*, and the River of the *Amazons* have, it will make more than 10 Miles. It is true, that this Rule of *Vitruvius* is very far from being exact: For, as *Philander* obſerves upon him (*g*), the Convoyers of Waters content themſelves with One Inch in 600 Foot; yet, conſidering that they have, for the moſt Part, a continual long Deſcent, in many Places ſwift, and in ſome Places very rapid, the Deſcent cannot but be very great, and much above the Heights of the Mountains.

The Catalogue of this Author's Works, according to *Dempſter*, are as follows. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *in Meteora, Lib.* 4. *De Planetarum curſu conjunctione, domibus, & variis judiciis Nativitatum. De Terræ menſura. De loco Paradiſi. De Maris proprietatibus.*

Gawin Dumbar, Son to Sir *Alexander Dumbar* of *Weſtfield*, as appears from *Weſtfield*'s Monument, which is ſtill to be ſeen in the Cathedral Church of *Elgin*; having ſtudy'd the *Belles Lettres*, and finiſh'd his Courſe of Philoſophy, apply'd himſelf to the Study of Theology and Canon Law (*h*), entred into Holy Orders, was firſt made Dean of *Murray*, then Arch-Deacon of S. *Andrew*'s, Privy-Councellor to King *James* IV. Clerk-Regiſter in 1500, and laſtly promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Aberdeen*; in which Station he died at S. *Andrew*'s, 1531. We are told

(*d*) Ubi ſup. (*e*) Lib. 3. cap. 1. 6. (*f*) Vitruv. Architect. lib. 8. cap. 7. Pallad. de re ruſt. lib. 9. tit. 11. [illegible] lib. 8. cap. 7. (*h*) Vide lib. 4. p. 215. Spotſwood, lib. 2. p. 106. Boet. de vit. Pontif. Abredon. fol. 36. Lelly de geſt. Scot. lib. 9. p. 390.

by *Hector Boeis*, in the Lives of the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*, That, when this learned and worthy Prelate came there, he was met, ſome Miles diſtant from the Town, by the Gentry and Citizens, convoyed and received with the ringing of Bells, beating of Drums, ſounding of Trumpets, *&c.* Then he was met by all the Religious Orders in their richeſt Veſtments; then by the Rector of the Univerſity, the Maſters and Scholars in all their Formalities. And being thus led in Proceſſion to the Cathedral Church, Divine Service was performed with great Pomp and Magnificence. After which, at the Deſire of the Rector, One of the Scholars made an eloquent Speech to him, in *Latin*, in Commendation of their Founder, and his Predeceſſor, Biſhop *Elphinſton*, and upon his happy Acceſſion to the Epiſcopal Dignity. They were not deceived in their Expectations of him; for never was there a more worthy Prelate than he proved to be. He perfected all thoſe Works which Biſhop *Elphinſton* had begun and not finiſhed, eſpecially the Cathedral Church, the Bridge upon *Dee*, with the Houſes that had been appointed for the ſeveral Profeſſions of the Sciences in the Colleges. He founded likewiſe an Hoſpital for Twelve poor Men and a Preceptor to attend them. And all the Time he lived Biſhop, which was Thirteen Years, whatever Profit he made by his Biſhoprick he beſtowed wholly upon the Poor and other Works of Charity, without applying One Farthing, either to his own Uſe or the enriching of any of his Kinſmen. For all which he is highly and deſervedly praiſed by Biſhop *Leſly*. *Dempſter* ſays, That when the Reformers broke down his Monument, they found him intire in his Epiſcopal Robes, and as freſh as if he had been lately dead; as he was credibly informed by *Andrew Leſly* and *Robert Boyd*, Two Gentlemen then Students at the *Scots* College in *Rome*. And moreover, ſays he, *Patrick Anderſon*, a Jeſuit, a good Theologue, Philoſopher and Mathematician, writes to me, That an infirm Man was miraculouſly cured by the touching of his Garment. And both *Boeis* and *Dempſter* ſay, That he was a Man of excellent Learning; being well ſeen in the *Belles Lettres*, Philoſophy, the Canon Law and Theology; and that he wrote a Book againſt the Reformers in *Germany*; and another of Canons for his Church. *Scripſit*, ſays *Dempſter*, *contra Hæreticos* Germanos. *De Eccleſia* Abredonenſi. This I take to be the Breviary which he cauſed compoſe for his Church, and which the late Doctor *Jameſon* had in his Cuſtody, under this Title, *De ordinatione Chori, & de ſtationibus, ſeſſionibus & converſionibus ad Matutinas, Miſſam, & Veſperas in eodem faciendis; tam in Feriis quam in Faſtis per totum annum.* At the End of which are theſe Words, *Reverendus in Chriſto Pater, ac Dominus*, D. Gawinus Dumbar, *Epiſcopus* Abredonenſis, *me fieri fecit* Antwerpiæ, *A. D.* 1527.

John Dumbar, the famous Epigramiſt, who flouriſh'd in the Reigns of King *James* VI. and *Charles* I. made the Two following Epigrams upon this Prelate, who was his Great-Grand-Father (*i*).

I.

Jam quod Abredoniæ *doctis Academia Muſis*
Floreat, & celſum tollat in aſtra caput:
Ut labor ille ſui, nunc ſit laus iſta Gawini;
Hic poſuit tantæ prima elementa ſcholæ.

II.

(*i*) Epigr. Cent. 6. p. 177.

II.

Circa Aberdoniam *tumidis* Dona *labitur undis* ;
Turgidus, & nullis trajiciendus equis :
Huic pontem hic Præſul fecit ; cum condere nunquid
Oſtendit verum ſe fore Pontificem.

At his Deſire likewiſe *Hector Boeis* wrote his Lives of the Biſhops of *Aberdeen*, which he dedicate to him.

Gawin Dumbar, Son to the Laird of *Mochrum*, his Nephew (*k*), having finiſhed the Courſe of his Studies in the *Belles Lettres* and Philoſophy, applied himſelf to Theology, entered into Holy Orders, and was made Preceptor to King *James* V. One of his Privy-Council, Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom. In all which Stations he behaved with great Wiſdom and Prudence, to the general Satisfaction of the Nation. This Prelate was a Man of ſuch exquiſite Learning and ſo unblamable a Life and Converſation, that he extorted Praiſe, even from *Buchanan* himſelf, who bore an implacable Hatred to the whole Order ; as appears from the following Epigram (*l*) he compoſed upon him.

Præſulis accubui poſtquam conviva Gawini ;
Dîs non invideò Nectar & Ambroſiam.
Splendida cœna, epulæ lautæ ambitione remota,
Tetrica Cecropio *ſeria tincta ſale.*
Cœtus erat Muſis numero par, nec ſibi diſpar
Doctrinâ, ingenio, ſimplicitate, fide.
Ipſe alios ſupra facundo prominet ore,
Qualis Caſtalii *præſes* Apollo *Chori.*
Sermo erat ætherei de Majeſtate Tonantis,
Ut tulerit noſtræ conditionis onus.
Ut neque concretam Divina potentia labem,
Hauſerit in fragili corpore tecta hominis.
Nec licet in ſervi Dominus deſcenderit artus,
Naturam exuerint membra caduca ſuam.
Quiſquis adeſt, dubitat, ſcholáne immigrarit in Aulam,
An magis in mediam venerit Aula ſcholam.
Juppiter Æthiopum *convivia ſolus habeto,*
Dum mihi concedas Præſulis ore frui.

The above-cited *John Dumbar* (*m*) has this Epitaph upon him.

Præceptor Præſulque & Cancellarius idem,
Regis, Glaſgowæ, *qui patriæque meæ :*
Auxi, alui, juvi, ſortem, pia pectora, regnum,
Ingenio, ſacris, conſilioque bono :
Tutus, amans, orans, inopes, doctoſque, Deumque,
Luſtra decem vixi, florui & interii.

Whether he wrote any Thing I know not ; but I have inſerted him here, becauſe of his Character of being One of the learn'deſt Men of his Age.

(*k*) Epigr. Cent. 6. p. 177. (*l*) Lib. 2. (*m*) Ubi ſup.

John Scot, of whom *Richard Brown*, Abbot of *Sweetheart*, in his Hiſtorical Collections, has theſe Words (*n*), 'This Year *John Scot*, born 'in *Tindale*, for ſome certain Reaſons came to the Abbay of *Holy-rood-houſe*, where he was obſerved neither to have eaten or drunken for 'more than Twenty Days together. The King, hearing of this, cauſed him to be put up in cloſe Priſon in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, under 'a ſtrict Guard, that neither Meat or Drink might be convoyed to him. 'After which Time there appearing no Alteration upon him, the King 'ſet him at Liberty, and had a great Opinion of him for his Sanctity. 'Reſolving to go in Pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem* he came to *Venice*, where 'he faſted moſt devoutly for Fourty Days. For this the *Venetians* gave 'him ſo much Money as defray'd his Charges in his Way to the Holy 'Sepulchre and carried him back again to *Italy*. Having returned 'from *Jeruſalem* to *Rome*, he gave another Proof of his faſting there. 'Then, in his Way home, he came through *France*, where he gave another Experiment of his faſting, to their great Admiration. Then coming 'to *London*, he was thrown in Priſon, for ſaying that King *Henry* could 'not divorce from Queen *Catharine*, or repudiate her Daughter, without 'being guilty of great Impiety. But, having by his faſting given a 'Trial of the Holineſs of his Life, the King ſet him at Liberty, with 'an high *Elogium*. This was admirable in him, that he could, when 'he pleaſed, make Uſe of Meat and Drink as other Men did. He had 'a yellowiſh Beard and wore a long white Gown down to his Ancles, 'girded about with a Leathern Belt. He was very Eloquent in his own 'Country Language; and not ignorant of the *Latin*. The whole 'Courſe of his Life he ſpent in Prayer; and many looked upon him as 'a Saint. But others have had harſher Thoughts and written 'worſe Things of him; [*by thoſe he means the Proteſtants* (*o*),] who 'repreſent him as a meer Cheat, Impoſtor and lewd Fellow, tho' they 'all acknowledge his miraculous Faſting. *Dempſter* ſays, That he wrote Prophecies concerning the Change of Religion. A Volume of Sermons. Exhortations to the Clergy. And a Book of the Holy Land. All which Books, he ſays, the above-cited *Richard Brown* ſaw, and highly commends them. *Scripſit*, ſays he, *Vaticinia de mutanda Religione. Precum ſanctiſſimarum ſynopſin. Sermones per annum. Exhortationes ad Clerum. De Terra ſancta. Quæ omnia vidit* Richardus *ille* Brunus, *& impenſius laudavit.*

Laſtly, We may juſtly look upon King *James* himſelf, not only as a great King and Prince but an Author, upon the Account of his Poems, ſeverals of which are ſtill extant in MS; and eſpecially that famous One call'd *Chriſt's Kirk on the Green*, many Times printed, and lately by Mr. *Gibſon*, with Notes, at the Theatre of *Oxford* in 1691, in *Quarto*; but likewiſe for the many Letters we have of his, ſome of which are to be found in S. *James*'s Library. *Vide Catal. MSS.* Ang. *Tom.* 2. *Par.* 1. *Numb* 8677 & 8678. And, in the Lawiers Library at *Edinburgh*, there are Three Volumes of his Letters in MS. The Firſt is in *Folio*, containing the Letters written from the Year 1500 till 1526. The Second is in *Quarto*, from 1500 till 1525. And the Third is in *Quarto*, from 1539 till 1542.

As for our Learned and Worthy Prelate, Biſhop *Leſly*, he was made Coadjutor to the Arch-Biſhop of *Rouen*; and after, as we have ſaid, he had

(*n*) Apud Dempſt. lib. 17. p. 577. (*o*) Vide Spotſ. Ch. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 69. Buch. 14.

had agented his misfortunate Princeſs Cauſe at all the Courts of *Europe* in vain: At length the ſorrowful News of her Death was brought to him at *Bruſſels*, where he was then reſiding. The Circumſtances and Inhumanity of which, ſtruck him with ſuch Horror and Amazement, that he retired from the World into a Monaſtery of the Chanon Regulars of the Order of S. *Auguſtine* at *Guirternburg*, about Two Miles from *Bruſſels*, where he ſpent the Remnant of his Days in great Devotion. He died in 1596, and lies buried there, under a Monument erected to his Memory by his Nephew, with this Inſcription on it.

He retires to a Monaſtery, where he dies.

SOLA VIRTUS.

Joannes Leſlæus, *Epiſcopus* Roſſenſis, Scotus *ex illuſtri familia* Leſlæorum, *omnis generis ſcientiarum cultiſſimus. Orator ad Regem* Gall. Franciſcum II. *Conſiliarius* Mariæ *P. M.* Scotorum *Reginæ. Catholicæ Religionis conſtantiſſimus propugnator. Poſt immenſos pro avitâ fide labores, preſertim in Regno* Scotiæ *reſtituenda; poſt defenſam in* Anglia Mariam *Reginam; poſt varia ſumma cum laude geſta, tranquilliſſime exceſſit* Bruxel. *Prid. Kalend* Junii, *A. MDXCVI. Ætatis ſuæ* 70.

Avunculo grato ne ſupereſſet ingratus, Joannes Leſlæus *nepos*, *heres mœſtus*, *poſ. & pro. eodem Anniverſarium P. P. fundavit, in hoc cœnobio* Guinbergenſi, *Prid. Kal.* Junii, *celebrandum. Natalem Locum & Diem ſcimus, Sepulchri neſcimus.*

This Prelate, as it appears from his Writings, was well ſeen in the *Belles Lettres*, Philoſophy, Theology, the Civil and Canon Law; and from his many publick Negotiations and the Characters given him by the greateſt Stateſmen of his Time, 'tis clear he very well deſerved what they have ſaid of him and much more.

His Character.

Biſhop *Spotſwood*, in his Hiſtory, ſpeaking of his Death, ſays (*p*), 'This Year Mr. *John Leſly*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, departed this Life at 'Bruxels in *Flanders*. A Man, tho' differing from us in Religion, worthy to be remembred for his Fidelity to the Queen, his Miſtreſs, and 'the extraordinary Pains he took to procure her Liberty, travelling 'with all the Neighbour Princes to interpoſe their Credit with the 'Queen of *England* for her Relief. Neither was he deficient otherwiſe, 'in miniſtring the beſt Conſolations he could furniſh for bearing patiently her Croſs, whereof One Treatiſe he afterwards publiſhed, full 'of Piety and Learning. How heavily he took her Death it cannot be 'well expreſſed; yet, comforting himſelf in the beſt Sort he could, he 'put off to this Time, and being much weakned by a languiſhing Sickneſs that held him ſome Months, he ended quietly his Days. The 'Hiſtory of his Country, from the Beginning of the Nation unto theſe 'laſt Times, written by him in the *Latin* Tongue, doth witneſs both 'his Learning and Judgment. It being juſt to give unto every Man '(albeit an Enemy) his due Commendation, I could not paſs him unremember'd.

The Biſhop of *Carliſle*, ſpeaking of our Author's Hiſtory, ſays (*q*), 'His Hiſtory conſiſts of Ten Books; in the Firſt Seven, whereof we 'have an Abſtract of *Boethius*, whoſe very Words are frequently retained. He declares (*r*), That in theſe it was his Intention to omit

(*p*) Lib. 6, p. 442. (*q*) Scots Hiſt: lib. p. 110. (*r*) Paren ad Nob. p. 28. & Hiſt. lib. 1. p. 42.

'many Falſities and Abſurdities, wherewith the Hiſtorian had ſtuffed 'his Book; and that, by examining the moſt ancient Writers, particu-'larly the Books of *Scoon* and *Paſly*, he had rectify'd the Chronological 'Part, and corrected the Hiſtorical. His Three laſt Books, which 'make Half of the Volume, are diſtinctly dedicated to Queen *Mary*; to 'whom they had been preſented in *Engliſh*, Seven Years before the 'Firſt Publication of them in *Latin*. We have ſeparate Copies of them in 'ſeveral of our Libraries (*ſ*). In theſe he begins his Story where *Boe-'thius* left it off, and continues it to the Queen's Return from *France*, 'in the Year 1561, having all along taken Notice of the corrupt 'Diſpoſal of Abbays and other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, with the noto-'rious Lewdneſs of too many of the Incumbents: He concludes with 'proper and pious Reflections on the Change of Religion, and its viſible 'Cauſes in the whole Management thereof. Nothing ſeems blameable, 'in a Perſon of his Principles, ſave only the ſevere Characters which 'he gives of ſome of the principal Reformers: 'Tis a moſt Noble Apo-'logy which he makes, in the breaking off at the Beginning of his 'admired Sovereign her Troubles. For, beſides the Prejudices which 'the World might think him under in his Reſpects to ſo kind a Mi-'ſtreſs, he makes this farther Reflection upon the Undertaking. *Some Things*, ſays he, *ſavoured of ſo much Ingratitude and Perfidy, that, altho' it were proper they ſhould be known, yet it were improper for me to Record them. Becauſe often, with the Danger of my Life, I endeavour'd to put a Stop to them; and I ought to do all that's in me not to let them be known unto Strangers.* His Words are (*t*), 'Nonnulla ſunt quæ videntur ita ingratitu-'dinis & perfidiæ notis aſperſa; ut, cum digna fuerint quæ cognoſcan-'tur ab omnibus, indigna tamen ſint quæ ſcribantur a me; quia quæ ne 'fierent a noſtris egi ſæpe cum capitis periculo, ea ne cognoſcantur ab 'exteris omni mentis proviſione curare deberem.

David Buchanan, in ſome MS. Notes which he left behind him, ſays of our Author, comparing him to *Boethius*, 'That, by ſome, he was 'look'd upon as the Epitomizer of *Boethius*; he having imitated him as 'much as he could. Both of them deſerve Praiſe; but neither of them 'what he might eaſily have done, if he had been a little more judici-'ous in deſcribing the ſeveral Countries and aſſigning to them their pro-'per Names and, in the Account of Things, had abſtained from 'old Wives Fables and calumniating the Reformers. Joannes Leſlæus, ſays he (*u*), Boethii *Epitomator a nonnullis cenſetur; eum enim quoad potuit, imitatus eſt. Uterque, laudem ſuam meretur; ſed neuter præſtitit quod facile potuit, ſi paulo plus judicii adhibuiſſet in deſcribendis regionibus, ipſorumque nominibus aſſignandis; &, in rebus enarrandis, ab anilibus fabulis abſtinuiſſet, & a maledicentia in purioris Religionis vindices.*

The above-cited Biſhop of *Carliſle*, (*x*), ſpeaking of his Deſcription of this Kingdom, ſays, 'In his Deſcription, as well as his Hiſtory, he 'writes like a Perſon of Quality and Buſineſs, and One that underſtood 'the World and himſelf too well, to be ſwayed by his own Paſſions or 'the groundleſs Reports of others: Yet, in the Account of the *Baſs* and 'its Solan Geeſe, he keeps too cloſe to *Boethius*'s Tract; as he does 'likewiſe in that of the Barnacle, which he confirms both by his own 'Teſti-

(*ſ*) Vide Catal. MSS Oxon. Tom. 1. Numb. 148. & Tom. 2. Par. 1. Numb. 4217. (*t*) Paren. ad Nob. p. 39. (*u*) Vide Scots Hiſt. lib. ubi ſup. (*x*) Scots Hiſt. lib. p. 11.

'Teſtimony and that of Doctor *Allan*, who was afterwards Cardinal. 'He corrects him indeed, in making *Arran* and *Bute* One Iſland; and 'he wiſely omits ſeveral of his Romantick Stories of Miracles and Mon-'ſters, both at Sea and Land. Amongſt the extraordinary Fowl of the 'Country, he has good Obſervations on the Falcon, Heath-Cock and 'Capercalzie: As likewiſe on the Whales, Herring and Salmond a-'mong their Fiſh. For the laſt of theſe, he thinks the Plenty of them, 'in *Dee* and *Spey*, may outdo that of any others in the whole World; 'himſelf having known above Three Hundred (of the larger Sort) 'taken at one Draught of a Net. The Moſs-Wood of *Fife* he believes 'to have been buried there at the Univerſal Deluge. Having finiſhed 'the Geographical Deſcription of the Country, he proceeds, in the 'Firſt Book of his Hiſtory, to give a ſhort View of the State of the 'Kingdom, in the Manners, Laws and Government of the People. He 'reckons up ſeveral Cuſtoms wherein the Highlanders have ever diffe-'red from the Borderers: Compares the ancient State of the Clergy 'and Nobility with the preſent: Enquires into the Reaſons prevailing 'with the Commonalty to exerciſe Trades and Soldiery in foreign 'Countries: And concludes with a ſhort Enumeration of the great 'Offices in the King's Houſhold and Courts of Judicature.

Our Author is likewiſe highly commended by *George Con* (*y*), *Albertus Miræus* (*z*), *Cambden* (*a*), *Ninian Winzet* Abbot of *Ratiſbon* (*b*), Chancellor *Seton* (*c*), and many others of all Nations. But I ſhall conclude with Two Commendatory Poems, in Praiſe of him and his Hiſtory, written by Two of the greateſt Men of their Age (*d*). The Firſt is the famous *Marcus Antonius Muretus*, ſo well known to the Learned by his Works and that extraordinary Genius, by the Strength of which he attained to the perfect Knowledge of the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages without any Maſter.

M. Antonii Mureti, *Presbyteri & Civis* R. *ad* Jo. Leſlæum *Epiſcopum* Roſſen. *V. C.*

C A R M E N.

Conſilio dudum patriam, Leſlæe, *ſideque*
Dum licuit, tutatus eras; neque te ulla pericli
Terruerat facies; non vincla & carceris horror:
Non ſtructæ crebro inſidiæ terraque marique,
Non objecta oculis horrendæ mortis imago.
Tantus Amor patriæ; tales, ſub pectore forti,
Verſabat ſtimulos generoſa & maſcula virtus.
Sed poſtquam, expulſum patria tectiſque paternis,
Poſt longos tandem errores, grato inclyta Roma
Hoſpitio excepit; blandiſque ultro obvius ulnis
Gregorius, *triplici ſacra frons cui fulſerat auro,*
Ornamentum ingens ævi, tutela bonorum,
Pellere corde metum, & tuta otia carpere juſſit.
Non tamen ignavo traducis tempora lapſu;
Sed, mentem aſſiduo patriæ flammatus amore,
Res veterum Regum obſcurá caligine merſas

(*y*) De duplici Statu Relig. (*z*) Ath. Bat: (*a*) Annal. Elizab. (*b*) Apud Leſl. (*c*) Ibid. (*d*) Poemata.

Eruis in lucem : Si ſorte exempla pudorem
Incutiant turpique vetent marcere veterno,
Et decora exſtimulent pigros ad avita nepotes.
Ter felix, Leſlæe, *animi. Tibi gloria ceſſit*
Utraque, ut & doctis merito ſcripſiſſe legenda,
Et geſſiſſe idem merito ſcribenda ferarit.

The other is of *Aurelius Urſinus.*

In Reverendiſſimi D. D. Jo. Leſlæi, Roſſenſis *Epiſcopi,* Scotorum *Hiſtoriam,* Aurelii Urſini.

EPIGRAMMA.

Te duce Scotorum *vetus illa exiſtit imago,*
Et quæ deciderat, te duce, forma redit.
Ingenium miror, veterum quoque miror honorem,
Sed magis artificis nobile miror opus.
Scotia *nec* Latio *jam ſe conferre veretur,*
Leſlæi *ingenio facta ſuperba ſui.*

The Catalogue of his Works.

I. *AFFLICTI animi conſolationes & tranquilli animi conſervatio, 2. Libris.* Pariſ. 1574, *in* 8*vo.*
II. *De Origine, Moribus, & Geſtis* Scotorum. *Lib.* 10. Rom. 1578. *in* 4*to.*
III. *De Rebus Geſtis* Scotorum, *Lib.* 5. *poſteriores* Rom. 1578, *in* 4*to.*
IV. *De ſucceſſionis jure Regnorum* Angliæ & Hiberniæ, *in cauſa* Mariæ Scotorum *Reginæ.* Rhem. 1580, 4*to.* and, in *French,* in the ſame Year and at the ſame Place.
V. *Pareneſis ad* Anglos & Scotos, *ut perpetua amicitia coaleſcant. Ibid.*
VI. *De illuſtr. Fœminar. in Rep. adminiſtranda & ferendis legibus authoritate. Ib.*
VII. *Pareneſis ad Nobilitatem Populumque* Scoticum. Rom. 1578, *in* 4*to:*
VIII. *Regionum & Inſularum* Scotiæ *deſcriptio. Ibid.*
IX. *A Defence of the Honour of* Mary, *Queen of* Scotland, *with a Declaration of her Right, Title and Intereſt to the Crown of* England. Lond. 1571, *in* 8*vo.*
X. *Remonſtrance au Pape et Touts Roys, Princes et Potentes Chreſtiens, contenant evident Preuve et Demonſtration du Droit de Succeſſion, au la Couronne de* Angleterre, *advenue au tres illuſtre vertueuſe Princeſſe, Dame* Mary *de* Stuard, *Reyne de* Ecoſſe. *Bib. Cotton. Titus CXII. I. vid. & ibid. F.* 3. 14.
XI. *A Diſcourſe, containing a perfect Account given to the moſt Virtuous and Excellent Princeſs,* Mary, *Queen of* Scots, *and her Nobility, by* John, *Biſhop of* Roſs, *Ambaſſador for her Highneſs towards the Queen of* England ; *of his whole Charge and Proceedings, during the Time of his Embaſſy, from his Entry into* England, *in* September 1568, *to the laſt of* March, 1572, *in MS. in Bib. J. C.* Ed. *vid. etiam Cat. MSS.* Oxon. *Tom.* 2. *P.* 1. *N.* 8714.
XII. *An Apology for the Biſhop of* Roſs, *as to what's laid to his Charge, concerning the Duke of* Northfolk. *It is extant in MS. in my Lord* Longueville's *Library. Cat. MSS.* Oxon. *Tom.* 2. *Par.* 1. *Numb.* 5270.
XIII. *Several Letters in MS.* penes me.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Numb. I.

INSTRUMENT upon the Lodgment of the Regalia *within the Crown-Room of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *the 26th of* March, 1707.

AT the Caſtle of Edinburgh, *and within the Crown-Room there, betwixt the Hours of One and Two Afternoon, of the Twenty Sixth Day of* March, *in the One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Seventh Year of our Lord, and Sixth Year of the Reign of Her Majeſty,* ANNE, *by the Grace of God, Queen of* Scotland, England, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith.*

THE WHICH DAY, in preſence of us Notaries-publick and Witneſſes underſubſcribing, COMPEARED perſonally, *William Wilſon*, one of the Under-Clerks of Seſſion, Depute Mariſchal, for himſelf, as Procurator for, and in Name and behalf of *William* Earl *Mariſchal*, Lord *Keith* and *Altrie*, *&c.* Great Mariſchal of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, Heretable Keeper of the *Regalia* thereof, *viz.* CROWN, SCEPTER and SWORD; and there, in preſence of *David* Earl of *Glaſgow*, Lord *Boyl*, *&c.* Lord Treaſurer-Depute, (who for himſelf, and in Name of the remanent Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, was preſent to receive the above *Regalia*,) the ſaid *William Wilſon*, after producing and reading a Procuratory granted by the ſaid Noble Earl to him, of the Contents therein and after-mentioned, Dated and Regiſtred in the Books of Council and Seſſion, on the Twenty Fifth Day of *March* inſtant, did alſo produce to the ſaid Lord Treaſurer-Depute a Schedule ſigned by him and us Notaries-publick underſubſcribing, containing an Inventory and particular Deſcription of the ſaid *Regalia*, as follows.

THE IMPERIAL CROWN OF *SCOTLAND* is of pure Gold, Enriched with many precious Stones, Diamonds, Pearls and curious Enamlings. Its Parts and ſpecifick Forms are theſe, *Primo*, It is compos'd of a large broad Circle or Fillet, which goes round the Head, adorned with Twenty two large precious Stones, *viz.* Topazes, Amethyſts, Garnets, Emeraulds, Rubies, Hyacinths in Collets of Gold of various Forms, and with curious Ennamlings, and betwixt each of thoſe Collets and Stones were interpoſed great Oriental Pearls, but One of them is now wanting. *Secundo*, Above the great Circle, there is another ſmall One, formed with Twenty Points, adorned with the like Number of Diamonds and Saphyrs alternatively, and the Points are Topped with as many great Pearls: After which

Form are the Coronets of our Lord Barons. *Tertio*, The upper Circle is relevate or heightned with Ten *Croſſes Florée*, each being adorned in the Center with a great Diamond, betwixt Four great Pearls placed in Croſs *Saltire*, 1 and 1; but ſome of the Pearls are wanting; and the Number extant upon the upper part of the Crown, beſides what are in the under Circle and in the *Croſs Patée*, are Fifty One; and theſe *Croſſes Florée* are interchanged with other Ten high *Fleurs de lis*, all *alternative* with the foreſaid great Pearls below, which top the Points of the ſecond ſmall Circle. *Nota*, This is ſaid to be the ancient Form of the Crown of *Scotland*, ſince the League made betwixt *Achaius* King of *Scots*, and *Charles* the *Great* of *France*. The ſpecifick Form of our Crown differing from other Imperial Crowns, in that it is heightned or raiſed with *Croſſes Florée* alternatively with *Fleurs de lis*. The Crown of *France* is heightned only with *Fleurs de lis*, and that of *England* with *Croſſes Patée* alternatively with *Fleurs de lis*. OUR CROWN OF *SCOTLAND* ſince King *James* VI. went to *England*, has been ignorantly repreſented by Herauld Painters, Ingravers and other Tradeſmen, after the Form of the Crown of *England* with *Croſſes Patée*; whereas there is not one but that which tops the Mond, but all *Croſſes Florée*, ſuch as we ſee upon our old Coins, and theſe which top our old Churches: Theſe Crowns were not anciently arched or cloſe. *Charles* VIII. of *France* is ſaid to be the Firſt in *France* who took a cloſe Crown, as appears by his Medals coin'd in the Year One Thouſand Four Hundred and Ninety Five, being deſign'd *Imperator Orientis*. *Edward* V. of *England* in the Year 1483 carried a cloſe Crown, as is obſerv'd by *Selden*; and our Crown is Arched thus, *Quarto*, From the upper Circle proceed Four Arches adorned with ennamled Figures, which meet and cloſe at the Top, ſurmounted with a Mond of Gold, or Celeſtial Glob, ennamled with blue *Semée* or poudered with Stars croſſed and ennamled with a large *Croſs Patée*, adorned in the Extremities with great Pearls; (ſuch a Croſs tops the Church of *Holy-rood-houſe*,) and canton'd with other Four in the Angles. In the Center of the *Croſs Patée* there is a ſquare *Amethyſt*, which points the Fore-part of the Crown, and behind, or on the other Side, is a great Pearl, and below it on the Foot of the *Palar* Part of the Croſs are theſe Characters, J. R. 5. by which it would appear, that King *James* V. was the Firſt that cloſed this Crown with Arches, and Topp'd it with a Mond and *Croſs Patée*. Yet 'tis evident, That the Money and Medals coined in the Reigns of King *James* III. and IV. have a cloſe Crown; and 'tis no leſs clear, that the Arches of the Crown were not put there from the Beginning or at the making of the Crown, becauſe, 1*mo*, they are tacked by Tacks of Gold to the ancient Crown. 2*do*, The Workmanſhip of the Arch is not ſo good, and there is a ſmall Diſtinction in the Fineneſs betwixt the firſt and laſt, the latter being ſuperfine Gold, and the other not ſo exactly to that Standard, whereof Trial has been made. *Quinto*, The Tiar or Bonnet of the Crown was of purple Velvet, but in the Year One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty Five it got a Cap of crimſon Velvet, adorned as before with Four Plates of Gold richly wrought and ennamled, and on each of them a great Pearl half Inch in Diameter, which appear between the Four Arches; and the Bonnet is turned up with Ermine. Upon the loweſt Circle of the Crown immediately above the Ermine there are Eight ſmall Holes diſpoſed Two

and

and Two together on the Four Quarters of the Crown in the middle Space betwixt the Arches, which were for lacing or tying thereto Diamonds or precious Stones. The Crown is Nine Inches broad in Diameter, being Twenty Seven Inches about; and in Height, from the under Circle to the Top of the *Croſs Patée* Six Inches and an Half. It always ſtands on a ſquare Cuſhion of Crimſon Velvet, adorned with Fringes and Four Teſſels of Gold Threed hanging down at each Corner.

THE SCEPTER. The Stem or Stalk of the SCEPTER being Silver double overgilt, is Two Foot long, of Hexagon Form, with Three Buttons or Knops anſwering thereto. Betwixt the firſt Button and the Second is the Handle of Hexagon Form furling in the Middle and plain: Betwixt the ſecond Button and the Third, there are Three Sides ingraven. Upon that under the Virgin *Mary*, one of the Statues, on the Top of the Stalk, is the Letter J; upon the ſecond Side, under St. *James* the Letter R; and on the Third, under S. *Andrew*, the Figure 5. The Side betwixt J. and R. is engraven with Fourteen *Fleurs de lis*, and on the Side betwixt the Figure 5 and the Letter J. are Ten Thiſtles continued from one Stem. From the third Button to the Capital, the Three Sides under the Statues are plain, and on the other Three are antick Ingravings, *viz.* Sacramental Cups, antick *Meduſa*'s Heads, and Rullion Foliages. Upon the Top of the Stalk is an antick Capital of Leaves emboſſed; upon the *Abacus* whereof ariſes round the prolonged Stem, ſurrounded with three Statues, Firſt, that of the Bleſſed Virgin Crowned with an open Crown, holding in her right Arm our Bleſſed Saviour, and in her left Hand a Mond enſign'd with a Croſs. Next to her, on her right Hand, ſtands the Statue of S. *Andrew* in an Apoſtolical Garment, and on his Head a Bonnet like a *Scots* Bonnet, holding in his right Hand a Croſs or Saltire, a Part whereof is broken off; and in his left elevate, a Book open. On the Bleſſed Virgin's left Hand, S. *Andrew*'s right Hand, ſtands another Statue ſeeming to repreſent S. *James*, with the like Apoſtolical Garment, and a hanging Neck ſuperadded thereto; and upon his Head a little Hat like to the *Roman Pileum*; in his right Hand half elevate, a Book open, and in his Left a Paſtoral Staff, the Head is broke off, and above each Statue being Two Inches and a Half, excepting that of the Virgin, which is a little leſs, the finiſhing of a *Gothic* Niche. Betwixt each Statue ariſes a Rullion in Form of a Dolphin very diſtinct, in Length Four Inches *Foliage* along the Body, their Heads upwards and effronted inwards, and the turning of their Tails ending in a Roſe or *Cinqueſoil* outward. Above theſe Rullions and Statues ſtands another Hexagon Button or Knot, with Oak Leaves under every Corner, and above it a Chryſtal Glob of Two Inches and a Quarter Diameter within three Bars Jointed above, where it is ſurmounted with Six Rullions, and here again with an Oval Glob topped with an Oriental Pearl an half Inch Diameter. The whole Scepter in length is Thirty Four Inches.

THE SWORD is in Length Five Foot, the Handle and Pommel are of Silver overgilt, in Length Fifteen Inches; the Pommel is round and ſomewhat flat on the two Sides: On the Middle of each there is of emboſſed Work a Garland, and in the Center there have been Two ennamled Plates which are broke off. The Traverſe or Croſs of the Sword being of Silver overgilt is in Length Seventeen Inches and an Half, its Form is like Two Dolphins, the Heads joining, and their Tails ending in Ac-

corns; the Shell is hanging down towards the Point of the Sword, formed like an Eſcalop flowriſhed, or rather like a green Oak-Leaf. On the Blade of the Sword are indented with Gold theſe Letters, *JULIUS* II. P. THE SCABBARD is of Crimſon Velvet covered with Silver, gilded and wrought in Philagram Work into Branches of the Oak Tree Leaves and Accorns. On the Scabbard are placed Four round Plates of Silver overgilt, Two of them near to the Crampet are ennamled blue, and thereon in Golden Characters *JULIUS* II. *PON. MAX. N.* At the Mouth of the Scabbard, oppoſite to the Heck, is a large ſquare Plate of Silver, ennamled Purple, in a Cartouche *Azure*, an Oak Tree eradicated and fructuated *Or*, and above the Cartouche the Papal Enſign, *viz.* Two Keys in *Saltire addoſſée*, their Bowls formed like Roſes or Cinquefoils, tied with Trappings and Teſſels hanging down. At each ſide of the Cartouche, above the Keys, is the Papal Tiar invironed with Three Crowns, with Two Labels turned up, adorned with Croſſes. Pope *Julius* II. who Gifted the Sword to King *James* IV. had for his Armorial Figures, an *Oak Tree* fructuated, (which is the Reaſon that the Sword is adorn'd with ſuch Figures) a *Hill* and a *Star*, which two laſt Figures I find not on any part of the Sword; if they have been on the two ennamled Plates, which are loſt off from the Pommel, I know not; but 'tis certain, this Pope had ſuch Figures, as appears by theſe Verſes made by *Voltoline*, a famous *Italian* Poet, as the ſame are mentioned by *Hermannus Hermes* a *German* Writer, who gives us theſe Lines found in a Monaſtery,

Quercus, mons, ſtella formant tua ſtemmata, Princeps,
Hiſque tribus trinum ſtat Diadema tuum.
Tuta Petri mediis navis non flectitur undis,
Mons tegit à ventis, ſtellaque monſtrat iter.

And thereafter, upon Delivery of the above *Regalia* to the ſaid Lord Treaſurer-Depute, and upon Lodging thereof, with the foreſaid Deſcription of the ſame, in an orderly manner, in a Cheſt within the ſaid Crown-Room, the ſaid *William Wilſon*, as Procurator for, and in Name and behalf of the ſaid *William* Earl *Mariſchal*, and in the Terms of the ſaid Procuratory, PROTESTED, That the delivering up of the *Regalia* foreſaid, ſhall not invalidate or be prejudicial to the ſaid Earl *Mariſchal* his Heretable Right of Keeping thereof, both in time of Parliament and Intervals, either in the ſaid Earl his Caſtle of *Dunnotter*, as hitherto his Anceſtors have done, or any where elſe within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that his Lordſhip and his Succeſſors ſhall think ſecure and convenient: AS ALSO, in the Terms of the Act, ratifying the Union betwixt the Kingdom of *Scotland* and the Kingdom of *England*, whereby it is ſtipulated and agreed by both Parliaments, That the Crown, Scepter, and Sword of State, ſhall be continued to be kept, as they are at preſent, within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that they ſhall ſo remain in all time coming, notwithſtanding the Union, PROTESTED, That they ſhall remain within the ſaid Crown-Room in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and in Caſe the Government ſhall find the Tranſportation thereof from *Edinburgh* Caſtle to any other ſecure Place within this Kingdom at any time hereafter

after neceſſary, PROTESTED ALSO, That the ſame may not be done until Intimation be made to the ſaid Earl *Mariſchal* and his Succeſſors, to the effect, his Lordſhip, or they, may attend and ſee them ſafely tranſported, and ſecurely lodged. And made due and lawful Intimation of the Premiſſes to Colonel *James Stewart* Deputy-Governour of the ſaid Caſtle then preſent, that he might not pretend Ignorance. AS ALSO, as Procurator foreſaid, and likewiſe for himſelf, as continued Keeper of the ſaid *Regalia*, by Deputation from the ſaid Earl *Mariſchal*, and the deceaſt *George* Earl *Mariſchal* his Father, ſince the Third Day of *Auguſt* One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty One Years, in the Reigns of King *Charles* II. King *James* VII. King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and of Her preſent Majeſty Queen *ANNE*, Declared, That the ſame are now delivered to the ſaid *David* Earl of *Glaſgow* Lord Treaſurer-Depute, for himſelf, and in Name foreſaid, in the ſame State, Caſe and Condition he then received the ſame; and offered to give his Oath, that neither he the ſaid *William Wilſon*, nor any, to his Knowledge, has ever, directly or indirectly, imbazelled, or taken away from the ſaid *Regalia*, any of the Jewels, Pearls, or others appertaining thereto. AND THEREFORE SEEING he had with exact Care, and continued Fidelity, honeſtly diſcharged the ſaid Truſt repoſed in him, did Proteſt to be liberate and exonered for his Adminiſtration in the ſaid Office during the ſaid hail bygone Space, but Prejudice to the ſaid Earl *Mariſchal*, of keeping the ſame in all Time coming as formerly by himſelf, and the ſaid *William Wilſon* as his Depute, or any other whom his Lordſhip ſhall appoint. And upon all and ſundry the Premiſſes, the ſaid *William Wilſon*, as Procurator for, and in Name and Behalf of the ſaid *William* Earl *Mariſchal*, asked and took Inſtruments, One or more, in the Hands of us Notaries-publick underſubſcribing. Thir Things were done Place and time above-mentioned, before, and in preſence of Mr. *David Leſly*, Son to the Earl of *Levin* Governour of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, Sir *James Mackenzie* Knight and Baronet, Clerk of the Treaſury, *George Allardice* of That-Ilk, Captain *John Cockburn*, Son to the deceaſt Mr. *John Cockburn* Advocate, *Francis Dunlop* of That-Ilk, *William Moriſon* of *Preſtongrange*, *James Malcolm* of *Grange* and Captain *Patrick Auchmoutie*, Two of the Earl *Mariſchal*'s Battoniers, *John Barclay* of *Cullernie*, *Patrick Durham* of *Omachie*, Mr. *George Erskin*, Son to the deceaſt Sir *John Erskin* of *Balgounie*, *William Murray* Writer to the Signet, *Thomas Gibſon* Writer in *Edinburgh*, Son to the deceaſt Sir *Alexander Gibſon* of *Pentland*, one of the Clerks of Seſſion, *Mungo Smith*, *John Reid*, *Walter Murray*, and *Robert Bull*, Merchants in *Edinburgh*, Mr. *John Corſar*, *Alexander Keith*, *George Forbes*, *Alexander Farquharſon* and *Alexander Johnſton* Writers there, *John Hog* and *David Graham*, Macers of Privy-Council, *Charles Maitland*, *John Adam*, *Andrew Graham* of *Jordeſtoun*, and *Patrick Grant* of *Bonhard*, Four Macers of Seſſion, *John Lethem* Her Majeſty's Smith, *David Graham* eldeſt lawful Son to the ſaid *David Graham* Macer of Privy-Council, *William Robertſon*, Son to *William Robertſon* one of the Under-Clerks of Seſſion, *Robert Douglaſs*, eldeſt lawful Son to Captain *Robert Douglaſs* of *Milrig*, Merchant in *Edinburgh*; with divers other Witneſſes ſpecially called and required to the Premiſſes.

Et ego vero Alexander Aliſon, *Clericus* Dunkeldenſis *Dioceſis*, *Notarius publicus authoritate Regali*, *ac per Dominos Concilii & Seſſionis*, *ſecundum tenorem Acti Parliamenti*, *admiſſus*: *Quia Præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis*, *dum ſic*, *ut præmittitur*, *dicerentur*, *agerentur & fierent*, *una cum prænominatis teſtibus præſens perſonaliter interfui*, *eaque omnia & ſingula præmiſſa ſic fieri vidi*, *ſcivi & audivi*, *ac in notam cepi*: *Ideoque hoc præſens publicum Inſtrumentum*, *manu* Thomæ Forbes, *Scribæ* Edinburgenſis, *fideliter ſcriptum*, *exinde confeci*, *& in hanc publicam Inſtrumenti formam redegi*: *Signoque Nomine & Cognomine meis*, *ſolitis & conſuetis*, *ſignavi & ſubſcripſi*; *in fidem*, *robur*, *& teſtimonium veritatis omnium & ſingulorum Præmiſſorum rogatus & requiſitus*, *VERITAS VINCIT.* Alexander Aliſon, *N. P.*

Et ego vero Georgius Cockburn, *Clericus* Edinburgenſis *Dioceſis*, *Notarius publicus*, *authoritate Regali*, *ac per Dominos Concilii & Seſſionis*, *ſecundum tenorem Acti Parliamenti*, *admiſſus*: *Quia Præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis*, *dum ſic*, *ut præmittitur*, *dicerentur*, *agerentur & fierent*, *una cum prænominatis teſtibus præſens perſonaliter interfui*, *eaque omnia et ſingula præmiſſa ſic fieri vidi*, *ſcivi et audivi*, *ac in notam cepi*: *Ideoque hoc præſens publicum Inſtrumentum*, *manu dicti* Thomæ Forbes, *fideliter ſcriptum*, *exinde confeci*, *et in hanc publicam Inſtrumenti formam redegi*: *Signoque Nomine et Cognomine meis*, *ſolitis et conſuetis*, *ſignavi et ſubſcripſi*: *In fidem*, *robur et teſtimonium veritatis omnium et ſingulorum Præmiſſorum rogatus et requiſitus.* *DEUS EST MIHI OMNIA.* G. Cockburn, *N. P.*

Et ego vero Alexander Baillie, *Clericus* Edinburgenſis *Dioceſis*, *Notarius publicus*, *authoritate Regali*, *ac per Dominos Concilii et Seſſionis*, *ſecundum tenorem Acti Parliamenti*, *admiſſus*: *Quia Præmiſſis omnibus et ſingulis*, *dum ſic*, *ut præmittitur*, *dicerentnr*, *agerentur et fierent una cum prænominatis teſtibus perſonaliter interfui*, *eaque omnia et ſingula ſic fieri vidi*, *ſcivi et audivi*, *ac in notam cepi*: *Ideoque hoc præſens publicum Inſtrumentum*, *manu præfati* Thomæ Forbes, *fideliter ſcriptum*, *exinde adjuvantibus Connotariis*, *confeci*; *et in hanc publici Inſtrumenti formam redegi*: *Signoque*, *Nomine et Cognomine meis*, *ſolitis et conſuetis*, *ſignavi et ſubſcripſi*: *In fidem*, *robur et teſtimonium veritatis omnium et ſingulorum Præmiſſorum rogatus et requiſitus.* *CONSULTO.* Al. Baillie, *N. P.*

Et ego vero Joannes Corſs, *Clericus* Edinburgenſis *Dioceſis*, *Notarius publicus*, *authoritate Regali*, *ac per Dominos Concilii et Seſſionis*, *ſecundum tenorem Acti Parliamenti*, *admiſſus*: *Quia Præmiſſis omnibus et ſingulis*, *dum ſic*, *ut premittitur*, *agerentur*, *dicerentur et fierent*, *una cum prenominatis teſtibus perſonaliter interfui*; *eaque omnia et ſingula*, *ſic fieri vidi*, *ſcivi et audivi*, *ac in notam cepi*: *Ideoque hoc præſens publicum Inſtrumentum*, *manu dicti* Thomæ Forbes, *fideliter ſcriptum*, *exinde cum Connotariis confeci*, *et in hanc publici Inſtrumenti formam redegi*, *Signoque Nomine et Cognomine meis*, *ſolitis et conſuetis*, *ſignavi et ſubſcripſi*: *In fidem*, *robur et teſtimonium veritatis omnium et ſingulorum Præmiſſorum rogatus et requiſitus.* *MANET POST FUNERA VIRTUS.* Joannes Corſs, *N. P.*

Et ego vero Gulielmus Brown, *Clericus* Sancti Andreæ *Dioceſis*, *Notarius publicus*, *authoritate Regali*, *ac per Dominos Concilii*, *ſecundum tenorem Acti Parliamenti*, *admiſſus*; *Quia præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis*, *dum ſic*, *ut præmittitur*; *dicerentur*, *agerenter & fierent*, *una cum prænominatis teſtibus præſens perſonaliter interfui*, *eaque omnia & ſingula præmiſſa ſic fieri vidi*, *ſcivi & audivi*, *ac in notam cepi*: *Ideoque hoc preſens publicum Inſtrumentum* (*manu dicti* Thomæ Forbes, *fideliter ſcriptum*,) *exinde confeci*, &

& in hanc publicam Inſtrumenti formam redegi: Signoque, Nomine & Cognomine meis ſolitis & conſuetis ſignavi & ſubſcripſi; in fidem, robur & teſtimonium veritatis omnium & ſingulorum præmiſſorum rogatus & requiſitus. DOMINUS PROVIDEBIT. W. B. N. P.

Et ego vero Robertus Bannantine, *Clericus* Edinburgenſis *Dioceſis, Notarius publicus authoritate Regali, ac per Dominos Concilii & Seſſionis, ſecundum tenorem acti Parliamenti, admiſſus: Quia præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis, dum ſic, ut præmittitur, agerentur, dicerentur & fierent, una cum prænominatis teſtibus præſens perſonaliter interfui, eaque omnia & ſingula præmiſſa ſic fieri vidi, ſcivi & audivi, ac in notam cepi: Ideoque hoc preſens publicum Inſtrumentum, manu dicti* Thomæ Forbes, *fideliter ſcriptum, exinde confeci, & in hanc publicam Inſtrumenti formam redegi: Signoque Nomine & Cognomine meis, ſolitis & conſuetis, ſignavi & ſubſcripſi; in fidem, robur & teſtimonum veritatis omnium & ſingulorum præmiſſorum rogatus & requiſitus,* QUOD VIDI TESTOR. R B. N. P.

Et ego vero Gulielmus Robertſon, *Clericus* Aberdonen. *Dioceſis, Notarius publicus, authoritate Regali, ac per Dominos Concilii admiſſus, ſecundum tenorem acti Parliamenti: Quia præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis, dum ſic, ut præmittitur, dicerentur, agerentur & fierent, una cum prænominatis teſtibus præſens perſonaliter interfui; eaque omnia & ſingula Præmiſſa ſic fieri vidi, ſcivi & audivi, ac in notam cepi: Ideoque hoc præſens publicum Inſtrumentum, manu prædicti* Thomæ Forbes, *fideliter ſcriptum, exinde confeci, & in hanc publici Inſtrumenti formam redegi: Signoque Nomine & Cognomine meis, ſolitis & conſuetis, ſignavi & ſubſcripſi; In fidem, robur & teſtimonium veritatis omnium & ſingulorum Præmiſſorum rogatus & requiſitus.* DOMINUS PROVIDEBIT, W. R. N. P.

James Mackenzie *Witneſs.*
Francis Dunlop *of That-Ilk, Witneſs*
John Barclay *Witneſs*
John Cockburn *Witneſs*
James Malcolm *Witneſs*
Patrick Auchmoutie *Witneſs*
Patrick Durham *Witneſs*
George Erskin *Witneſs*
William Murray *Witneſs*
Thomas Gibſon *Witneſs*
Alexander Keith *Witneſs*
John Corſar *Witneſs*
Mungo Smith *Witneſs*
John Reid *Witneſs*
Walter Murray *Witneſs*
Robert Bull *Witneſs*
John Hog *Witneſs*
David Graham *Witneſs*
Charles Maitland *Witneſs*
John Adam *Witneſs*
Patrick Grant *Witneſs*
Andrew Graham *Witneſs*
Alexander Farquharſon *Witneſs*
Alexander Johnſton *Witneſs*
John Lethem *Witneſs*
William Robertſon *Witneſs*
Robert Douglaſs *Witneſs*

This is an exact Copy taken from one of the Inſtruments remaining in the Cuſtody of the Royal College of Phyſicians in *Edinburgh.*

Numb. II.

A LIST of all the Monaſteries, Priories, Nunneries, Cloyſters, Proviſtries, and other Orders of Monks in the Kingdom of Scotland, *that were Demoliſhed at the Reformation; together with the Names of the Places they were in, and their Founders.*

MONASTERIES.

Names.	Places.	Orders.	Founders.
I. Icolmkill	In the Iſle of Icolmkill	Black-Friars	S. Columba
II. Sandel	Kintyre	Ciſtertians	Mackſurle, or the Son of Somerled L. of the Iſles
III. Soul's Seat	Galloway	Of the Order of Premontre	Fergus of Galloway, Father of Othred
IV. Glenluce	Galloway	Ciſtertians	Roland of Galloway, Son of Othred Father of Allan
V. Newabbay	Galloway	Ciſtertians	Dornagilla, Daughter to Allan Lord of Galloway, and Grandchild of David Earl of Huntington
VI. Dundrenan	Galloway	Ciſtertians	K. David I. and his Queen
VII. Toungland	Galloway	Premontre	Allan Lord of Galloway
VIII. Halywood	Galloway	Premontre	Dornagilla
IX. Croſſraguel	Carrick	Cluny	Duncan Earl of Carrick
X. Kilwining	Cuningham	Auguſtines	Heugh de Morvil, Conſtable of Scotland
XI. Paſly	Clidſdale	Of the Order of Cluny	Walter Stuart, Son of Allan Dapifer Regis
XII. Jedburgh	Teviotdale	Auguſtines	K. David I.
XIII. Kelſo	Teviotdale	Auguſtines	By the ſame King
XIV. Dryburgh	Teviotdale	Of the Order of Premontre	Hough de Morvil, Father to the Conſtable
XV. Haly-rood-houſe	Lothian	Auguſtines	K. David I.
XVI. Newbottle	Lothian	Ciſtertians	By the ſame King
XVII. Cambuskeneth	Stirling-Shire	Auguſtines	By the ſame King
XVIII. Inchaffry	Strathern	Auguſtines	Gilbert E. of Strathern
XIX. Culroſs	Clackmannan-Shire	Ciſtertians	Mackduff E. of Fife
XX. Dumfermlin	Fife	Benedictines	Malcolm Cainmore, and his Queen S. Margaret
XXI. Inch-Colm	The Firth of Forth	Auguſtines	Alexander I.
XXII. Lundores	Fife	Auguſtines	David E. of Huntington, Brother to K. William
XXIII. Balmerinoch	Fife	Ciſtertians	Emergarda Queen to K. William
XXIV. Scoon	Gowry	Auguſtines	K. Alexander I.
XXV. Cowper	Angus	Ciſtertians	K. Malcolm IV. Sirnam'd the Maiden
XXVI. Aberbrothick	Angus	Auguſtines	K. William
XXVII. Deer	Buchan	Ciſtertians	William Cuming E. of Buchan
XXVIII. Kinloſs	Murray	Ciſtertians	K. David I.
XXIX. Fern	Roſs	Ciſtertians	Allan E. of Roſs
XXX. Holm	Cumberland	Ciſtertians	K. David I.
XXXI. Newcaſtle	Northumberland	Premontre	By the ſame King
XXXII. Newcaſtle	Northumberland	Benedictines	By the ſame King
XXXIII. Abermornoch	Fife	Ciſtertians	K. William
XXXIV. Melroſs	Teviotdale	Ciſtertians	David I.
XXXV. Soutry	Lothian	Auguſtines	K. Malcolm IV.
XXXVI. Kilconquar	Galloway	Benedictines	Fergus L. of Galloway.

PRIO-

[*Having deſign'd to finiſh my Appendix, but for the Reaſons I have given in the Preface I'm oblig'd to put a Stop to it here: I ſhall not fail, God willing, to continue it in the Appendix to the next Volume.*]

A Chronological and Alphabetical Catalogue of the Scots *Authors, whoſe Lives are contained in this Volume.*

A

	Flouriſh'd.	Page.
JOHN *Adam*, D. D.	1500	383
Alexander Aleſſe, Profeſſor of Theology at *Lypſick*	1520	144
John Annand, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at S. *Andrew's*	1500	419
Alexander Aulicus, a *Dominican*	1500	383

B

SIR *John Ballenden*, Arch-Deacon of *Murray* and Clerk-Regiſter	1541	595
Alexander Barckly, D D.	1546	287
Hector Boeis, Principal of the King's College at *Aberdeen*	1520	376
Arthur Boeis, Profeſſor of the Chanon Law at *Aberdeen*	1500	383
James Brown, a Chanon-Regular at *Aberdeen*	1500	382

C

RICHARD *Conval*, Arch-Deacon of *Lothian*	1500	418
Benedict Chelydonius	1540	600
Gilbert Crab, a *Dominican*	1500	600
David Cranſton	1500	600

D

GEORGE *Dempſter*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Pavia*	1500	557
Finlay Dickſon, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Paris*	1509	557
Gawin Douglaſs, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*	1494	295
Gawin Dumbar, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*	1520	611
Gawin Dumbar, Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*	1500	612
Michael Dirlton, Provoſt of *Dirlton*	1475	530
George Dundaſs, Superior of the Knights of *Jeruſalem*	1500	376
John Durry, a Jeſuit	1585	470

E

	Flouriſh'd.	Page.
JOHN *Edmair*, D. D. and Profeſſor of Theology at *Paris*	1500	557
William Elphinſton, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*	1500	1

F

DUNCAN *Ferne*, a Doctor of the *Sorbon*	1475	530
Elias Forbes, M. D.	1457	530
Thomas Forbes	1500	557
Andrew Foreman, Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew*'s	1500	601
John Frazer, a *Franciſcan* Monk	1500	344

G

ALEXANDER *Galloway*, Rector of *Kinkell*	1500	383
John Gray, a *Franciſcan* Monk	1500	557
William Gregory, a Doctor of the *Sorbon*	1500	600
John Grierſon, a *Dominican*	1500	383
David Guthry, Profeſſor of the Civil and Canon Law	1500	382

H

JAMES *Hacket*, Profeſſor of the *Belles-Lettres*	1480	530
Mr. *William Hay*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy	1500	382
Alexander Hay, Profeſſor of Theology	1500	382
Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, Abbot of *Ferm*	1524	137
Nicolaus Hepburn, a *Franciſcan* Monk	1526	118
George Hepburn, Dean of *Dunkeld*	1500	557
John Hepburn, Prior of S. *Andrew*'s	1550	558

I

ROBERTUS *Inſulanus*, a *Dominican*	1500	383
John Ireland, a Doctor of the *Sorbon*	1475	529

K

ROBERT *Keith*, Abbot of *Dier*	1500	418

L

	Flouriſh'd.	Page.
JAMES Laing, a Doctor of the *Sorbon*	1585	452
Alexander Lion, Chanter of *Murray*	1500	601
Thomas Lauder, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*	1470	530
Alexander Lawrente, a *Dominican.*	1500	383
Sir *John Liſter*, Profeſſor of Divinity at S. *Andrew's*	1500	417
Lawrence Lundores, Abbot of *Scoon*	1500	417
John Lindſay	1500	383
John Leſly, Biſhop of *Roſs*	1560	502
Joſias Logan	1500	558

M

JOHN Major, Profeſſor of Theology and a Doctor of the *Sorbon*	1505	309
Dowgal Mackenzie, Profeſſor of Philoſophy	1500	476
William Manderſton, M. D.	1530	601
Allan Meldrum, Official of *Dunkeld*	1500	418
David Menzies	1500	383
Alexander Miln, a Chanon of *Dunkeld*	1500	558

O

WALTER Ogilvy	1500	376
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James Ogilvy	1500	382
Nicolaus Otterburn, a Chanon of *Glaſgow*	1488	531
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P

PATRICK Panter, Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*	1500	376

R

PETER Roſs, M. D.	1500	601

S

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Henry Scrimzeour, Profeſſor of the Civil Law at *Geneva*	1563	471
Thomas Strachan, Doctor of the Canon Law	1500	382
Alexander Seton, a *Dominican* Friar	1500	602
John Schevez, Official of S. *Andrew's*	1500	408
Henry Spittle, Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Aberdeen*	1500	383

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William Stephen, Biſhop of *Dumblane*	1500	417
Alexander Stuart, Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrew's*	1506	555

T

ROBERT Turner D. D. and Rector of the Univerſity of *Ingolſtadt*	1580	468
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V

ALEXANDER Vaus, Profeſſor of Philoſophy	1500	382

W

JOHN Wadlock, a *Franciſcan*	1550	602
John Ware, a *Carmelite*	1500	602
Robert Wauchop, Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*	1535	184
George Wauchop, Profeſſor of the Civil Law	1595	241
Richard Wigton, a *Carmelite*	1500	602

ERRATA.

Page 49. line 20. after *Spondana* r: *who*. P: 48. l. 7. r. *him* for *them*. P: 112: l: pen: for *Aunt* r. *Neice*. P: 113. for *mas* r: *was*. L. 9. for *Murray* r: *Aberdeen* Shire. P: 184. l: 3. for *England* r. *France*. L. 13: r. *Mid-Lothian* for *East-Lothian*. P. 301, l: 28, dele *to*. P. 432. l. 36. for *Schy* r. *Sky*. P: 601. l. 16. after *in* add 1517, 4*to*.

The End of the Second Volume.

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